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## 89th CONGRESS: 1st SESSION

<u>Roll Call</u>	<u>Measure; Proposal</u>	<u>Percentage of Deviation</u>		<u>Votes to Win Rep. Position</u>
		<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	
7	H. J. Res. 234: To recommit in order to stop shipment of certain surplus farm commodities to Col. Nasser of Egypt. (Passed 204-177)	0.	30.3	0
10	H.J. Res. 234: To insist on House provisions relative to shipment of farm products to Col. Nasser. (Defeated 161-241)	.7	13.4	41
23	H. Res. 188: To recommit resolution providing funds for Committee on Un-American Activities in order to hold hearings on justification. (Defeated 58-332)	.7	17.9	0
24	H. Res 188: To provide \$370,000 for operating Committee on Un-American Activities. (Passed 359-29)	0.	11.	0
62	H. R. 980: To make it more difficult to send obscene material thru mails. (Passed 360-21)	1.6	7.4	0
70	H. R. . 6675: To recommit Social Security bill in order to substitute Republican proposal for "Medicare." (Defeated 191-236)	7.2	21.8	23
109	H. R. . 7750: To recommit foreign aid authorization to cut cost and to restrict activities of communist-dominated labor unions in connection with housing projects receiving our aid in Latin America. (Defeated 178-219)	10.7	23.2	21
112	H. R. 8370: To recommit Agriculture appropriation bill to restrict exportation of certain surplus farm products to United Arab Republic and Indonesia. (Defeated 187-208)	1.6	23.4	11
126	H. R. . 8775: To recommit legislative appropriation bill to delete \$35,000 for employment of 16 operators to run automatic elevators. (Defeated 149-244)	.7	7.9	48
131	H.Con. Res. 285: To amend resolution on showing of USIA film on Pres. Kennedy in U.S. to provide that no fee shall be charged. (Defeated 174-216)	0.	18.5	22
141	H. R. 6927: To substitute an "Office of Urban Affairs" in Executive Office in place of new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. (Defeated 141-259)	3.9	6.9	60
142	H. R. 6927: To approve bill establishing new Dept. of Housing and Urban Development. (Passed 217-184)	7.1	24.1	17
155	H.J. Res. 541: To extend Area Redevelopment Act for two months. (Passed 224-167)	12.1	19.7	29
163	H.R. 7984: To delete section on "rent supplements" from Housing bill. (Defeated 202-208)	2.9	26.1	4
164	H.R. 7984: On final passage of Housing bill. (Passed 245-169)	19.3	21.5	39
175	H.R. 6400: On the "honest elections" amendment to Voting Rights bill. (Passed 253-165)	0.	41.5	0

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		<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	
176	H. R. 6400: To adopt the Boggs Amendment weakening the voting rights bill by making it inoperative in counties where only at least 50% of Negroes are registered. (Defeated 155-262)	13.2	102.	0
177	H.R. 6400: An amendment to permit those illiterate in English to vote if had completed 6th grade in Spanish-language schools. (Defeated 202-216)	7.4	32.1	0
178	H.R. 6400: To substitute McCulloch-Ford voting rights bill for H.R. 6400. (Defeated 171-248)	15.4	19.8	39
196	H.R. 8283: To recommit Poverty bill to keep Governor's veto and to reduce 1966 authorization to an amount equal to that for 1965. (Defeated 178-227)	9.7	21.	25
208	H.R. 77: To recommit bill to repeal Section 14b of Taft Hartley. (Defeated 200-223)	13.7	28.2	12
209	H.R. 77: To repeal Sec. 14b of Taft Hartley (Passed 221-203)	15.2	30.1	10
234	S.1648: To amend to make more areas eligible for grants under the Public Works and Economic Development Act and to increase the authorization. (Passed 196-194)	7.	28.6	2
235	S.1648: To recommit Public Works and Economic Development Act in order to reduce cost by \$85 million and require annual review of expenditure by Congress. (Defeated 163-224)	8	18.3	31
243	H.R. 9811: To recommit omnibus farm bill. (Defeated 169-224)	11.3	21.9	28
244	H.R. 9811: To pass omnibus farm bill. (Passed 221-172)	15.4	25.2	25
248	H.R. 2580: To amend the immigration bill to include a limitation on immigration from the western hemisphere. (Defeated 189-218)	9.7	25.	15
299	H.R. 8283: To recommit anti-poverty bill to conference in order to insist on House position on governor's veto. (Passed 209-180)	0	31	0
303	H. Res 574: To kill the resolution asking Postmaster General to provide names of summer postal employees. (Passed 186-180)	0	25	4

On these 29 significant votes: thru September 24

Average deviation

Republican 6.7 percent

Democrat 23.0 percent

Vote changes needed to obtain Republican victory:

Average: 24

Number of instances where 30 or more votes needed: 6

Number of instances requiring less than 30 votes: 15

Number of instances in which Rep. views prevailed: 8

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From the Offices of: Robert F. Ellsworth, 3rd District Kansas  
Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, 5th District New Jersey

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY A.M.'s  
MAY 13, 1965

15 Republicans Underscore Support For Administration's Policy in Southeast Asia

15 Republican Congressmen, in a letter issued yesterday, underscored Republican support of President Johnson's policy in Southeast Asia. In a letter to House Republican Leader Gerald Ford, the 15 Congressmen pointed to the unanimous Republican support in both Houses of Congress for the President's request for an additional \$700 million earmarked for Vietnam. The joint effort mentioned the Republican Party's "continuing dedication to its uninterrupted history of bipartisan support for United States policy in times of crisis."

The letter to Ford reminded "all those abroad who may hope that internal differences will sap American will and purpose in Vietnam, the unanimous Republican support of the President should make clear just how wrong they are," and that the Republican Party, despite differences with President Johnson, stands together in the determination to preserve the integrity of South Vietnam and the right of her people to be free.

/s/ Mark Andrews, N.Dak.

/s/ John F. Baldwin, Calif.

/s/ Alphonzo Bell, Calif.

/s/ William S. Broomfield, Mich.

/s/ Robert F. Ellsworth, Kan.

/s/ Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, N.J.

/s/ Frank J. Horton, N.Y.

/s/ William S. Mailliard, Calif.

/s/ Joseph M. McDade, Pa.

/s/ F. Bradford Morse, ~~Mass.~~ <sup>Mass.</sup>

/s/ Charles A. Mosher, Ohio

/s/ Howard W. Robison, N.Y.

/s/ Herman T. Schneebeli, Pa.

/s/ Garner E. Shriver, Kan.

/s/ Robert T. Stafford, Vt.

Text of Letter Follows

From the Offices of: Robert F. Ellsworth, 3rd, Kansas  
Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, 5th, New Jersey

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY A.M.'s

MAY 13, 1965 PAGE TWO

The Honorable Gerald Ford  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jerry:

We take great pride in the unanimous Republican vote in both Houses of the Congress in support of the President's request for \$700 million for U.S. policy in Vietnam. The message should be crystal clear:

- To President Johnson, Republican unanimity spoke of our Party's continuing dedication to its uninterrupted history of bipartisan support for United States policy in times of crisis.
- To all those abroad who may hope that internal differences will sap American will and purpose in Vietnam, the unanimous Republican support of the President should make clear just how wrong they are.
- And to those few here at home who demonstrate against the American presence in Vietnam the Republican Party has made clear that, whatever our differences with President Johnson, we stand together in the determination to preserve the integrity of South Vietnam and the right of her people to be free.

Republicans of course will jealously guard our right to disagree with the President and to criticize him publicly when he is wrong. We do not for one moment suggest that we agree fully with all phases of American policy or its implementation, even in Vietnam. But all people everywhere should have no doubt where we stand on the fundamental precepts of American policy in Southeast Asia:

1. We believe that the United States forces should remain in South Vietnam as long as the Communist aggression continues.
2. We believe that the United States cannot in good conscience abandon the Asian continent to Communist imperialist domination and that an American withdrawal from Vietnam in the present circumstances would undermine confidence in American leadership and encourage further tests of our will.
3. We believe that the limited air attacks against North Vietnam are justified because they require the North Vietnamese regime to pay a heavy price for the aggression it is waging, because they may impel the North Vietnamese to seek a negotiated settlement, and because they may limit the effectiveness of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam.

We believe that the surest road to peace and to constructive negotiations, in Vietnam and around the world, must inevitably begin with the willingness to meet aggression whenever and wherever it occurs.

The only purpose of force is to secure a just peace. We share the President's reluctance to use forces in Vietnam, but we share also his determination to persevere in the search for a just peace.

Sincerely,

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*  
Melvin R. Laird,  
*Chr. of the Conference*  
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Clarence J. Brown,  
*Ranking Member*  
*Rules Committee*  
Bob Wilson,  
*Chr. Republican*  
*Congressional Committee*

## Press Release

Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting

July 22, 1965

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

*Office Copy*

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 euche 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:

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Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*  
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*  
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[From the Baltimore Evening Sun,  
Sept. 22, 1965]

**MANSFIELD DESCRIBES PLAN TO CORRECT  
PASSED BILLS**

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, September 22.—Senator MANSFIELD, the majority leader, is about to demonstrate once more that when he says something should be done he means to follow through. Recently he proposed that the next session of the 89th Congress “spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed.” Today, reached by telephone in his home State of Montana, he described the practical steps with which he plans to give effect to his proposal.

“I intend to submit it for action at a Democratic Senate conference before adjournment,” he said. “We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of a going-over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost in the framework of our capacity to meet it.”

**OVERSEEING SUBCOMMITTEES**

“In reminding the conference of this, I plan to ask for the creation of overseeing subcommittees among whose functions it would be to tighten up the hasty enactments in general and evaluate the degree of efficiency with which they are being administered by the executive.”

The plan seems marked for resistance in the Democratic Senate conference, despite its urgent necessity. And pressure against it may be expected from House Democrats also. For the next session will occur in the year of the general congressional elections. And Democrats from States and districts where the 1964 landslide broke a long pattern of electing Republicans will in all likelihood prefer to postpone the risk inherent in such a reexamination and appraisal. Fearful Democratic candidates for reelection conceivably will even include some who sought to stem the legislative onrush of the President and the party majority toward the welfare state goal of the Great Society.

In this event the President's active support of MANSFIELD's highly constructive program may be required. And, although he can sense a political liability as keenly as any politician in the American past or present, he is also alert to the hazard in exposing it as the unmistakable motive for the rejection of a plan so obviously in the public interest. And that interest is implicit in a simple catalog of the measures he drove through this session of Congress.

Moreover, Vice President HUMPHREY may not have been speaking entirely on his own, if he has been accurately reported as believing “the huge legislative tonnage dropped on our doorstep” should undergo the management analysis to which Defense Secretary McNamara subjects all military programs. And this is precisely what Senator MANSFIELD intends to propose to the Democratic Senate conference.

**“TONNAGE” LISTED**

This “tonnage” already consists of the following on which action has been completed: medical care; financial help for Appalachia; the financing of regional development; elementary-secondary education; omnibus public housing; a new department of housing; reduced excise taxes, and foreign aid. Near-final enactment are financing programs for higher education, depollution of the waters, a supplemental antipoverty law, a national arts foundation, and omnibus farm subsidies legislation.

To this partial list of Federal undertakings at undetermined costs and wholly speculative effects on the socioeconomy administration pressure is now being exerted for a health conservation program more revolutionary than medicare and even more speculative as to cost. This calls for the establishment of a network of at least 1,350 diagnostic and treatment centers for heart disease, cancer, and stroke. A host of surgical teams and other hospital specialists would be paid for by grants from the Federal Government.



The latest report is that this is the last  
of the "observation" copies - please distribute  
with discretion.



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## Observations on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is spotty. Along with the enactment of some meritorious and needed legislation, the Congress often acted hastily, blindly, and indiscriminately.

The majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, of Montana, has confessed serious deficiencies in the laws enacted by the Congress this year. He has announced that the 2d 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 that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and must eliminate from the laws of the session just ended "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

The Mansfield confession should be good for the soul of the American people. It should convince them that one-party government does not serve them well.

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1st session of the 89th Congress is that whenever the party that holds possession of the executive branch of the National Government also enjoys overwhelming dominance in the Congress, the Congress becomes a satellite of the President.

The failure of the Congress to act as a deliberative body, coequal with the Executive, is the most striking feature of this past session. Until the closing days of the session, it rubberstamped the proposals of the White House in far too many instances.

The members of the American Political Science Association who gathered in Washington in early September of this

year felt that the legislative initiative has passed irretrievably to the executive branch. One of the experts at that convention, Lewis A. Dexter, said that the Congress will come to have the same importance in the American system of government as the House of Lords has in the British, particularly if several future Presidents resemble Lyndon Johnson.

Eric Sevareid wrote:

We know of a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year.

He also found that the Congress has so often acted under "a curious kind of intimidation" that the "once-exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige."

One of the leading newspapers in the home State of the Vice President summed it up this way:

Anyone following the daily deliberations of the House of Representatives must be struck by the ruthlessness with which the Democratic majority of so-called liberals is flexing its muscles. It is not, in fact, a deliberative body. Representative government is in a sad and critical state.

Columnist Ted Lewis said:

The presidential image of a miracle producer of new laws makes the legislative branch of Government appear to be a creature of the executive branch.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial entitled "Legislating by Scoop Shovel," said:

It would take a truck scale to weigh the legislation forwarded by the White House and automatically approved, most of it wasteful, much of it unnecessary, and all of it putting the individual in the grip of the Federal vise.

He [the President] has been legislating everything and anything, and, with two-thirds majorities in either Chamber, he has a Congress of robots that is totally compliant.

The Knoxville Journal editorialized:

Any Congress which voluntarily yields its right to perform as a coequal part of the Federal Establishment, as this one has, is a continuing threat to the Nation.

It is one thing for a Congress to adopt Presidential proposals after thorough deliberation and adequate discussion. It is quite another thing for a Congress to rush through such proposals without careful scrutiny and without reasonable debate. No Congress that performed its constitutional duty would do the slipshod job of which Senator MANSFIELD indicted the present Congress when he said that it must now devote most of its effort to tightening up "its hasty enactments."

### EXAMPLES OF RUBBERSTAMPING BY THE CONGRESS

On many important bills the House of Representatives acted without adequate consideration, without full hearings in committee, and without sufficient debate on the floor.

The arts and humanities bill was railroaded through the Committee on Education and Labor after about 15 minutes of consideration. Even a motion by the minority that the bill be read was summarily rejected by the majority. When the committee met to act on the bill, the members were presented for the first time with a new committee print, dated the same day, containing a number of significant amendments which the minority members had never seen before. Thereafter, several additional amendments, which the Republican members had never seen, were quickly adopted in committee, and the bill was reported with great haste.

The Education and Labor Committee made virtually no change in the administration bill to provide assistance for elementary and secondary education, despite vigorous bipartisan complaints about the formula for distributing Federal funds contained in the bill. On the floor, at least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

As this far-reaching legislation was being considered by the House of Representatives, Democratic Congresswoman

GREEN, of Oregon, took the floor to protest, "Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement."

So little was the elementary and secondary education bill studied before floor action that two of the best informed supporters of the measure, gave to the House contradictory explanations of its application to nonpublic schools.

The higher education bill was reported out of the Education and Labor Committee in great haste, apparently at the command of the White House. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House deliberated for all of 20 minutes." Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois, called the bill's handling "a mockery of the legislative process."

Hearings on the administration's original highway beautification proposals were held by the Committee on Public Works on July 20, 21, and 22. These hearings were adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. Without warning, the hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7, with the final vote being tallied well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on 5 separate amendments.

Regarding the very controversial bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Democratic majority of the Committee on Education and Labor rejected all attempts by Republican members to amend the bill so as to provide some basic protections for rank-and-file employees compelled to join unions in order to hold their jobs. Because of the restrictive rule under which the bill was considered by the House, amendments which would permit compulsory union membership agreements only if the unions involved refrained from racial and religious discrimination, refrained from using union funds for political purposes, and refrained from denying employees rights guaranteed them by Federal law were rejected as not germane. Other amendments offered, on which the House was not permitted to vote, were designed to insure that unions securing compulsory membership agreements truly represented a majority as demonstrated by winning an NLRB election, to

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protect the religious liberty of employees whose religious beliefs clash with compulsory union membership, and to insure that employees would be protected from compulsion to join a Communist-controlled union.

The Washington Post commented:

Several important questions were raised in the House debate and left unanswered.

The Democratic majority rammed through a bill repealing section 14(b) which the Post said "scarcely qualifies as well-rounded legislation in the national interest."

On the important bill to prohibit discrimination in employment and union membership, only the briefest of hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor. These hearings contained no testimony based on experience under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were followed almost immediately by a subcommittee meeting which reported the bill favorably. An hour later the full committee met and reported the bill to the House. No amendments were offered because none of the minority members had any opportunity to study the long and complex measure and analyze even its theoretical weaknesses. This bill was not acted on by the House.

The percentages allocated to the various categories of immigrants in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 were not discussed either in the Judiciary Committee or on the floor.

On the voting rights bill, the administration forces on the Judiciary Committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the floor of the House the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

#### GAPS AND OVERLAPS

The defects in the legislation enacted during the session of Congress just ended will come to light as the bills are put into effect. Problems of duplication and overlap will be encountered.

The Appalachia bill overlaps several existing Federal-aid programs, notably in the fields of highway construction and public health.

The public works and redevelopment bill, providing aid to so-called depressed areas, overlaps the Appalachia bill.

The expanded poverty program overlaps the elementary and secondary school aid bill, which is ostensibly aimed at children from low-income families, as

well as vocational education and public assistance programs.

The Manpower Development and Training Act overlaps the poverty program.

One unfortunate oversight in the laws of the session can be cited to illustrate the results of hasty and ill-considered congressional action. By increasing social security payments, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans. The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans.

#### WEAKENING OF CHECKS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH

One-party domination of the legislative and executive branches weakens the constitutional system of checks and balances. The subservient Congress which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it should over the executive branch. The majority leader of the Senate recognizes that such is the case when he urges the Congress now to undertake its neglected function of legislative oversight over executive agencies.

The executive branch unchecked is prone to carelessness about legal restraints and about the public interest. This carelessness can descend to the level of arrogance in some instances.

Arrogance is a strong word, but there is no other word for the submission to the Senate of the nomination of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal judiciary nor for the efforts to bull that nomination through the Senate. The American Bar Association and the Massachusetts Bar Association pronounced this nominee unfit for the post. A representative of the American Bar Association testified on the Morrissey nomination:

From the standpoint of legal training, legal experience, and legal ability, we have not had any case where these factors were so lacking.

There is no word but arrogance for the withholding of Federal funds from the city of Chicago in defiance of the procedures established by Congress.

There is no word but arrogance for procedures in the Congress that silence dissent and preclude careful consideration of legislation.

There is no word but arrogance for opposition to freedom of information legislation which would permit the public to know what is going on in the Government which it pays for. The Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists, in its annual report, accused the

administration of seeking to "warp the proposed Federal Public Records legislation into an almost unlimited authority for the President to establish broader secrecy practices." The committee also indicted the administration for "the secrecy on the names of Post Office Department employees hired in the summer program in 1965; the Defense Department continues the October 1962, Sylvester Directive which requires military and civilian personnel to report all contacts with the press to Sylvester's office; the increased centralization of information releases at the White House, and the increasing sensitivity over leaks of information that have no connection with national security problems; the basic problem of balancing national security interests and freedom for the press in connection with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

There is no word but arrogance for the behavior of administration spokesmen, including the President and the Vice President, when they pointedly imply that the consideration which the problems of a locality receives in Washington will depend on whether its local officials are Republicans or Democrats. It is shocking to learn that responsible national officials would stoop to threaten any community with reprisals if its citizens choose officials who are not of the administration's party.

The New York Times reacted with indignation to the threat when it was made in New York City. Its editorial commented:

This is a remarkable indictment of the Johnson administration. It suggests, for example, that Sargent Shriver, the head of the antipoverty program and a Democrat, would be less sympathetic and helpful to New York if its mayor were a Republican. It makes the same innuendo about the officials who run the housing, education, mass transit, antipollution, and other programs in which New York has a vital interest. It suggests that President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, and Senator KENNEDY himself would not be so helpful to the mayor of the Nation's largest city if he were of a political faith different from theirs.

#### FISCAL EXCESSES

The carelessness of a Congress overwhelmingly controlled by the President's party is particularly manifested in big spending. This session of Congress has set a new record in appropriations not approached since the Second World War. The appropriation of \$119.3 billion this year is \$36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress during the Eisenhower administration. This staggering figure of almost \$120 bil-

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lion does not include additional backdoor spending of \$7 billion made possible by the Congress this year. Nor does it include perhaps \$5 to \$7 billion needed for the war in Vietnam, a request which the administration is holding back until next January.

The Congress failed to exercise any restraint on reckless spending. The reduction of administration requests for appropriations by \$2.4 billion is more apparent than real. The funds denied have only been deferred until 1966.

The following table shows the amount appropriated by Congress in each session since 1960. It reflects an increase of \$36 billion, or 43 percent, since 1960. Of this \$36 billion increase, only \$8.3 billion is for defense:

[In billions]		
Session	Appropriations	Change from preceding year
86th Cong.: 2d (1960)-----	\$83.8	-----
87th Cong.: 1st (1961)-----	95.8	+12.0
2d (1962)-----	102.3	+6.5
88th Cong.: 1st (1963)-----	102.6	+3
2d (1964)-----	106.0	+3.4
89th Cong.: 1st (1965)-----	119.3	+13.3

#### CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD

On February 3, 1965, the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives said:

House Republicans have a major responsibility as the representatives of approximately 43 percent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as we conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being with fiscal responsibility.

We cannot accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility.

We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the administration. We must take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the administration's proposals are unwise. This we are doing, for example, in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care for older people.

Second, we must press for action to deal with the problems to which the administration is blind or indifferent.

In this spirit the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have discharged their responsibility this year. Their record is impressive.

#### REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals

supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

#### VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights—H.R. 6400—as originally introduced, provided a remedy for discrimination only in six Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House Members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill—H.R. 7896—lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

#### MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin—H.R. 7057.

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the

session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly—first, covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization; second, offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage; and third, financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

#### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools—H.R. 2362—presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and secondary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, \$2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only \$745,000 for the education of an equal number of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do: aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted \$3 to \$5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided \$300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

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#### APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill—S. 3—which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida—H.R. 4466—would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

#### CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs—H.R. 6927—was defective in many respects. It did no more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new Department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by Mrs. DWYER, of New Jersey—H.R. 5173—and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

#### HOUSING

The administration's housing bill—H.R. 5840—as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants.

Under this plan, some families with an income of more than \$11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey—H.R. 9501—sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First, by giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority;

Second, by stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing;

Third, by utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants;

Fourth, by lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly; and

Fifth, by providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

#### REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished in this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to long-standing Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly people become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to \$150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First, low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second, veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no down payments for homes costing up to \$15,000, with as little as \$500 down on a \$20,000 home.

Third, low interest rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide \$1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth, low interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth, compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth, rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners, and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a \$400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

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A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser, voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

#### REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTIVE ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional \$700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by the minority floor leader at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

#### OTHER NOTEWORTHY REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, of Wisconsin, and Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, performed important service in bringing to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of \$100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

Representative H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, served as the public conscience, along with Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in endeavoring to raise the ethical standards of the administration with special attention to the treatment given Otto Otepka and the inadequately explored aspects of the Bobby Baker case.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY and his task force on NATO and the Atlantic



Community issued a thoughtful report on means of strengthening the Atlantic Alliance and improving the strained relations of the United States with France after a study trip to Paris.

Representative FINDLEY, along with Representative RALPH HARVEY, of Indiana, also took the lead in an unsuccessful fight against the administration on the sugar bill in an effort to recapture for the taxpayers of the United States a part of the excess profit which foreign sugar producers derive from sales in this country because Government action maintains a domestic price more than double the price in the world market.

Representative ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania, fought unsuccessfully to bring about an adjustment of the pay of Federal employees to provide full comparability with pay scales in private industry. Though full comparability is given lip service by the administration, it is opposed to putting this principle in practice.

Representative ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota, continued his efforts to protect Federal employees from illegal political pressures imposed by the administration, particularly in the matter of forced contributions to Democratic fund raising events.

Representative ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana, sought vainly to secure for the servicemen fighting in Vietnam educational benefits similar to those granted to the veterans of the Second World War and Korea.

Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, sought with limited success to secure legislative action to reinvigorate the merchant shipping of the United States.

#### REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 roll-call votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican policy committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES, of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 rollcall votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were

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in agreement with the majority of their party. These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program;

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than \$8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as \$25,000;

A foreign aid program of \$3.2 billion which all agree needs drastic overhauling;

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem;

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act; and

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged.

For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects;

Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism;

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature;

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teacher Corps;

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of transferring this authority to the Federal Government;

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways; and

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

#### PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the planning and research committee was established as an organ of the Republican conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The planning and research committee issued in August a report entitled, "Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is "loyal opposition" at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction. Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966.

The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture: ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing: JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity: PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education: ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service: ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America: Cochairmen F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, and DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community: PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs: CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation: JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system: JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin.

United Nations: JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs: CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights: WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH, of Ohio.

#### REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill, vocational training loan bill, the immigration bill, the Export Control Act, constitutional amendment on Presidential succession, the Older Americans Act of 1965, various bills in the field of health, excise tax cuts, manpower development and training bill, expansion of veterans' benefits, various anticrime bills, pay raises for military and civilian personnel, legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning, and the voting rights bill.

#### A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which 793-358-0591

comprise a comprehensive, broad-gauged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Republican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS—H.R. 3728; Representative FRANK T. BOW—H.R. 21; and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES—H.R. 7057.

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials to withhold information in order to make

available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of \$325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have joined with Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, in offering the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative not exhaustive.

#### CONCLUSION

Looking back on the session just concluded, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives can take pride in the role that they have played. They tried to make the Congress what it should be—a deliberative body, independent of and coequal with the Executive, judging legislation by the sole standard of the national interest. Their success cannot be measured in terms of the votes on which they prevailed—which were few. The verdict on their work will not be known until the people speak in the elections of 1966.



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## Observations on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is spotty. Along with the enactment of some meritorious and needed legislation, the Congress often acted hastily, blindly, and indiscriminately.

The majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, of Montana, has confessed serious deficiencies in the laws enacted by the Congress this year. He has announced that the 2d 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 that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and must eliminate from the laws of the session just ended "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

The Mansfield confession should be good for the soul of the American people. It should convince them that one-party government does not serve them well.

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1st session of the 89th Congress is that whenever the party that holds possession of the executive branch of the National Government also enjoys overwhelming dominance in the Congress, the Congress becomes a satellite of the President.

The failure of the Congress to act as a deliberative body, coequal with the Executive, is the most striking feature of this past session. Until the closing days of the session, it rubberstamped the proposals of the White House in far too many instances.

The members of the American Political Science Association who gathered in Washington in early September of this

year felt that the legislative initiative has passed irretrievably to the executive branch. One of the experts at that convention, Lewis A. Dexter, said that the Congress will come to have the same importance in the American system of government as the House of Lords has in the British, particularly if several future Presidents resemble Lyndon Johnson.

Eric Sevareid wrote:

We know of a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year.

He also found that the Congress has so often acted under "a curious kind of intimidation" that the "once-exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige."

One of the leading newspapers in the home State of the Vice President summed it up this way:

Anyone following the daily deliberations of the House of Representatives must be struck by the ruthlessness with which the Democratic majority of so-called liberals is flexing its muscles. It is not, in fact, a deliberative body. Representative government is in a sad and critical state.

Columnist Ted Lewis said:

The presidential image of a miracle producer of new laws makes the legislative branch of Government appear to be a creature of the executive branch.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial entitled "Legislating by Scoop Shovel," said:

It would take a truck scale to weigh the legislation forwarded by the White House and automatically approved, most of it wasteful, much of it unnecessary, and all of it putting the individual in the grip of the Federal vise.

He [the President] has been legislating everything and anything, and, with two-thirds majorities in either Chamber, he has a Congress of robots that is totally compliant.

The Knoxville Journal editorialized:

Any Congress which voluntarily yields its right to perform as a coequal part of the Federal Establishment, as this one has, is a continuing threat to the Nation.

It is one thing for a Congress to adopt Presidential proposals after thorough deliberation and adequate discussion. It is quite another thing for a Congress to rush through such proposals without careful scrutiny and without reasonable debate. No Congress that performed its constitutional duty would do the slipshod job of which Senator MANSFIELD indicted the present Congress when he said that it must now devote most of its effort to tightening up "its hasty enactments."

### EXAMPLES OF RUBBERSTAMPING BY THE CONGRESS

On many important bills the House of Representatives acted without adequate consideration, without full hearings in committee, and without sufficient debate on the floor.

The arts and humanities bill was railroaded through the Committee on Education and Labor after about 15 minutes of consideration. Even a motion by the minority that the bill be read was summarily rejected by the majority. When the committee met to act on the bill, the members were presented for the first time with a new committee print, dated the same day, containing a number of significant amendments which the minority members had never seen before. Thereafter, several additional amendments, which the Republican members had never seen, were quickly adopted in committee, and the bill was reported with great haste.

The Education and Labor Committee made virtually no change in the administration bill to provide assistance for elementary and secondary education, despite vigorous bipartisan complaints about the formula for distributing Federal funds contained in the bill. On the floor, at least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

As this far-reaching legislation was being considered by the House of Representatives, Democratic Congresswoman

GREEN, of Oregon, took the floor to protest, "Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement."

So little was the elementary and secondary education bill studied before floor action that two of the best informed supporters of the measure, gave to the House contradictory explanations of its application to nonpublic schools.

The higher education bill was reported out of the Education and Labor Committee in great haste, apparently at the command of the White House. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House deliberated for all of 20 minutes." Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois, called the bill's handling "a mockery of the legislative process."

Hearings on the administration's original highway beautification proposals were held by the Committee on Public Works on July 20, 21, and 22. These hearings were adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. Without warning, the hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7, with the final vote being tallied well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on 5 separate amendments.

Regarding the very controversial bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Democratic majority of the Committee on Education and Labor rejected all attempts by Republican members to amend the bill so as to provide some basic protections for rank-and-file employees compelled to join unions in order to hold their jobs. Because of the restrictive rule under which the bill was considered by the House, amendments which would permit compulsory union membership agreements only if the unions involved refrained from racial and religious discrimination, refrained from using union funds for political purposes, and refrained from denying employees rights guaranteed them by Federal law were rejected as not germane. Other amendments offered, on which the House was not permitted to vote, were designed to insure that unions securing compulsory membership agreements truly represented a majority as demonstrated by winning an NLRB election, to

protect the religious liberty of employees whose religious beliefs clash with compulsory union membership, and to insure that employees would be protected from compulsion to join a Communist-controlled union.

The Washington Post commented:

Several important questions were raised in the House debate and left unanswered.

The Democratic majority rammed through a bill repealing section 14(b) which the Post said "scarcely qualifies as well-rounded legislation in the national interest."

On the important bill to prohibit discrimination in employment and union membership, only the briefest of hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor. These hearings contained no testimony based on experience under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were followed almost immediately by a subcommittee meeting which reported the bill favorably. An hour later the full committee met and reported the bill to the House. No amendments were offered because none of the minority members had any opportunity to study the long and complex measure and analyze even its theoretical weaknesses. This bill was not acted on by the House.

The percentages allocated to the various categories of immigrants in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 were not discussed either in the Judiciary Committee or on the floor.

On the voting rights bill, the administration forces on the Judiciary Committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the floor of the House the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

#### GAPS AND OVERLAPS

The defects in the legislation enacted during the session of Congress just ended will come to light as the bills are put into effect. Problems of duplication and overlap will be encountered.

The Appalachia bill overlaps several existing Federal-aid programs, notably in the fields of highway construction and public health.

The public works and redevelopment bill, providing aid to so-called depressed areas, overlaps the Appalachia bill.

The expanded poverty program overlaps the elementary and secondary school aid bill, which is ostensibly aimed at children from low-income families, as

well as vocational education and public assistance programs.

The Manpower Development and Training Act overlaps the poverty program.

One unfortunate oversight in the laws of the session can be cited to illustrate the results of hasty and ill-considered congressional action. By increasing social security payments, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans. The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans.

#### WEAKENING OF CHECKS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH

One-party domination of the legislative and executive branches weakens the constitutional system of checks and balances. The subservient Congress which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it should over the executive branch. The majority leader of the Senate recognizes that such is the case when he urges the Congress now to undertake its neglected function of legislative oversight over executive agencies.

The executive branch unchecked is prone to carelessness about legal restraints and about the public interest. This carelessness can descend to the level of arrogance in some instances.

Arrogance is a strong word, but there is no other word for the submission to the Senate of the nomination of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal judiciary nor for the efforts to bull that nomination through the Senate. The American Bar Association and the Massachusetts Bar Association pronounced this nominee unfit for the post. A representative of the American Bar Association testified on the Morrissey nomination:

From the standpoint of legal training, legal experience, and legal ability, we have not had any case where these factors were so lacking.

There is no word but arrogance for the withholding of Federal funds from the city of Chicago in defiance of the procedures established by Congress.

There is no word but arrogance for procedures in the Congress that silence dissent and preclude careful consideration of legislation.

There is no word but arrogance for opposition to freedom of information legislation which would permit the public to know what is going on in the Government which it pays for. The Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists, in its annual report, accused the

administration of seeking to "warp the proposed Federal Public Records legislation into an almost unlimited authority for the President to establish broader secrecy practices." The committee also indicted the administration for "the secrecy on the names of Post Office Department employees hired in the summer program in 1965; the Defense Department continues the October 1962, Sylvester Directive which requires military and civilian personnel to report all contacts with the press to Sylvester's office; the increased centralization of information releases at the White House, and the increasing sensitivity over leaks of information that have no connection with national security problems; the basic problem of balancing national security interests and freedom for the press in connection with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

There is no word but arrogance for the behavior of administration spokesmen, including the President and the Vice President, when they pointedly imply that the consideration which the problems of a locality receives in Washington will depend on whether its local officials are Republicans or Democrats. It is shocking to learn that responsible national officials would stoop to threaten any community with reprisals if its citizens choose officials who are not of the administration's party.

The New York Times reacted with indignation to the threat when it was made in New York City. Its editorial commented:

This is a remarkable indictment of the Johnson administration. It suggests, for example, that Sargent Shriver, the head of the antipoverty program and a Democrat, would be less sympathetic and helpful to New York if its mayor were a Republican. It makes the same innuendo about the officials who run the housing, education, mass transit, antipollution, and other programs in which New York has a vital interest. It suggests that President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, and Senator KENNEDY himself would not be so helpful to the mayor of the Nation's largest city if he were of a political faith different from theirs.

#### FISCAL EXCESSSES

The carelessness of a Congress overwhelmingly controlled by the President's party is particularly manifested in big spending. This session of Congress has set a new record in appropriations not approached since the Second World War. The appropriation of \$119.3 billion this year is \$36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress during the Eisenhower administration. This staggering figure of almost \$120 bil-

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lion does not include additional backdoor spending of \$7 billion made possible by the Congress this year. Nor does it include perhaps \$5 to \$7 billion needed for the war in Vietnam, a request which the administration is holding back until next January.

The Congress failed to exercise any restraint on reckless spending. The reduction of administration requests for appropriations by \$2.4 billion is more apparent than real. The funds denied have only been deferred until 1966.

The following table shows the amount appropriated by Congress in each session since 1960. It reflects an increase of \$36 billion, or 43 percent, since 1960. Of this \$36 billion increase, only \$8.3 billion is for defense:

[In billions]		
Session	Appropriations	Change from preceding year
86th Cong.: 2d (1960)-----	\$83.8	-----
87th Cong.:		
1st (1961)-----	95.8	+\$12.0
2d (1962)-----	102.3	+6.5
88th Cong.:		
1st (1963)-----	102.6	+ .3
2d (1964)-----	106.0	+3.4
89th Cong.: 1st (1965)-----	119.3	+13.3

#### CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD

On February 3, 1965, the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives said:

House Republicans have a major responsibility as the representatives of approximately 43 percent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as we conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being with fiscal responsibility.

We cannot accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility.

We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the administration. We must take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the administration's proposals are unwise. This we are doing, for example, in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care for older people.

Second, we must press for action to deal with the problems to which the administration is blind or indifferent.

In this spirit the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have discharged their responsibility this year. Their record is impressive.

#### REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals

supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

#### VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights—H.R. 6400—as originally introduced, provided a remedy for discrimination only in six Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House Members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill—H.R. 7896—lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

#### MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin—H.R. 7057.

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the



session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly—first, covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization; second, offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage; and third, financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

#### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools—H.R. 2362—presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and secondary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, \$2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only \$745,000 for the education of an equal number of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do: aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted \$3 to \$5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided \$300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

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#### APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill—S. 3—which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida—H.R. 4466—would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

#### CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs—H.R. 6927—was defective in many respects. It did no more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new Department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by Mrs. DWYER, of New Jersey—H.R. 5173—and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

#### HOUSING

The administration's housing bill—H.R. 5840—as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants.

Under this plan, some families with an income of more than \$11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey—H.R. 9501—sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First, by giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority;

Second, by stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing;

Third, by utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants;

Fourth, by lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly; and

Fifth, by providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

#### REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished in this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to long-standing Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly people become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to \$150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First, low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second, veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no down payments for homes costing up to \$15,000, with as little as \$500 down on a \$20,000 home.

Third, low interest rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide \$1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth, low interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth, compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth, rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners, and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a \$400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

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A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser, voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

#### REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTIVE ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional \$700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by the minority floor leader at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

#### OTHER NOTEWORTHY REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, of Wisconsin, and Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, performed important service in bringing to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of \$100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

Representative H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, served as the public conscience, along with Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in endeavoring to raise the ethical standards of the administration with special attention to the treatment given Otto Otepka and the inadequately explored aspects of the Bobby Baker case.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY and his task force on NATO and the Atlantic



Community issued a thoughtful report on means of strengthening the Atlantic Alliance and improving the strained relations of the United States with France after a study trip to Paris.

Representative FINDLEY, along with Representative RALPH HARVEY, of Indiana, also took the lead in an unsuccessful fight against the administration on the sugar bill in an effort to recapture for the taxpayers of the United States a part of the excess profit which foreign sugar producers derive from sales in this country because Government action maintains a domestic price more than double the price in the world market.

Representative ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania, fought unsuccessfully to bring about an adjustment of the pay of Federal employees to provide full comparability with pay scales in private industry. Though full comparability is given lip service by the administration, it is opposed to putting this principle in practice.

Representative ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota, continued his efforts to protect Federal employees from illegal political pressures imposed by the administration, particularly in the matter of forced contributions to Democratic fund raising events.

Representative ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana, sought vainly to secure for the servicemen fighting in Vietnam educational benefits similar to those granted to the veterans of the Second World War and Korea.

Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, sought with limited success to secure legislative action to reinvigorate the merchant shipping of the United States.

#### REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 roll-call votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican policy committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES, of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 roll-call votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were

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in agreement with the majority of their party. These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program;

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than \$8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as \$25,000;

A foreign aid program of \$3.2 billion which all agree needs drastic overhauling;

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem;

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act; and

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged.

For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects;

Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism;

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature;

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teacher Corps;

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of transferring this authority to the Federal Government;

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways; and

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

#### PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the planning and research committee was established as an organ of the Republican conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The planning and research committee issued in August a report entitled, "Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is "loyal opposition" at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction. Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966.

The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture: ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing: JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity: PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education: ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service: ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America: Cochairmen F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, and DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community: PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs: CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation: JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system: JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin.

United Nations: JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs: CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights: WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH, of Ohio.

#### REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill, vocational training loan bill, the immigration bill, the Export Control Act, constitutional amendment on Presidential succession, the Older Americans Act of 1965, various bills in the field of health, excise tax cuts, manpower development and training bill, expansion of veterans' benefits, various anticrime bills, pay raises for military and civilian personnel, legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning, and the voting rights bill.

#### A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which

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comprise a comprehensive, broad-gauged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Republican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS—H.R. 3728; Representative FRANK T. BOW—H.R. 21; and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES—H.R. 7057.

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials to withhold information in order to make

available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of \$325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have joined with Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, in offering the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative not exhaustive.

#### CONCLUSION

Looking back on the session just concluded, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives can take pride in the role that they have played. They tried to make the Congress what it should be—a deliberative body, independent of and coequal with the Executive, judging legislation by the sole standard of the national interest. Their success cannot be measured in terms of the votes on which they prevailed—which were few. The verdict on their work will not be known until the people speak in the elections of 1966.



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## Observations on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is spotty. Along with the enactment of some meritorious and needed legislation, the Congress often acted hastily, blindly, and indiscriminately.

The majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, of Montana, has confessed serious deficiencies in the laws enacted by the Congress this year. He has announced that the 2d 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 that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and must eliminate from the laws of the session just ended "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

The Mansfield confession should be good for the soul of the American people. It should convince them that one-party government does not serve them well.

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1st session of the 89th Congress is that whenever the party that holds possession of the executive branch of the National Government also enjoys overwhelming dominance in the Congress, the Congress becomes a satellite of the President.

The failure of the Congress to act as a deliberative body, coequal with the Executive, is the most striking feature of this past session. Until the closing days of the session, it rubberstamped the proposals of the White House in far too many instances.

The members of the American Political Science Association who gathered in Washington in early September of this

year felt that the legislative initiative has passed irretrievably to the executive branch. One of the experts at that convention, Lewis A. Dexter, said that the Congress will come to have the same importance in the American system of government as the House of Lords has in the British, particularly if several future Presidents resemble Lyndon Johnson.

Eric Sevareid wrote:

We know of a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year.

He also found that the Congress has so often acted under "a curious kind of intimidation" that the "once-exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige."

One of the leading newspapers in the home State of the Vice President summed it up this way:

Anyone following the daily deliberations of the House of Representatives must be struck by the ruthlessness with which the Democratic majority of so-called liberals is flexing its muscles. It is not, in fact, a deliberative body. Representative government is in a sad and critical state.

Columnist Ted Lewis said:

The presidential image of a miracle producer of new laws makes the legislative branch of Government appear to be a creature of the executive branch.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial entitled "Legislating by Scoop Shovel," said:

It would take a truck scale to weigh the legislation forwarded by the White House and automatically approved, most of it wasteful, much of it unnecessary, and all of it putting the individual in the grip of the Federal vise.

He [the President] has been legislating everything and anything, and, with two-thirds majorities in either Chamber, he has a Congress of robots that is totally compliant.

The Knoxville Journal editorialized:

Any Congress which voluntarily yields its right to perform as a coequal part of the Federal Establishment, as this one has, is a continuing threat to the Nation.

It is one thing for a Congress to adopt Presidential proposals after thorough deliberation and adequate discussion. It is quite another thing for a Congress to rush through such proposals without careful scrutiny and without reasonable debate. No Congress that performed its constitutional duty would do the slipshod job of which Senator MANSFIELD indicted the present Congress when he said that it must now devote most of its effort to tightening up "its hasty enactments."

EXAMPLES OF RUBBERSTAMPING BY THE CONGRESS

On many important bills the House of Representatives acted without adequate consideration, without full hearings in committee, and without sufficient debate on the floor.

The arts and humanities bill was railroaded through the Committee on Education and Labor after about 15 minutes of consideration. Even a motion by the minority that the bill be read was summarily rejected by the majority. When the committee met to act on the bill, the members were presented for the first time with a new committee print, dated the same day, containing a number of significant amendments which the minority members had never seen before. Thereafter, several additional amendments, which the Republican members had never seen, were quickly adopted in committee, and the bill was reported with great haste.

The Education and Labor Committee made virtually no change in the administration bill to provide assistance for elementary and secondary education, despite vigorous bipartisan complaints about the formula for distributing Federal funds contained in the bill. On the floor, at least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

As this far-reaching legislation was being considered by the House of Representatives, Democratic Congresswoman

GREEN, of Oregon, took the floor to protest, "Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement."

So little was the elementary and secondary education bill studied before floor action that two of the best informed supporters of the measure, gave to the House contradictory explanations of its application to nonpublic schools.

The higher education bill was reported out of the Education and Labor Committee in great haste, apparently at the command of the White House. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House deliberated for all of 20 minutes." Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois, called the bill's handling "a mockery of the legislative process."

Hearings on the administration's original highway beautification proposals were held by the Committee on Public Works on July 20, 21, and 22. These hearings were adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. Without warning, the hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7, with the final vote being tallied well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on 5 separate amendments.

Regarding the very controversial bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Democratic majority of the Committee on Education and Labor rejected all attempts by Republican members to amend the bill so as to provide some basic protections for rank-and-file employees compelled to join unions in order to hold their jobs. Because of the restrictive rule under which the bill was considered by the House, amendments which would permit compulsory union membership agreements only if the unions involved refrained from racial and religious discrimination, refrained from using union funds for political purposes, and refrained from denying employees rights guaranteed them by Federal law were rejected as not germane. Other amendments offered, on which the House was not permitted to vote, were designed to insure that unions securing compulsory membership agreements truly represented a majority as demonstrated by winning an NLRB election, to

protect the religious liberty of employees whose religious beliefs clash with compulsory union membership, and to insure that employees would be protected from compulsion to join a Communist-controlled union.

The Washington Post commented:

Several important questions were raised in the House debate and left unanswered.

The Democratic majority rammed through a bill repealing section 14(b) which the Post said "scarcely qualifies as well-rounded legislation in the national interest."

On the important bill to prohibit discrimination in employment and union membership, only the briefest of hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor. These hearings contained no testimony based on experience under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were followed almost immediately by a subcommittee meeting which reported the bill favorably. An hour later the full committee met and reported the bill to the House. No amendments were offered because none of the minority members had any opportunity to study the long and complex measure and analyze even its theoretical weaknesses. This bill was not acted on by the House.

The percentages allocated to the various categories of immigrants in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 were not discussed either in the Judiciary Committee or on the floor.

On the voting rights bill, the administration forces on the Judiciary Committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the floor of the House the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

#### GAPS AND OVERLAPS

The defects in the legislation enacted during the session of Congress just ended will come to light as the bills are put into effect. Problems of duplication and overlap will be encountered.

The Appalachia bill overlaps several existing Federal-aid programs, notably in the fields of highway construction and public health.

The public works and redevelopment bill, providing aid to so-called depressed areas, overlaps the Appalachia bill.

The expanded poverty program overlaps the elementary and secondary school aid bill, which is ostensibly aimed at children from low-income families, as

well as vocational education and public assistance programs.

The Manpower Development and Training Act overlaps the poverty program.

One unfortunate oversight in the laws of the session can be cited to illustrate the results of hasty and ill-considered congressional action. By increasing social security payments, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans. The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans.

#### WEAKENING OF CHECKS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH

One-party domination of the legislative and executive branches weakens the constitutional system of checks and balances. The subservient Congress which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it should over the executive branch. The majority leader of the Senate recognizes that such is the case when he urges the Congress now to undertake its neglected function of legislative oversight over executive agencies.

The executive branch unchecked is prone to carelessness about legal restraints and about the public interest. This carelessness can descend to the level of arrogance in some instances.

Arrogance is a strong word, but there is no other word for the submission to the Senate of the nomination of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal judiciary nor for the efforts to bull that nomination through the Senate. The American Bar Association and the Massachusetts Bar Association pronounced this nominee unfit for the post. A representative of the American Bar Association testified on the Morrissey nomination:

From the standpoint of legal training, legal experience, and legal ability, we have not had any case where these factors were so lacking.

There is no word but arrogance for the withholding of Federal funds from the city of Chicago in defiance of the procedures established by Congress.

There is no word but arrogance for procedures in the Congress that silence dissent and preclude careful consideration of legislation.

There is no word but arrogance for opposition to freedom of information legislation which would permit the public to know what is going on in the Government which it pays for. The Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists, in its annual report, accused the

administration of seeking to "warp the proposed Federal Public Records legislation into an almost unlimited authority for the President to establish broader secrecy practices." The committee also indicted the administration for "the secrecy on the names of Post Office Department employees hired in the summer program in 1965; the Defense Department continues the October 1962, Sylvester Directive which requires military and civilian personnel to report all contacts with the press to Sylvester's office; the increased centralization of information releases at the White House, and the increasing sensitivity over leaks of information that have no connection with national security problems; the basic problem of balancing national security interests and freedom for the press in connection with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

There is no word but arrogance for the behavior of administration spokesmen, including the President and the Vice President, when they pointedly imply that the consideration which the problems of a locality receives in Washington will depend on whether its local officials are Republicans or Democrats. It is shocking to learn that responsible national officials would stoop to threaten any community with reprisals if its citizens choose officials who are not of the administration's party.

The New York Times reacted with indignation to the threat when it was made in New York City. Its editorial commented:

This is a remarkable indictment of the Johnson administration. It suggests, for example, that Sargent Shriver, the head of the antipoverty program and a Democrat, would be less sympathetic and helpful to New York if its mayor were a Republican. It makes the same innuendo about the officials who run the housing, education, mass transit, antipollution, and other programs in which New York has a vital interest. It suggests that President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, and Senator KENNEDY himself would not be so helpful to the mayor of the Nation's largest city if he were of a political faith different from theirs.

#### FISCAL EXCESSES

The carelessness of a Congress overwhelmingly controlled by the President's party is particularly manifested in big spending. This session of Congress has set a new record in appropriations not approached since the Second World War. The appropriation of \$119.3 billion this year is \$36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress during the Eisenhower administration. This staggering figure of almost \$120 bil-

lion does not include additional backdoor spending of \$7 billion made possible by the Congress this year. Nor does it include perhaps \$5 to \$7 billion needed for the war in Vietnam, a request which the administration is holding back until next January.

The Congress failed to exercise any restraint on reckless spending. The reduction of administration requests for appropriations by \$2.4 billion is more apparent than real. The funds denied have only been deferred until 1966.

The following table shows the amount appropriated by Congress in each session since 1960. It reflects an increase of \$36 billion, or 43 percent, since 1960. Of this \$36 billion increase, only \$8.3 billion is for defense:

[In billions]		
Session	Appropriations	Change from preceding year
86th Cong.: 2d (1960)-----	\$83.8	-----
87th Cong.:		
1st (1961)-----	95.8	+\$12.0
2d (1962)-----	102.3	+\$6.5
88th Cong.:		
1st (1963)-----	102.6	+.3
2d (1964)-----	106.0	+\$3.4
89th Cong.: 1st (1965)-----	119.3	+\$13.3

#### CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD

On February 3, 1965, the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives said:

House Republicans have a major responsibility as the representatives of approximately 43 percent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as we conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being with fiscal responsibility.

We cannot accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility.

We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the administration. We must take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the administration's proposals are unwise. This we are doing, for example, in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care for older people.

Second, we must press for action to deal with the problems to which the administration is blind or indifferent.

In this spirit the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have discharged their responsibility this year. Their record is impressive.

#### REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals

supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

#### VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights—H.R. 6400—as originally introduced, provided a remedy for discrimination only in six Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House Members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill—H.R. 7896—lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

#### MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin—H.R. 7057.

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the



session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly—first, covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization; second, offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage; and third, financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

#### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools—H.R. 2362—presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and secondary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, \$2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only \$745,000 for the education of an equal number of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do: aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted \$3 to \$5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided \$300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

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#### APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill—S. 3—which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida—H.R. 4466—would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

#### CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs—H.R. 6927—was defective in many respects. It did no more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new Department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by Mrs. DWYER, of New Jersey—H.R. 5173—and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

#### HOUSING

The administration's housing bill—H.R. 5840—as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants.

Under this plan, some families with an income of more than \$11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey—H.R. 9501—sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First, by giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority;

Second, by stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing;

Third, by utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants;

Fourth, by lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly; and

Fifth, by providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

#### REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished in this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to long-standing Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly people become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to \$150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First, low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second, veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no down payments for homes costing up to \$15,000, with as little as \$500 down on a \$20,000 home.

Third, low interest rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide \$1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth, low interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth, compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth, rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners, and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a \$400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

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A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser, voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

#### REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTIVE ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional \$700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by the minority floor leader at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

#### OTHER NOTEWORTHY REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, of Wisconsin, and Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, performed important service in bringing to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of \$100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

Representative H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, served as the public conscience, along with Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in endeavoring to raise the ethical standards of the administration with special attention to the treatment given Otto Otepka and the inadequately explored aspects of the Bobby Baker case.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY and his task force on NATO and the Atlantic

Community issued a thoughtful report on means of strengthening the Atlantic Alliance and improving the strained relations of the United States with France after a study trip to Paris.

Representative FINDLEY, along with Representative RALPH HARVEY, of Indiana, also took the lead in an unsuccessful fight against the administration on the sugar bill in an effort to recapture for the taxpayers of the United States a part of the excess profit which foreign sugar producers derive from sales in this country because Government action maintains a domestic price more than double the price in the world market.

Representative ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania, fought unsuccessfully to bring about an adjustment of the pay of Federal employees to provide full comparability with pay scales in private industry. Though full comparability is given lip service by the administration, it is opposed to putting this principle in practice.

Representative ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota, continued his efforts to protect Federal employees from illegal political pressures imposed by the administration, particularly in the matter of forced contributions to Democratic fund raising events.

Representative ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana, sought vainly to secure for the servicemen fighting in Vietnam educational benefits similar to those granted to the veterans of the Second World War and Korea.

Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, sought with limited success to secure legislative action to reinvigorate the merchant shipping of the United States.

#### REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 rollcall votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican policy committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES, of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 rollcall votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were

in agreement with the majority of their party. These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program;

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than \$8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as \$25,000;

A foreign aid program of \$3.2 billion which all agree needs drastic overhauling;

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem;

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act; and

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged.

For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects; Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism;

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature;

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teacher Corps;

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of transferring this authority to the Federal Government;

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways; and

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

#### PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the planning and research committee was established as an organ of the Republican conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The planning and research committee issued in August a report entitled, "Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is "loyal opposition" at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction. Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966. The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture: ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing: JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity: PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education: ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service: ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America: Cochairmen F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, and DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community: PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs: CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation: JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system: JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin.

United Nations: JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs: CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights: WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.

#### REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill, vocational training loan bill, the immigration bill, the Export Control Act, constitutional amendment on Presidential succession, the Older Americans Act of 1965, various bills in the field of health, excise tax cuts, manpower development and training bill, expansion of veterans' benefits, various anticrime bills, pay raises for military and civilian personnel, legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning, and the voting rights bill.

#### A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which 793-358-0591

comprise a comprehensive, broad-gauged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Republican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS—H.R. 3728; Representative FRANK T. BOW—H.R. 21; and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES—H.R. 7057.

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials to withhold information in order to make

available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of \$325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have joined with Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, in offering the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative not exhaustive.

#### CONCLUSION

Looking back on the session just concluded, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives can take pride in the role that they have played. They tried to make the Congress what it should be—a deliberative body, independent of and coequal with the Executive, judging legislation by the sole standard of the national interest. Their success cannot be measured in terms of the votes on which they prevailed—which were few. The verdict on their work will not be known until the people speak in the elections of 1966.

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*

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*

## Press Release

Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting

October 23, 1965

### 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.

FOR THE SENATE:

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*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

October 23, 1965

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

APRIL 7, 1966

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

I urge this Congress to change its rubber-stamping, loose-spending ways when it returns from Easter Recess.

The 89th Congress in this session has continued to be a rubber stamp for the White House. On critical votes most Democrats have done whatever President Johnson told them to do. They don't seem to have minds of their own.

This Congress in the first three months of this year has resumed the wild spending spree it embarked on in 1965. This has caused painful inflation, increases in automobile and telephone excise taxes, and now the strong possibility of an income tax increase.

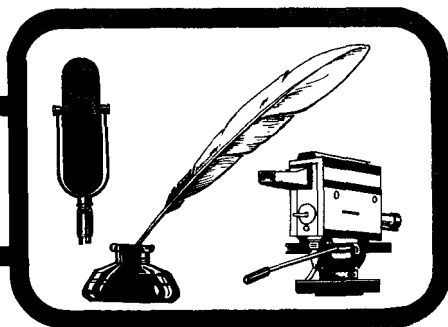
The way the Johnson Administration and the top-heavy Democratic majorities in Congress are throwing the people's money around, one would almost think there was no war going on in Vietnam. It's acting like a business-as-usual Congress, not a war Congress.

It's claimed this is one of the hardest working of all Congresses. I say the hardest work is being done in certain major committees by those Democrats intent on inflating already bloated Administration spending requests.

It's claimed this has been one of the most productive Congresses. I say this Congress has moved at a rather slow pace, and the product is nothing to be proud of. Apart from quick action on emergency money requests for the multi-billion-dollar Vietnam war, the thing that stands out is Mr. Johnson's \$6 billion tax bill.

It's said this Congress is living up to the reputation it established in the first session. That's true. It is living up to a reputation for big spending and total disregard of the taxpayer's wishes.

###



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
TUESDAY, SEPT. 20, 1966

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

The Republican Leadership of the House of Representatives and the Minority Members of the Education and Labor Committee believe that the scheduled meeting of the committee this Thursday, September 22, should be open to the public and the press.

Without prejudging the important questions involving the rules of the committee, which are primarily in the hands of the Democratic majority, we feel that decisions must not be taken behind closed doors in an atmosphere of "smoke filled room." The questions at issue are not matters of national security, but directly relate to public confidence in the conduct of Congressional business. They must not be resolved by anything remotely smacking of a "deal" but should be debated and decided with the full knowledge of the American people through representatives of press, radio and television.

Unless the Democratic majority agrees to this sensible procedure, as we hope it will, the ranking Republican member of the committee, Rep. William H. Ayres of Ohio, will move at the outset of the meeting to put the question to a vote of the committee.

# # # #

**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), 1965. 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?

House Republican Policy Committee  
John J. Rhodes, Chairman  
140 Cannon House Office Bldg.  
Phone: 225-6168

October 10, 1966

Republican Policy Committee Statement on Recommendations for  
The Reorganization of Congress

We urge the immediate consideration of H.R. 17873, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1966. This bill would implement the important recommendations contained in the final report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress which was filed with the Congress on July 28, 1966.

The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was established by unanimous vote of both the House and the Senate in March of 1965. It has held 41 public hearings and received the views of 199 witnesses. The testimony, together with the statements, documents and an index, is contained in 16 printed volumes totaling 2,435 pages. Between January 19, 1966 and the filing of the report on July 28, 1966, the Committee and its staff met in over 50 executive sessions to consider the proposed reforms and to formulate its recommendations. The work of this Committee has been thorough and complete. Without question, the recommendations contained in this report, if enacted into law, would make Congress a more effective institution for carrying out its basic functions.

The recommendations of the Joint Committee, as implemented by H.R. 17873, include:

1. The establishment of a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations with continuing authority to study the structure and procedures of Congress and to recommend additional reforms and changes.
2. The protection of the rights of the minority through the provision of additional committee staff, the right to present minority views and reports, the provision of equal time on conference reports, and the right to schedule witnesses during at least one day of committee hearings.
3. The creation of a House Committee on Standards and Conduct which would have an equal number of majority and minority members.
4. The authorization of measures designed to assist Members of Congress in the performance of their Congressional duties. Such measures would include enlarging committee staffs, strengthening and improving the Legislative Reference Service, and authorizing committees to employ consultants on an interim basis in order to take advantage of expertise in various fields of knowledge.
5. The implementation of fiscal controls and budgetary reforms that would include a greater utilization of the General Accounting Office, a multiple-year financial projection of programs and the updating of the budget on June 1 of each year, and the testimony of responsible Executive Department officials before the Appropriations Committee of each House within 30 days after the budget is presented to Congress.
6. The establishment of a Bill of Rights for committees that would: require the announcement of record votes; permit the majority to compel the filing of a report or a bill; prohibit the use of proxies; and require the printing of committee rules at the beginning of each session.

(over)



The Republican Members of the House of Representatives long have been interested in Congressional reform. At the outset of this session of Congress, a task force of the House Republicans on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing was appointed to study the matter of Congressional reform in depth. As a result of the work of this task force, a book entitled "We Propose: A Modern Congress" has been published. The conclusions and recommendations contained in this book were presented in full to the Joint Committee and many of the recommendations of the committee stemmed from the work of the task force.

It is unfortunate that the Joint Committee rejected the recommendations by the Republican Members that a Committee on Procedures and Policies be created. This Committee would be given the power to examine into and report back to Congress on the expenditure of Federal funds by the Executive Branch to insure that they are spent efficiently and in accordance with the law. The Chairman of the Committee would be a Member of the minority party. This would insure that a thorough evaluation of the programs administered by the party in power would be made. It is difficult, if not impossible, for a committee of this type to conduct an effective investigation if the results are apt to reflect unfavorably on their own party's administration.

This is not a new idea. The House of Commons in Great Britain has a committee known as the Committee of Public Accounts whose chairman is by convention a leading member of the opposition. Also, in 1923, a Democratic Senator was designated to head the Teapot-Dome oil reserve investigation at a time when both Houses of Congress and the Executive Branch were controlled by the Republican Party.

We are also concerned by the fact that the Joint Committee failed to address itself to the problem of Executive Branch lobbying. Although the United States Code specifically prohibits the use of appropriated monies to influence Members of Congress "to favor or oppose, by vote or otherwise, any legislation or appropriation by Congress," substantial sums have been used for this purpose. In the recent past, long and detailed telegrams have been sent by Executive Department officials to Members of Congress urging their support of certain legislation. Similarly, long distance calls have been made and Members have been personally canvassed regarding their intentions with respect to a particular bill. The loophole in the present law that permits this type of activity, or the failure to adequately enforce the present law, must be corrected.

This Congress should not adjourn until it has acted on the Congressional reform recommendations. This legislation must not be filed and forgotten. Congress needs strengthening and modernizing and time is of the essence. Reforms should be enacted now so that the next Congress may utilize the new institutions and procedures. We pledge our support and assistance in getting this important legislation enacted into law. We call upon the Democratic leadership to schedule H.R. 17873 for immediate House consideration.



WHERE OUR NATION STANDS  
AT HOME AND ABROAD

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THE REPUBLICAN REPORT  
ON  
THE SECOND SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS  
BY  
SENATOR EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN  
OF ILLINOIS  
MINORITY LEADER



OCTOBER 14, 1966.—Ordered to be printed

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1966

## WHERE OUR NATION STANDS—AT HOME AND ABROAD

### I

Thirty-three years ago the present Republican Leader of the U.S. Senate came to Washington as a freshman in the House of Representatives.

When the Congress convened in that March of 1933, the first thing we were told in a special message on domestic matters by the President of the United States was:

**“The Government’s house is not in order.”**

This is precisely the case today within the administration.

A mere statement of this charge is not enough: therefore, the anatomy and morphology of the body of the so-called Great Society will be examined factually. The calcimine will be wiped away. The veneer and clapboard will be removed to expose the facts, or the withholding of facts.

In 16 years of service in the House of Representatives, and now in the 16th year of service in the U.S. Senate—7 of these years as Republican Leader—I have experienced and responded to the pressures and strains of a great depression, recovery and recession, peace, and World War II in President Roosevelt’s administration, the Korean war in President Truman’s administration, and now the Vietnam war in President Johnson’s administration.

Through most of it the morale of our great Republic was solidly grounded upon the tough virtues of our fathers.

But today, what had appeared to be a golden glow only 2 years ago has been broken by rolls of thunder. This can be observed as ministers plead from the pulpit for a good society instead of a great society; as journalists strive to obtain truth from the Government; as plain citizens ask one another, or themselves, “Just what’s going on?” “What gives?”

**Uncertainty, queasy doubts, bewilderment, have spread across the country; labor and business, the farmer and small businessman, even the Federal civil service worker, all have been subjected to government-by-arm-twisting.**

Unfortunately, optimism in many instances has been succeeded by pessimism; the stock market has lost some \$120 billion since January according to Time magazine of October 14. And grievances seem to have deepened in many facets of our daily lives.

Anger and fear have replaced much of our laughter.

**Abroad, there is jeering and sneering at our country. Our flags are burned and spat upon. Our embassies attacked. In Vietnam the American death toll continues to mount.**

Such, in broad outline, are the maladies and tumults surrounding us. Meanwhile, the administration goes its higgledy-piggledy way, its high priests no longer the flower of American culture but skilled political salesmen who pursue domestic social programs with the pop-eyed ardor of a Harpo Marx chasing blondes.

We hear, time and again, from the administration that it wants to end poverty. So do we all. What the country wants to know is when we're going to get around to the real war by practicing moderation at home.

And, so, we return to that March of 1933, and that message about order in our Government. In that same message we were admonished:

Too often \* \* \* governments have been wrecked on the rocks of loose fiscal policy.

Now is the time to remember that statement. As Republican Leader in the Senate, I urgently request the Johnson administration to heed in wartime that peacetime warning of playing loose with the people's money.

## II

The 2d session of the 89th Congress is about to close. It is the appropriate occasion for a summation of our times.

1. This has been the year when an additional 150,000 Americans were sent abroad to fight a war which already is the longest, and the third largest, war in our history.

2. This has been the year when some 14,000 National Guardsmen were sent to guard our streets at home—in Dayton, in Chicago, in San Francisco, in Cleveland, in Benton Harbor, in Wauwatosa, and in the year before in Selma, in Montgomery, in Springfield, in Los Angeles, in Natchez.

3. This has been the year when law enforcement officers were called to a dozen other cities to quell violence in our streets—from Troy to New Jersey to Jacksonville to South Bend; from Des Moines and Baltimore and Brooklyn to Washington, Providence, and Perth Amboy.

4. This has been the year when people were afraid to walk the streets alone; when police were confronted by a gigantic increase in crime of 46 percent from 1960 to 1965; and when the number of children arrested under the age of 18 increased by 54.5 percent.

5. This has been the year when inflation sent the cost of living skyrocketing to the highest in all our history and when the real spendable earnings of people were less than just a year ago, regardless of pay raises.

These are facts. Straightforward. Unadorned. Indisputable. These are great dilemmas of our times.

**And all of them are conspicuously unsolved under the Great Society.**

## III

When, in 1965, the 1st session of the 89th Congress adjourned, I raised the question, in the Republican Report of October 22, 1965 (S. Doc. 66), as to the real result of so many programs with fancy names and high emotional appeal. I pointed out that millions of citizens had not yet had a chance to pass judgment, but when they did "there may be a furious reaction."

That Mr. Johnson met with historic success in terms of mere quantity of laws passed in 1965 is unquestioned. It was a massive display of power and pressure; and a Democratic Congress which then, as today, is controlled by a lopsided 2-to-1 Democratic Party majority, responded to Mr. Johnson's wishes.

As the weeks and months passed from 1965 into 1966, what became apparent, and is now a fact, reminds me of what George Eliot once wrote:

There are many victories worse than defeat.

Many of the victorious domestic legislative chickens of 1965 began coming home to roost this year.

Thus, when the 2d session of the 89th convened in January of 1966, the Nation was undergoing some serious speculation on what was to be.

More questions were being asked.

Fewer answers were being given by the administration.

Instead, the administration offered up more domestic programs consisting in many instances of novelty upon novelty, gadget upon gadget, gimmick upon gimmick.

Like Dickens, it appeared to be the best of times, the worst of times, the age of wisdom, the age of foolishness, the epoch of belief, the epoch of credulity.

But even before the summer of 1966 ended, it became apparent it wasn't exactly the best of times, and certainly not the age of wisdom under a Great Society administration.

And as for an epoch of belief, the credibility of the Government itself was being questioned and attacked on all sides; in the press, on the streets, over the air, and in the Congress, by Democrat and Republican alike. Government news management cast a dark shadow. People would not, could not, or did not believe their own Government.

**The truth was: "The Government's house was not in order."**

If the political leader of the so-called Great Society believed in 1966 he was riding a tide in the affairs of men, he may have forgotten, or did not recall, the words of James Russell Lowell in observing:

Truly there is a tide in the affairs of men, but there is no Gulfstream settling forever in one direction.

## IV

Still in our minds as the 1966 session of Congress proceeded was the Christmas truce in Vietnam, the intensified peace effort, and the gradual diminution of our prestige abroad despite the \$120 billion we had dispensed in foreign aid.

**After a year, there has been no improvement under the Great Society.**

There were the continuing cries of "Yanki Go Home" from the very people we had aided and befriended.

**No improvement is noted after another year of Great Society diplomacy.**

Then, the United Nations observed its 21st birth anniversary and its future, both financially and from the standpoint of world influence, was uncertain.

**It is still that way after another year.**

As the population explosion throughout the world continued, poverty, hunger, war, and turmoil stalked the world and the Four Horsemen of despair rode relentlessly to broadcast pessimism and dismay.

**It is the same today, only worse.**

As the year started in Vietnam, the number of American troops neared 200,000, young blood continued to flow, and peace or truce seemed at best a dim hope.

**After almost a year, the administration reports 320,000 troops, plus 50,000 men in our naval fleet operating off Vietnam, plus 25,000 or more troops in nearby Thailand. And American dead and wounded have passed the 32,000 mark.**

The budget for fiscal year 1967 topped the \$100 billion mark for the first time in our history, exclusive of trust funds and cash flow, and high spending for Great Society programs remained unabated.

**It remains unabated after still another year of the Great Society.**

The poverty warriors were embroiled in internecine strife over whether the poverty generals in Washington or the party's political lieutenants in the field were to administer this somewhat fantastic adventure, and the program made the progress of a snail in low gear.

**This is still the case today.**

Farmers were grouching as 1966 began. The prices which farmers received for their produce measured against what they had to pay for goods and equipment to pursue their operations were lower than before and there were no signs of improvement.

**And after almost another year, the farmer is worse off than ever.**

The march of growing Federal power continued without letup or hindrance, increasing the dangers of monolithic, all-powerful, centralized Government.

**And after almost a year the Federal power march continues.**

There had been an imperceptible gain in the very grave balance-of-payments problem but it was not at all certain that even these meager gains could be maintained. Meanwhile the raid on our gold reserves continued month after month.

**And after almost a year, there has been no improvement.**

Street demonstrations and violence continued in various parts of the country, and an uneasy fear brooded over the Nation.

*But let it be understood, here and now, there is no issue over peaceful demonstrations. The civil rights movement, or any other law-abiding movement with legitimate aims, has a fundamental right to exist in our Republic; what's more, it is so fundamental there appears little reason for any partisanship on the matter. Resort to violence is an entirely different matter.*

Political parties exist for a multitude of reasons, among the most important being public exploration and illumination of matters of great public concern. Therefore, I hope Johnson administration spokesmen keep any debate on the right track, to wit: violence, disorder, crime, or running a traffic light, are all against the law, whether committed by men, or women, or by students, or by white people, or

by Negro people, or by Irish, English, Scandinavian, or any other American.

The valid issue is this, as summed up by The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., on October 8: "On record is the (administration) leadership's procrastination in facing up to the problem, and such political ammunition as the Vice President's ill-considered statement that, were he forced to live in a ghetto, he would be right out there leading the riot."

## V

Adherence to principles and actions for the public good was displayed in marked fashion during the past session and is worthy of note for the public record.

But first, the Republican Leader would like to pay tribute to Members of his party for their devotion to duty and their diligence in carrying out their responsibilities on the various committees of the Senate. A glance at the record indicates Republicans showed a great degree of unity.

And to the Democratic Leader, Senator Mike Mansfield, I tender a salute for his gracious forbearance, for his kindness, for his constant cooperation, and for his unvarying respect for the rights and problems of the minority party. For this I cannot thank him enough.

We commend those Democrats who followed the Republicans last February in exposing and opposing the Johnson administration's "small business be damned attitude"—revealed by attempts to eliminate the independent Small Business Administration and have it swallowed up by the big Commerce Department. No Democrat disputed the charge. The independence of SBA was saved.

Early in the session it was apparent the administration intended to play an old game: present a deceptively "low" big budget by cutting necessary funds and letting Congress put them back and bear any onus for the deficit. The administration cut school lunch funds while fully aware the country would not stand for it.

The administration's own Democratic-controlled Congress could take the blame for increasing the budget while the White House could appear with a halo for wanting to "save" money. This was blatantly unprincipled.

Actually, nothing could quench the insatiable desire of the administration to spend money for such things as studying why Australian aborigines sweat, the behavior of ostriches in Africa, sending 100,000 cans of women's hair spray to Vietnam, studying the love life of an octopus, and so on ad infinitum.

So we commend those who joined Republicans in stopping the administration's attempt to slash four-fifths of the school milk program and in preventing the President from drastically cutting the school lunch program. This was a strange paradox in view of Mr. Johnson's asking a billion-dollar food for freedom program for people abroad.

And we commend those who joined Republicans in saving land-grant colleges. Although Mr. Johnson maintained he was in favor of higher education he wanted to eliminate \$11.95 million under the Morrill Act signed by Abraham Lincoln in 1862 to establish these colleges. On a national basis this would have meant the elimination of 1,200 college faculty members and 18,000 students.

And we commend those who joined Republicans in saving the federally impacted school fund program. This has been a 25-year program, originally provided under the Lanham Act passed during World War II.

And we commend those who joined Republicans in saving the loan program for medical students, nurses, and other medical personnel, as well as some funds under the National Defense Education Act.

And we commend those who joined Republicans in fighting the administration's betrayal of farmers in trying to withhold Farm Home Administration contingency funds. The same situation prevailed on research programs by Agricultural Experiment Stations.

It is reminiscent of how the administration early in the 1st session of the 89th Congress attempted to haphazardly close VA hospitals.

These are but a few of the curious specimens of judgment, balance, and principle which have come from the executive branch of the Government.

**This truth is shown: "The Government's house is not in order."**

## VI

"Hooray for What?" as I recall, was once a play in which Ed Wynn starred.

Every housewife in the land can signal a "Hooray for what?" toward the Democratic administration each time she goes to the store today.

The price of cornflakes soars again. One housewife is planning to buy two packages as soon as she can find a cosigner.

But it is no laughing matter. Since the end of the Republican administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower, and based on the latest (August) figures of the Consumer Price Index, your grocery dollar has dropped to 84 cents today. By now everyone knows, or should know, the farmer isn't to blame and is actually worse off than a year ago.

Your rent dollar is now worth 89 cents.

Your medical care dollar is now worth 72 cents.

Your transportation dollar is now worth 86 cents.

Your homebuilding dollar is now worth 84 cents.

Your apparel dollar is now worth 91 cents.

Your auto insurance dollar is now worth 62 cents.

### Are those the marks of a Great Society?

And here's a sampling of the average changes reflected today in some prices across the Nation after the Eisenhower administration left office and the Democratic administration took over:

A loaf of bread costs 25 percent more today.

A pound of hamburger has gone up 15 percent.

A pound of bacon has gone up 40 percent.

A quart of milk has gone up 12 percent.

An average package of cornflakes has gone up 24 percent.

A pound of pork chops has gone up 25 percent.

A pound of fish has gone up 24 percent.

A pound of cheese has gone up 34 percent.

### Are these the marks of a Great Society?

Fresh fruit and vegetables have gone up an average of 32 percent.

Potatoes alone are up 37 percent.

Onions are up 60 percent.

Apples are up 72 percent.

Cabbage is up 60 percent.

Eggs are up 11 percent.

Grape jelly is up 16 percent.

Semiprivate hospital rooms are up 60 percent.

### Are these prices the fruits of a Great Society?

A cartoon recently depicted the cost of living jump as a Great Society supermarket. Lamb prices were up \$1,700 a ton. Bacon was up \$1,100 a ton. Jelly was up \$200 a ton. Off to one side of the counter, someone who looked like the President of the United States was whispering to his associates: "Keep reminding them how we held the steel increase to \$2.50 a ton."

The following editorial from The Wall Street Journal of October 12, 1966, entitled "Think Cheap" adequately describes the cost of living and the administration approach to inflation.

#### Think Cheap

If there were any doubts that Washington considers the average consumer to be pretty dumb, they should be dispelled by the appearance of a six-page pamphlet, Shopping Sense.

Shopping Sense is designed, according to Mrs. Esther Peterson, Chairman of the President's Committee on Consumer Interests, "to help consumers get the most for their food dollars at this time when there are rising prices."

Agreed that consumers, in these days of Government-generated inflation, need all the help they can get. What they may get from Shopping Sense, however, is about as many chuckles as might be inspired by a typical episode of "Batman."

Shopping Sense advises the homemaker, for instance, to leave husband and children at home when they shop for food; husband and children are distracting influences. Zowie.

It says that certain convenience foods—such as TV dinners and stuffed baked potatoes—cost more than their equivalent in fresh food items. Bam.

The housewife should take along a shopping list, it says, but should be open-minded if she sees an unadvertised bargain. Pow.

Use substitutes, urges Shopping Sense. For, says Mrs. Peterson, housewives "need to get off the old meat and potatoes routine." Zonk.

Try lower-priced brands and grades, the pamphlet urges. Whammo. In other words, ladies, think cheap.

Shopping Sense was prepared by the committee in cooperation with the National Association of Food Chains which will make available at cost several million copies to supermarkets where shoppers can pick them up. Plainly, then, the cost of producing Shopping Sense in the end will be added to the housewife's food bill. Soeko.

The authors of this message on thinking cheap are aiming it at the wrong audience. After all, it isn't the housewife who has been making prices rise.

## VII

**The Johnson administration has a remarkable collection of hummingbird economists who can reverse themselves without first stopping. They stand still in midair while making motions in an attempt to convince everyone the Government can spend for vast new domestic programs while at the same time supporting a war costing \$25 billion**



to \$30 billion a year, keeping prices down, and maintaining a balanced economy.

Let us examine what is happening in some related fields.

As the year started the median price of homes sold in the United States was \$20,000 according to the Census Bureau.

This represented an increase of \$2,000 in 1 year (1965).

In July, in the latest survey report, the median price was \$21,400.

#### Is this the mark of a Great Society?

Last year, the number of nonfarm (mortgage) foreclosures in the United States totaled 116,664, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board report shows.

Thus far this year, foreclosures have taken a big jump and are running at a rate equal to 222,204 a year.

#### Is this the mark of a Great Society?

In August 1966, the factory worker with three dependents had a take-home pay of \$98.46 a week. This was a drop of \$1.85 per week just since June.

The "real spendable earnings" for workers has been going like this, according to the September 23, 1966, report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics:

In February 1965, "real spendable earnings" were \$87.63 a week.

In August 1965, they were down to \$87.15.

In August 1966, they were down to \$86.52.

#### Is this the mark of a Great Society?

A widow, or retired teacher, for example, who retired on a \$3,000 pension after years of work, or anyone else who began receiving a fixed income of \$3,000 in 1940, has been hard hit by inflation.

After taxes, the 1940 income was \$2,935 (minus sales taxes and State taxes). By July of 1966, what was supposed to have been a \$3,000 annual pension, or fixed income, was worth, after Federal taxes and higher prices, only \$1,195.

The latest Consumer Price Index released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on September 23 showed the cost of living for August 1966. Here is what it showed:

Since 1960 the cost of living has gone up 10.27 percent.

Since 1960 the cost of groceries has jumped 13.75 percent.

Since January, living costs in just 7 months have jumped 2.52 percent.

And in the same 7 months, grocery costs have increased 3.95 percent.

If you put \$100 away in a shoebox in 1940, you've lost \$57 in purchasing power.

If you put \$100 away in a shoebox in 1960, \$9 of it already has been "stolen" in purchasing power.

It now takes \$22.42 to buy the groceries you could get for \$20 just 6 years ago.

And the 1933 dollar is now worth only 39.6 cents; the 1940 dollar is worth 43 cents; the 1960 dollar, 91 cents.

What about unemployment? It is low, below 4 percent. But at the same time the administration cannot forget that unemployment among youth has reached as high as 18 percent; and of even greater concern should be the continuing unemployment rate among Negroes. The Negro jobless rate in August was more than 8 percent. It has been between 7 and 8.2 percent throughout the year. There has been little or no improvement over last year. With all its poverty schemes, the Great Society has failed in the quest to help the Negro. In fact, a Labor Department survey of poverty sections of 100 cities shows the unemployment rate of Negroes to be 9.4 percent in August.

One observation on economic indicators: Merely because various indexes, such as the cost of living, are cited as warnings about our future does not indicate anyone is preaching fear.

#### The Record on Johnson Scare Tactics

As political leader of the party in power, Mr. Johnson did some political stumping in New York, October 12, and accused the Republican Party of scaring people.

Well, let's see: During the 1964 campaign there were nationally televised Democratic Party political ads, tailored to White House specifications and esthetic values, which preached that—

Republicans were in favor of little children eating radioactive ice cream cones;

Republicans were in favor of "pushing the button" and blowing up the world;

Republicans were in favor of increasing the bombing in Vietnam, which would lead to blowing up the world; and

Republicans were in favor of destroying the Social Security System—

to list but a few of the Johnson Democratic "appeals to reason."

Mr. President, as is your wont, you are too modest. We bow to you and acknowledge your superiority. When it comes to preaching fear, you're tops with us.

#### VIII

With increasing frequency, the administration seems to be issuing statements fraught with a desperation to escape the consequences of its policies. The escape? Blame it on Congress—its own Democratic Congress with a 2-to-1 majority. And if the administration can get away with it, Republicans are blamed although at any given time the administration has twice as many Members of Congress as does the Republican Party.

Republican Senators have compiled a remarkable record in the face of the overwhelming Democratic majority. They have been able to obtain approval of amendments to bills in committees, one recent example being the adoption of 19 Republican amendments to the higher education and elementary-secondary education bills.

Republican Senators have succeeded, by the force of argument, in obtaining changes in legislation of all types and even in the passage of some of their own measures although, for the most part, the bills that finally passed bear the name of a Democrat as the principal sponsor.

Republican Senators and Republican Members of the House of Representatives proposed programs in 1965 and 1966 covering every aspect of our daily domestic lives and our affairs abroad. It would take a book to list them.

In addition, the Republican Coordinating Committee, representing every facet of republicanism from national level to the grassroots, has offered detailed programs. These included:

*Date proposed and program*

- June 1965, United States 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.
- 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.

In recent weeks the White House had blamed the Congress for appropriating more than it asked in some cases. Again I point out it is the administration's own Democratic-controlled Congress. But for the record, who is trying to save your tax dollar? Here are some examples:

*9 economy rollcall votes in the Senate, 1966*

	Republicans voting for economy	Democrats voting for economy
	Percent	Percent
Against sale of participations in SBA loan pools (back-door spending), Mar. 15, 1966	100	0
Strike out funds (\$12 million) for rent subsidies, Apr. 27, 1966	86	32
Against borrowing on federally owned loan collateral (back-door spending), May 5, 1966	80	6
Cut \$250 million in foreign aid authorization for Development Loan Fund, July 20, 1966	90	50
Strike provision for rent subsidies, Aug. 10, 1966	73	27
Strike \$17,920,000 to construct new buildings in the District of Columbia, Aug. 10, 1966	77	47
Strike \$19,700,000 for Project Mohole, Aug. 10, 1966	70	30
Reduce \$150 million in authorizations for mass transit program, Aug. 15, 1966	87	40
Reduce authorizations in poverty program from \$2,496 million to \$1,750 million (the budget figure), Oct. 4, 1966	92	48

NOTE.—Strength in the Senate: 67 Democrats versus 33 Republicans.

*6 economy rollcall votes in the House, 1966*

	Republicans voting for economy	Democrats voting for economy
	Percent	Percent
For 5 percent cut in Interior appropriations, Apr. 6, 1966	95	12
For 5 percent cut in Postal-Treasury appropriations, Apr. 6, 1966	89	7
Strike out \$12 million for rent subsidies, Mar. 29, 1966	95	25
Against \$750,000 new authority for Humphrey mansion, Mar. 22, 1966	95	24
For low interest rates in sale of Government "participations," May 18, 1966	100	19
Against 8th national debt limit increase during Kennedy-Johnson administration, June 8, 1966	99	22

NOTE.—Strength in House: 293 Democrats versus 140 Republicans.

How did Republican Senators vote on some of the other issues in the 1st session of the 89th? Here are some samples:

Republican Senators voted 100 percent on auto tire safety standards; and 100 percent for the cold war GI benefits bill; and solidly in approval of legislation for more flexible farm credit; 100 percent for the dogs and cats humane and petnaping bill; 96 percent for a National Wild Rivers System; 84 percent for a plan to provide hard-pressed parents or students with some income tax credit for college tuition (Democrats defeated it); 100 percent in favor of a bill to expand library services and construction; 100 percent for the auto safety bill (S. 3005).

Also: Republicans supported 100 percent a plan under the aid for the blind law to extend books and other materials to other handicapped persons; 100 percent to liberalize benefits to dependents of veterans, and to liberalize indemnities to parents of veterans; 100 percent to give automobiles to certain cold war veterans who suffered serious service-connected disabilities; 100 percent support for a military pay raise; 100 percent to provide a coordinated national highway safety program.

## IX

"But now the squeeze is clearly on" reports The Atlantic Monthly for October in an article entitled "Consensus Politics: End of an Experiment." The article observes that the President's salad days are over. Sooner than later he is going to have to make some vital decisions because of "the rising cost of the war in human terms and in treasures." What is more, the magazine says, "the world will not hold still for the Johnson treatment." The Atlantic Monthly also observed:

All year long the Administration has been walking the tightrope on a tax increase or a Reserve callup, either of which would signal an end to domestic business as usual. In avoiding them, it has resorted to economic policies that have brought both tight money and inflation. Politically, the once-happy allies of the Great Society consensus are chewing on each other. Labor is angry over the failure to repeal 14(b); the farmers are blaming Freeman for allegedly trying to slow the rise in food prices; the South is sore at the school desegregation "guidelines"; and even the freshman Democrats elected on Mr. Johnson's coattails are chafing visibly at the rubberstamp label.

As Alan L. Otten pointed out in The Wall Street Journal, the stance Mr. Johnson was forced to take in Congress this year was difficult to defend. He told Congress first that "it cannot cut any of his proposals a penny, because every cent is urgently needed to overcome long-accumulated and burdensome national deficiencies, but, second, that it cannot add a penny to what he has asked because that would aggravate inflationary pressures."

Mr. Otten noted: "This does not sit well with Congress. Many Senators and Representatives feel the President cannot reasonably expect to have it both ways \* \* \*. Many have turned Mr. Johnson's two-edged argument to suit their own purposes, rather than his. If filling unmet needs is as important as the Chief Executive says, most lawmakers can't see why they shouldn't take care of a few of their own constituents' needs along with the President's \* \* \*. Alternatively, if inflation is as ominous as the President portrays it when attacking increases in his budget, many Congressmen would be glad to help combat this dire threat by spiking a few of the innovations he's proposed."

In addition to the war, the rising tide of crime and violence in our streets, the highest cost of living in history, more and more home mortgage foreclosures, Government news management, a decrease in "real spendable earnings," loss of prestige abroad, and larger and larger Federal spending, there also are other matters of concern.

The administration raised interest rates on VA and FHA home loans to the highest in history this month.

#### **Is this indicative of a Great Society?**

The Government has paid interest rates 1,500 percent larger than ever before on some short-term loans. And interest rates on everything else from home loans, personal loans, installment loans, to loans made to corporations, have soared to the highest levels in 45 years.

#### **Does this mark the progress of a Great Society?**

There were more strikes and work stoppages in the first 6 months of 1966 than in any similar period in the last decade.

#### **Will the administration point to this as a Great Society mark?**

A multitude of scandals has burst upon the Federal scene, from windfall profits in housing and the random issuance of bank charters to literally scores of poverty program scandals.

#### **Does this represent the ethics of a Great Society?**

American taxpayers, whether they realize it or not, are saddled with \$1 billion per month for interest alone on the national debt.

#### **Does an ever-increasing public debt represent a Great Society?**

From 1961 through 1965 American farmers had the lowest share of the Gross National Product; the lowest return on gross sales; the lowest return on total capital investment; the lowest share of the food dollar; the lowest level of parity of income; and received the lowest performance on campaign promises ever made by an administration.

#### **Does this represent the flowering of a Great Society?**

Since December 1, 1965, when the administration made headlines about cutting the public payroll by 25,000, more than 237,000 additional employees have been placed on the public payroll by the Johnson administration.

#### **Is this what is meant by a Great Society?**

### X

**When our Commander in Chief asked congressional authorization of \$4.8 billion more for our fighting men in Vietnam, the Senate record will show Republican Senators gave 100 percent support. When he urgently asked for an additional \$13.1 billion in defense money for fiscal year 1966, Republicans in the Senate gave him 100 percent support. And when it came to authorizing \$415 million more for Vietnam economic aid, Republicans in the Senate again went down the line 100 percent for it.**

We are in a war which is growing in proportions. Much will be said in the coming days, volumes will be written, and arguments will continue. Suffice it to leave it at this point with up-to-date accounts of our position in Vietnam in the following articles, one by Clayton Fritchey, which appeared in The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., October 10, 1966, and the other, an interview of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower by Associated Press Correspondent Marvin Arrowsmith, which appeared in the same newspaper October 10, 1966:

[From The Washington Star, October 10, 1966]

#### **WE'RE IN OUR THIRD LARGEST WAR**

(By Clayton Fritchey)

For the United States this is a historic moment. With the landing at Saigon of a brigade from the 4th Infantry Division, the conflict in Vietnam has just become the third largest war America has ever fought.

American battle strength in Vietnam now totals 320,000, which exceeds the Korean war total of 302,483. Only in the First and Second World Wars has the United States ever surpassed the present effort.

At the same time, American casualties have reached a new high; and defense expenditures (also surpassing Korea) have shot above \$60 billion a year for the first time since World War II.

That, in brief, is the factual situation in Vietnam, despite the optimistic, inspirational pep talks coming out of both Saigon and Washington.

The latest U.S. casualty figures report 967 killed and wounded in 1 week, the highest in any 7-day period so far. If, as the war escalates, casualties continue at or near this level, they will exceed 50,000 a year, which would top the Korean war rate of 46,000.

The new figures bring the total of combat deaths for the war to 5,302. This is more than the number of Americans killed in the Revolutionary War (4,435), the War of 1812 (2,260), the Mexican War (1,733), and the Spanish-American War (385).

Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have repeatedly assured the public that the United States was in Vietnam only in a supporting role, and that the brunt of the fighting must be carried on by the Vietnamese themselves.

The casualties, however, tell a different story. In the same week that the United States lost 967 men, the South Vietnamese forces had only 98 killed and 280 wounded, less than half of the American total.

The fact is that this is the largest undeclared war in the history of the world—and it is rapidly getting bigger, which is why the Pope and U Thant (whose concerns are universal rather than national) continue to raise their anguished voices in the hope of heading off another superwar.

The magnitude of the present fighting is of such proportions that nobody in Washington (including President Johnson) knows what the war is costing. The only thing sure is that it is costing far more than the Government will admit.

When the President was pressed for an answer at a recent press conference, he shut off questions by saying, "I would commend to you some homework. Read the (Congressional) hearings."

The reporters were willing, but the hearings—most of them closed—revealed little or nothing. Fortunately, some of them were not closed to Wisconsin Representative Melvin Laird, chairman of the House Republican Conference.

Taking the President at his word, Laird tried to do his homework by questioning Pentagon Comptroller Robert Anthony. "When I asked him where the Vietnam war cost estimates were that the President referred to," Laird said, "Anthony replied that there is nothing in the hearings that would tell you the cost of the war in Vietnam."

In July, budget figures were released indicating the cost in fiscal 1966 was \$5.8 billion, or about \$500 million a month. In September, however, the Treasury acknowledged that the cost had soared to \$1.2 billion a month.

Even this much higher figure, though, is only camouflaged. Those closest to the situation secretly admit that Congressman Laird's estimate of \$2 billion a month is probably closer to the mark.

Defense Secretary McNamara has said that the "incremental costs of Southeast Asia operations" are about \$1 billion a month, which would mean \$12 billion a year. If Laird is right the cost will rise to at least \$25 billion next year.

"The issue we are going to try to develop is the credibility of this administration as regards the war," Laird says, and he flatly charges that "deception is being used on the amount of money being expended in Vietnam."

The hard facts will have to come out soon, for the administration is faced with the urgent need of coming to Congress for supplemental Vietnam funds, and the guessing is that they will exceed \$10 billion, and possibly much more.

[From The Washington Star, October 10, 1966]

#### EISENHOWER URGES VICTORY BUT WOULDN'T USE A-BOMBS

(By Marvin L. Arrowsmith)

GETTYSBURGH, PA.—Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower still insists "we must do whatever is necessary to win" fast in Vietnam. But he calls it silly for anyone to conclude this means he favors U.S. use of nuclear weapons there.

The five-star general who led allied forces to victory in Europe in World War II says it is an entirely different kind of war in Vietnam—a guerrilla type which exposes friend and foe alike to any weapons used.

Only President Johnson, Eisenhower adds, ultimately can call the signals on grand strategy.

Eisenhower says his only advice is that it ought be a strategy aimed at winning quickly and putting an end to loss of American lives—a strategy which he does not think would involve Red Chinese intervention.

But to anyone who got the idea—and some did—that in recent remarks he favored using nuclear weapons to achieve a swift victory, Eisenhower has this to say:

"This is silly. How would you use nuclear weapons in Vietnam? I ask: Do you have any idea?"

"Personally, I would say whatever the President finds out he must do, I shall not criticize him. I do not know whether this war is going to escalate or de-escalate or anything else.

"I do know we must do whatever is necessary to win as quickly as possible. If not, the war will grow in costs, both in money and lives, and the Nation's morale will be lowered."

#### THE MORALE FACTOR

And he says:

"The morale of a nation is just as important a factor—probably a more important factor—in determining its capacity to lead as is its military or economic strength."

Eisenhower will observe his 76th birthday at his farm here Friday.

The former president cautions fellow Republicans seeking election to Congress November 8 against trying to make an issue of administration policy in Vietnam. He thinks such an effort would be very risky from a political standpoint, and that domestic issues such as spending and inflation danger offer GOP candidates much better opportunity to capitalize at the polls.

As for the aggressive win-the-war tactics he advocates, Eisenhower foresees no likelihood of such a course bringing Red China or the Soviet Union into the conflict in full military support of the Communist North Vietnamese. He holds

that some people always—and without justification—see bogeymen under the bed in such circumstances.

#### THE EARLIER STATEMENTS

Eisenhower doubts that either Communist China or the Soviet Union would feel they had anything to gain worth taking the risk.

Apprehension that Eisenhower might be advocating use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam was voiced in some quarters after remarks he made September 30 in Chicago and October 3 in Washington.

In Chicago, the former President said he would "take any action to win" in Vietnam. Asked then to elaborate, he replied:

"I'm not sure. I'm not familiar with all the political considerations. If they gave me the problem, I'd take any action to win."

In Washington 3 days later newsmen again sought amplification.

"I would do anything," said Eisenhower, "to bring the war to an honorable solution as rapidly as I could."

Asked whether he would automatically preclude the use of nuclear weapons if he were President at this time, Eisenhower replied: "I would not automatically preclude the use of anything."

Eisenhower's remarks prompted Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield to call on the former President to spell out just what he had in mind—to say specifically whether he was advocating use of nuclear weapons and—or—an increase in the U.S. manpower commitment to Vietnam. The Montana Senator said the Nation's voters were entitled to know in this congressional election year.

Johnson, asked for comment on Eisenhower's remarks, told his news conference last week: "I would say it is the policy of this Government to exercise the best judgment of which we are capable in an attempt to provide the maximum deterrence with a minimum of involvement. The easiest thing we could do is to get into a larger war with other nations."

Johnson obviously was talking about the possibility of direct involvement of Red China and the Soviet Union.

At the time it was uttered Eisenhower took no public note of the criticism some Congress Members fired at him because of his remarks about taking any action needed to win in Vietnam.

The old soldier is known to feel intensely, however, that these Members ought to remain silent on military strategy and tactics, and leave such matters to the President and his military advisers.

As for Johnson's news conference statement, Eisenhower would add—as Johnson has on other occasions—that U.S. military, political, and economic objectives ought to be achieved as swiftly as possible, and the war then ended to put a stop to U.S. casualties.

Eisenhower holds that whatever is necessary to win these U.S. goals must be done. And he holds, further, that Johnson will do it.

(Record in Log)

**Republican Policy Committee**  
**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C.**

**JOHN J. RHODES**  
CHAIRMAN  
**GERALD R. FORD**  
MINORITY LEADER

ROOM 140  
CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.  
TEL.: 225-6168

October 20, 1966

Dear Colleague:

For your information and assistance, I am enclosing a summary of a number of the Republican accomplishments during the Second Session of the 89th Congress. I believe that it reflects a record of real achievement.

In case after case, the Republican Members have been affirmative, imaginative, and effective. Opposition for the sake of opposition has not been a part of this record. We have, as the loyal opposition, given every majority proposal thoughtful but searching consideration. Whenever it was possible, we have tried to improve legislation through amendment or alternative proposal. We have, however, been strong in our opposition to all legislation that was not in the public interest, and quick to call attention to those matters that needed correction. This, I believe, is in the finest tradition of this great deliberative body and our two-party system.

It is my hope that you will find the record of accomplishment of House Republicans as reflected in this summary, helpful in electing you to serve in the 90th Congress.

Sincerely yours,  
*John J. Rhodes*  
John J. Rhodes, M.C.



### Saving the Small Business Administration

Under the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, the once-vital Small Business Administration that had been created as an independent agency in 1953 by a Republican President, was downgraded and nearly destroyed. The Office of Administrator was left vacant, the business loan program was gutted, and there were disturbing and recurrent rumors that this independent agency was to be transferred to the Commerce Department. Thanks to Republican efforts, this disastrous trend was reversed. In a series of statements and releases, the plan to eliminate the spokesman for small business in big government was exposed. As a result, the proposed transfer was killed, an Administrator was appointed and the loan functions were reactivated. (See February 23, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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### Rescuing the Maritime Industry

For some unfathomable reason, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has chosen to ignore our steadily deteriorating maritime industry. Our shipbuilding program is lagging, our World War II reserve fleet is growing older and the expanding war in Vietnam is putting the United States merchant fleet under tremendous pressure. Even so, the Administration's total maritime budget for 1967 set a 7-year low. While we have dropped to 12th place among the shipbuilding nations, Russia has risen from 12th to 7th place. Faced with this serious situation, the Republican members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Republican Policy Committee set out to alert the American people to the perils of the Administration's course. Although we have been unable to reverse this trend entirely, some significant gains have been made. A bill that would establish the Maritime Administration as an independent agency has been reported from committee. Also, an attempt to bury the Maritime Administration in the newly-created Department of Transportation was defeated. Finally, the Appropriations Committee increased the funds for ship construction by \$21.6 million.

Our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has scuttled. Additional steps must be taken to correct this disastrous situation. If the present trend continues, this country that once boasted the greatest merchant fleet in the world will be left on history's shore waiting for ships that never come in. (See April 20, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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### Protecting the American Public's Right-to-Know

In an effort to conceal and cover-up, Federal Agencies have adopted 24 ways to keep administrative information from public view. Bureaucratic gobbledygook used to deny access to information has included such gems as "Eyes Only," "Limited Official Use," "Confidential Treatment," and "Limitation on Availability of Equipment for Public Reference." In order to pierce this "paper curtain," Republican Members sponsored and worked hard for the adoption of Freedom of Information legislation.

Due to the opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, this proposal was bottled up in Committee for over a year. However, as a result of pressure from Republicans, publishers, and representatives of the press, radio and T.V., it was finally reported and enacted into law. Now, this legislation can help to blaze a

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trail of truthfulness and accurate disclosure in what has become a jungle of falsification, unjustified secrecy, and misstatement by statistic. Hopefully, the saying "Would you believe?" can once again become a line for comedians rather than government press officials.

(See May 18, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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### Urging Election and Campaign Contribution Reform Legislation

Republican Members have responded to one of the great challenges of our times - the reformation of our election and campaign contribution laws. In the past, there have been a number of excellent studies and reports on this subject. President Kennedy appointed a special Commission on Campaign Contributions, and in 1962 the report of this Commission sparked the introduction of several bills. President Johnson sent a message to Congress recommending that something be done but the Administration bill, which was finally introduced, proved to be defective and inadequate.

Alert to the importance of this legislation and the need for prompt action, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives introduced an election reform bill that incorporated a number of the President's proposals, but also included many significant improvements and additions. For example, the Republican bill established a five-member Federal Elections Commission that would receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures and investigate allegations of wrongdoing. All contributions and expenditures of \$100 or more would have to be reported. A \$100 income tax deduction for campaign contributions is provided.

The Republican Members of the House Administration Committee pressed for and obtained Committee hearings and consideration of this bill. As a result, the Elections Subcommittee reported an Election Reform bill that contained many of the Republican suggestions. Every Republican Member of the Subcommittee voted for this bill and at the following meeting of the full Committee, all Republican Members were present and ready to vote to report the bill for immediate floor consideration. Unfortunately, the Democratic members would not join the Republicans. So, for this session, this important bill has been killed. However, in the public interest, this legislation must be enacted into law before the 1968 Presidential campaign. Republicans will press for its adoption during the next Congress.

(See May 26, 1966 Policy Committee statement and Reprint of Congressional Record dated August 30, 1966.)

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### Assisting the Veterans

During the 39th Congress, action on two major veterans' bills resulted directly from Republican leadership.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 (PL 89-358) provided educational benefits for veterans of current military service. This essential legislation was enacted over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. For example, in March 1965, an Administration spokesman told a Senate Committee that enactment of such legislation would not be in accord with the program of the President. Again in September 1965, Administration spokesmen reiterated to a House Committee their opposition to pending veterans' education bills.

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Recognizing the need for this legislation, the House Republican Policy Committee in June 1965 urged Congress to provide educational benefits for Vietnam veterans "as quickly as possible." Again in January 1966, the Policy Committee called for "the immediate enactment of a bill that will authorize a program of education and training for veterans of military service," and urged the Administration to support this legislation. Such a bill became law on March 3, 1966. The President, in approving the bill, said that he would sign it notwithstanding the fact that it went further than he was willing to ask for this year.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Pension Act of 1966 (H.R. 17488) provides an average 5.6 percent increase in monthly pension payments to 1.8 million veterans. As early as October 1965, Republican Members of the House were calling for hearings on proposals to liberalize the pension program. When hearings were held in July 1966, an Administration spokesman testified in opposition to all of the 188 pension bills pending in the House. After rejecting Republican-sponsored amendments to liberalize the bill by increasing the income limitations that control the monthly rate of pension, the Veterans' Affairs Committee reported H.R. 17488.

On September 14, 1966, the House Republican Policy Committee endorsed H.R. 17488, and criticized the Johnson-Humphrey Administration for the continued opposition to legislation that would provide a much-needed cost-of-living rate increase for veterans. At the same time, they called for an increase in the income limitations of the existing pension laws.

(See January 26 and September 14, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

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### Reorganizing Congress

On July 28, 1966, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress filed its final report with Congress. This report contained a number of important recommendations that would materially strengthen and modernize Congress. Concerned by the apparent decline of Congressional initiative and independence under the Johnson Administration, the Republican Policy Committee joined the Republican Members of the Joint Committee in urging the immediate consideration of the Committee recommendations. A bill entitled "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1966, H.R. 17873," that would implement these recommendations was introduced by the ranking Republican Member of the Joint Committee. Republicans believe that if Congress is to be a more effective institution for carrying out its basic modern functions - legislative review, and representative - it must be updated. Authority that has been unwisely delegated to the executive must be regained. The continued dilution of its historic role must be stopped. However, this cannot take place until the organizational effectiveness and internal operation of Congress has been improved. The recommendations of the Joint Committee provide a giant step in the right direction.

The Republican Members of the House of Representatives long have been interested in Congressional reform. At the outset of this session of Congress, a task force of the House Republicans on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing was appointed to study the matter of Congressional reform in depth. As a result of the work of this task force, a book entitled "We Propose: A Modern Congress" has been published. The conclusions and recommendations contained in this book were presented in full to the Joint Committee and many of the recommendations of the committee stemmed from the work of the task force.

(See October 10, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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### Helping College Students

One of the most successful programs designed to help students complete their college education is the Student Loan Program of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Under this Republican-sponsored legislation, more than 968,000 students have borrowed \$834 million.

This year, the very existence of this vital program was threatened by the Johnson-Eumphrey Administration's recommendation that the program of direct loans to students by participating colleges be scaled back and finally terminated in favor of insured loans. Sensing that this course of action would be disastrous for the many students who depend upon the loans, the Republican Members of Congress insisted that the Student Loan Program be fully funded. Over the continued opposition of the Administration, this was done. As a result, nearly half-a-million students at 1,600 colleges and universities will be able to obtain loans and \$179 million in federal funds will be allocated to the participating institutions for this purpose.

The wisdom of the Republican efforts on behalf of the student loan program has been underlined by recent events. One of the first casualties of the Johnson inflation and soaring interest rates was bank-made student loans. In many areas, banks have stopped accepting applications for government-backed student loans. The 6 percent interest rate on a student loan is no longer attractive when banks can charge their best credit risks 6 percent for short-term loans. If the Administration's attempt to sabotage the student loan program had not been blocked, many students today would be out of money, out of luck, and out of school.

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### Increasing Social Security Benefits

Republican Members of Congress have demanded that Social Security benefits should be increased now, not in January 1968 as belatedly proposed by President Johnson. This would have been the case if the Democratic majority in Congress had acted upon a Republican proposal that would have provided an automatic increase in benefits whenever there is a stated increase in the consumer price index.

Great Society spending, and the accompanying budget deficits, and certain labor settlements have spiraled living costs to a point where elderly citizens are hard-pressed to make ends meet. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices. They are painfully aware that the purchasing power of our currency has eroded so that the 1957-59 dollar is today worth 88 cents and the 1940 dollar is worth only 43 cents.

The Republican proposal would have provided an across-the-board 8 percent average increase in benefits effective January 1, 1967 for approximately 22 million elderly persons eligible for Social Security payments. It would have been financed from the Social Security fund reserves without raising the Social Security tax rate or the annual earnings base on which it is levied. The entire House Republican membership urged Congress to stay in session until a benefits increase could be worked out. Unfortunately, our pleas on behalf of the people hurt the most by inflation, were not heeded by the Democratic majority.

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### Strengthening P.L. 480 and the Food for Peace Program

In 1954, P.L. 480 was enacted into law under the leadership of President Eisenhower and by a Republican Congress. This is the cornerstone of "Food for Peace." It has meant the difference between life and death for millions of people in a world where much of the population is engaged in a race between food production and population growth. This year the Republican Members of the House of Representatives not only supported the extension of P.L. 480 but were instrumental in adding a number of amendments that improved the legislation as follows:

1. Congressional review of the operation and administration of the program was insured by limiting the extension to two years.
2. The basic concept of "friendly countries" was retained.
3. The effectiveness of the P.L. 480 Joint Congressional-Executive Advisory Committee was improved.
4. A 5-percent cash payment in title I sales agreements will be insisted upon when possible.
5. Food sold for foreign currencies will be identified as being provided through the generosity of the American people.
6. Technical assistance in friendly developing countries was expanded through a "farmer-to-farmer" program.

Over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, Republicans also were successful in obtaining a ban on subsidized sales to nations that trade with North Vietnam. Republicans believe that when Americans and their allies are fighting and dying in the defense of freedom, nations that trade with those with whom we are joined in combat should not receive special treatment and assistance. (See June 8 and September 27, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

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### Updating and Improving the Unemployment Compensation Laws

Under the leadership of the Republican Members of the Ways and Means Committee, a bill was reported and passed by the House of Representatives that preserved the highly-successful system of autonomous State programs of unemployment insurance. In contrast to the Federal dictation and controls contained in the rejected Administration bill, the Republican-sponsored measure updated and improved the present law as follows:

1. Thirteen weeks of extended unemployment compensation is provided during periods of recession.
2. Coverage is extended to those workers who can be generally considered "regularly" employed and for whom there can be reasonable standards of availability for work.
3. Non-profit organizations are given the option of participating as "self-insurers."
4. The wage base is increased from \$3,000 to \$3,900 beginning in 1969 and to \$4,200 beginning in 1972.

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5. A judicial review of determinations by the Secretary of Labor with respect to qualifications of State plans is provided.

The House rejection of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration bill and the acceptance of the Republican measure would have meant that the present program of unemployment compensation, while continuing to provide necessary and essential assistance to the involuntarily unemployed, would not become a federalized system that permits abuse and encourages the unemployed to remain idle the maximum period of time rather than accept suitable employment or enter training programs as quickly as possible. (See June 21, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Implementing Water Pollution Control Activities

Although the Federal Government has played a leading role in the improvement of our rivers and harbors, it was not until 1956 under the Eisenhower Administration that the first comprehensive Federal Water Pollution Control Act was enacted. This Act was a good beginning and laid a firm foundation for future action. However, to be completely successful, there had to be greater State financial participation in the construction of sewage treatment works. Thus, since 1959, the Republican Members of the Committee on Public Works have insisted that any increase in funds authorized for Federal grants must be used to accelerate needed construction by offering an inducement to the States to participate in the cost of treatment plants. The Water Pollution Control Act of 1966 that was supported by the Republican Members and enacted into law accepts this principle. It contains substantial inducements to the States to participate in the cost of projects under both the accelerated existing program and the proposed clean rivers program.

Through the adoption of a Republican amendment, this law also provides the foundation for future industrial pollution abatement. Under this measure, the Secretary of Interior is directed to conduct an appropriate study of methods for providing incentives to assist in the construction of facilities and works by industry. Tax incentives, as well as other methods of financial assistance, are provided. Seventy-percent Federal grants for research and demonstration projects for prevention of pollution of waters by industry are made available also.

Water pollution poses a serious problem that must be solved. The legislation sponsored and supported by the Republican Members of the House of Representatives will do a great deal to assist in finding a solution. Moreover, the States, cities and the communities will be encouraged to do their share in combatting the common problem of water pollution.

(See September 14, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Combatting Federal Controls

When the Defense Production Act was brought to the House Floor for extension, the Democratic Members of the Banking and Currency Committee included in the legislation a provision that would give the President standby authority to impose consumer credit controls. Although faced with a serious inflationary situation, the 89th Congress under its Democrat leadership was either unwilling or unable to control the real cause of the inflationary problem - the Great Society spending. Instead, they sought to impose governmental controls as a means of stemming the inflationary tide.

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The Republican Membership in the House of Representatives rejected and opposed this radical and unnecessary proposal. They recognized that in a period of rising inflation, it is the individual with a limited or fixed income that suffers the greatest hardship. Without question, the real casualty of such controls would be the family with substantial needs but moderate means. These individuals do not have the resources to pay cash or make a large downpayment when they purchase an automobile, a refrigerator, or some other household appliance.

Fortunately, a sufficient number of Democrat Members joined the Republicans and the standby authority to impose consumer credit controls was stricken from the legislation. In this instance, the control philosophy was voted down. Thus, extreme and unwarranted powers were kept from the hands of the very individuals whose spending policies have caused the inflationary problem. (See June 14, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Fighting Waste, Bungling, and Scandal in the Poverty Program

During the past year, efforts by the Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee to gather information which would be helpful in drafting effective anti-poverty legislation were hampered and handicapped at every turn. The Democrat majority on the Committee repeatedly promised a full-fledged study and was given \$200,000 for this purpose. However, field hearings did not materialize and an ever-changing investigative staff was confused by changes in direction, cancelled trips, and recalls from investigations. The reports which were issued were sketchy and contained statistics and percentages rather than material needed to draft corrective legislation. Moreover, some reports were intentionally withheld from the Republican Members.

The hearings that were finally held on the anti-poverty legislation developed into an 8-day parade of Administration spokesmen and apologists for the poverty program. The Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee recommended 62 witnesses who were knowledgeable in all aspects of the anti-poverty program. However, these recommendations were ignored and the hearings were abruptly terminated. When Chairman Powell of the Education and Labor Committee was asked why this had been done, his only reply was "Because I am the Chairman."

In spite of this arbitrary and woefully inadequate action, there was no real attempt made by the Democrat leadership to correct the many abuses and gross mistakes that plagued the present program and \$1.75 billion for fiscal year 1967 was ultimately authorized.

Fortunately for the American public, the Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee conducted an independent investigation of the poverty program. Abuse after abuse was documented and exposed. A solid basis for an overall reform of the anti-poverty program was established. In order to effectuate the essential reforms and changes, the Republicans introduced substitute legislation entitled the Republican Opportunity Crusade. Unfortunately, this bill and the reforms that it would impose, was rejected. However, a good start on an eventual clean-up of this scandal-ridden program has been made. Republicans will continue to press for needed controls and reforms in the next Congress. (See July 19, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

### Improving Public Transportation

In supporting the establishment of a new Department of Transportation, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives continued the historic policy of the Republican Party of encouraging the development of American transportation. The need for better coordination among the various governmental agencies that deal with transportation has been apparent for many years. In his final budget message to Congress, President Eisenhower stated "A Department of Transportation should be established so as to bring together at Cabinet level the presently fragmented federal functions regarding transportation activities."

The Republican Members were concerned that in the Administration's rush to create a Department of Transportation certain safeguards and considerations might be overlooked. They found that the bill that was originally proposed by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration would have granted the Secretary of Transportation broad authority that invaded the policy-making authority of Congress. It would have scrambled the now-independent accident investigation functions of the CAB with the regulation and control of the airways. Also, the Maritime Administration would be buried deep within the bureaucracy of the new Department.

Due to Republican efforts, the legislation creating the new Department has corrected these defects in the original Administration bill. As a result, the Department of Transportation, as it has now been established, will be able to perform efficiently and effectively.

(See August 10, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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Although the big company with a large net profit may have little trouble borrowing money, the individual who wants to buy a car, obtain a college loan, or purchase a home has a terrific problem due to the present inflationary situation. If he is lucky enough to find a lender, he may have to pay an extremely high rate of interest to obtain a loan. Long before the Johnson-Humphrey Administration was willing to even admit that a problem existed, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives recognized that the average person was being hurt in the present tight money market and set out on a course of action that would afford this individual meaningful relief.

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# REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

REP. JOHN J. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 140 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

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October 21, 1966

House Republican Accomplishments, Second Session, 89th Congress

Although outnumbered by more than two-to-one, Republicans in the Second Session of the 89th Congress have made a record of real achievement and remarkable unity.

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Republican Members have responded to one of the great challenges of our times - the reformation of our election and campaign contribution laws. In the past, there have been a number of excellent studies and reports on this subject. President Kennedy appointed a special Commission on Campaign Contributions, and in 1962 the report of this Commission sparked the introduction of several bills. President Johnson sent a message to Congress recommending that something be done but the Administration bill, which was finally introduced, proved to be defective and inadequate.

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The Republican Members of the House Administration Committee pressed for and obtained Committee hearings and consideration of this bill. As a result, the Elections Subcommittee reported an Election Reform bill that contained many of the Republican suggestions. Every Republican Member of the Subcommittee voted for this bill and at the following meeting of the full Committee, all Republican Members were present and ready to vote to report the bill for immediate floor consideration. Unfortunately, the Democratic members would not join the Republicans. So, for this session, this important bill has been killed. However, in the public interest, this legislation must be enacted into law before the 1968 Presidential campaign. Republicans will press for its adoption during the next Congress. (See May 26, 1966 Policy Committee statement and Reprint of Congressional Record dated August 30, 1966.)

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### Assisting the Veterans

During the 89th Congress, action on two major veterans' bills resulted directly from Republican leadership.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 (PL 89-358) provided educational benefits for veterans of current military service. This essential legislation was enacted over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. For example, in March 1965, an Administration spokesman told a Senate Committee that enactment of such legislation would not be in accord with the program of the President. Again in September 1965, Administration spokesmen reiterated to a House Committee their opposition to pending veterans' education bills.

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Recognizing the need for this legislation, the House Republican Policy Committee in June 1965 urged Congress to provide educational benefits for Vietnam veterans "as quickly as possible." Again in January 1966, the Policy Committee called for "the immediate enactment of a bill that will authorize a program of education and training for veterans of military service," and urged the Administration to support this legislation. Such a bill became law on March 3, 1966. The President, in approving the bill, said that he would sign it notwithstanding the fact that it went further than he was willing to ask for this year.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Pension Act of 1966 (H.R. 17488) provides an average 5.6 percent increase in monthly pension payments to 1.8 million veterans. As early as October 1965, Republican Members of the House were calling for hearings on proposals to liberalize the pension program. When hearings were held in July 1966, an Administration spokesman testified in opposition to all of the 188 pension bills pending in the House. After rejecting Republican-sponsored amendments to liberalize the bill by increasing the income limitations that control the monthly rate of pension, the Veterans' Affairs Committee reported H.R. 17488.

On September 14, 1966, the House Republican Policy Committee endorsed H.R. 17488, and criticized the Johnson-Humphrey Administration for the continued opposition to legislation that would provide a much-needed cost-of-living rate increase for veterans. At the same time, they called for an increase in the income limitations of the existing pension laws.  
(See January 26 and September 14, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

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### Reorganizing Congress

On July 28, 1966, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress filed its final report with Congress. This report contained a number of important recommendations that would materially strengthen and modernize Congress. Concerned by the apparent decline of Congressional initiative and independence under the Johnson Administration, the Republican Policy Committee joined the Republican Members of the Joint Committee in urging the immediate consideration of the Committee recommendations. A bill entitled "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1966, H.R. 17873," that would implement these recommendations was introduced by the ranking Republican Member of the Joint Committee. Republicans believe that if Congress is to be a more effective institution for carrying out its basic modern functions - legislative review, and representative - it must be updated. Authority that has been unwisely delegated to the executive must be regained. The continued dilution of its historic role must be stopped. However, this cannot take place until the organizational effectiveness and internal operation of Congress has been improved. The recommendations of the Joint Committee provide a giant step in the right direction.

The Republican Members of the House of Representatives long have been interested in Congressional reform. At the outset of this session of Congress, a task force of the House Republicans on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing was appointed to study the matter of Congressional reform in depth. As a result of the work of this task force, a book entitled "We Propose: A Modern Congress" has been published. The conclusions and recommendations contained in this book were presented in full to the Joint Committee and many of the recommendations of the committee stemmed from the work of the task force.  
(See October 10, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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### Helping College Students

One of the most successful programs designed to help students complete their college education is the Student Loan Program of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Under this Republican-sponsored legislation, more than 968,000 students have borrowed \$834 million.

This year, the very existence of this vital program was threatened by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's recommendation that the program of direct loans to students by participating colleges be scaled back and finally terminated in favor of insured loans. Sensing that this course of action would be disastrous for the many students who depend upon the loans, the Republican Members of Congress insisted that the Student Loan Program be fully funded. Over the continued opposition of the Administration, this was done. As a result, nearly half-a-million students at 1,600 colleges and universities will be able to obtain loans and \$179 million in federal funds will be allocated to the participating institutions for this purpose.

The wisdom of the Republican efforts on behalf of the student loan program has been underlined by recent events. One of the first casualties of the Johnson inflation and soaring interest rates was bank-made student loans. In many areas, banks have stopped accepting applications for government-backed student loans. The 6 percent interest rate on a student loan is no longer attractive when banks can charge their best credit risks 6 percent for short-term loans. If the Administration's attempt to sabotage the student loan program had not been blocked, many students today would be out of money, out of luck, and out of school.

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### Increasing Social Security Benefits

Republican Members of Congress have demanded that Social Security benefits should be increased now, not in January 1968 as belatedly proposed by President Johnson. This would have been the case if the Democratic majority in Congress had acted upon a Republican proposal that would have provided an automatic increase in benefits whenever there is a stated increase in the consumer price index.

Great Society spending, and the accompanying budget deficits, and certain labor settlements have spiraled living costs to a point where elderly citizens are hard-pressed to make ends meet. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices. They are painfully aware that the purchasing power of our currency has eroded so that the 1957-59 dollar is today worth 88 cents and the 1940 dollar is worth only 43 cents.

The Republican proposal would have provided an across-the-board 8 percent average increase in benefits effective January 1, 1967 for approximately 22 million elderly persons eligible for Social Security payments. It would have been financed from the Social Security fund reserves without raising the Social Security tax rate or the annual earnings base on which it is levied. The entire House Republican membership urged Congress to stay in session until a benefits increase could be worked out. Unfortunately, our pleas on behalf of the people hurt the most by inflation, were not heeded by the Democratic majority.

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### Strengthening P.L. 480 and the Food for Peace Program

In 1954, P.L. 480 was enacted into law under the leadership of President Eisenhower and by a Republican Congress. This is the cornerstone of "Food for Peace." It has meant the difference between life and death for millions of people in a world where much of the population is engaged in a race between food production and population growth. This year the Republican Members of the House of Representatives not only supported the extension of P.L. 480 but were instrumental in adding a number of amendments that improved the legislation as follows:

1. Congressional review of the operation and administration of the program was insured by limiting the extension to two years.
2. The basic concept of "friendly countries" was retained.
3. The effectiveness of the P.L. 480 Joint Congressional-Executive Advisory Committee was improved.
4. A 5-percent cash payment in title I sales agreements will be insisted upon when possible.
5. Food sold for foreign currencies will be identified as being provided through the generosity of the American people.
6. Technical assistance in friendly developing countries was expanded through a "farmer-to-farmer" program.

Over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, Republicans also were successful in obtaining a ban on subsidized sales to nations that trade with North Vietnam. Republicans believe that when Americans and their allies are fighting and dying in the defense of freedom, nations that trade with those with whom we are joined in combat should not receive special treatment and assistance (See June 8 and September 27, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

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### Updating and Improving the Unemployment Compensation Laws

Under the leadership of the Republican Members of the Ways and Means Committee, a bill was reported and passed by the House of Representatives that preserved the highly-successful system of autonomous State programs of unemployment insurance. In contrast to the Federal dictation and controls contained in the rejected Administration bill, the Republican-sponsored measure updated and improved the present law as follows:

1. Thirteen weeks of extended unemployment compensation is provided during periods of recession.
2. Coverage is extended to those workers who can be generally considered "regularly" employed and for whom there can be reasonable standards of availability for work.
3. Non-profit organizations are given the option of participating as "self-insurers."
4. The wage base is increased from \$3,000 to \$3,900 beginning in 1969 and to \$4,200 beginning in 1972.

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5. A judicial review of determinations by the Secretary of Labor with respect to qualifications of State plans is provided.

The House rejection of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration bill and the acceptance of the Republican measure would have meant that the present program of unemployment compensation, while continuing to provide necessary and essential assistance to the involuntarily unemployed, would not become a federalized system that permits abuse and encourages the unemployed to remain idle the maximum period of time rather than accept suitable employment or enter training programs as quickly as possible. (See June 21, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Implementing Water Pollution Control Activities

Although the Federal Government has played a leading role in the improvement of our rivers and harbors, it was not until 1956 under the Eisenhower Administration that the first comprehensive Federal Water Pollution Control Act was enacted. This Act was a good beginning and laid a firm foundation for future action. However, to be completely successful, there had to be greater State financial participation in the construction of sewage treatment works. Thus, since 1959, the Republican Members of the Committee on Public Works have insisted that any increase in funds authorized for Federal grants must be used to accelerate needed construction by offering an inducement to the States to participate in the cost of treatment plants. The Water Pollution Control Act of 1966 that was supported by the Republican Members and enacted into law accepts this principle. It contains substantial inducements to the States to participate in the cost of projects under both the accelerated existing program and the proposed clean rivers program.

Through the adoption of a Republican amendment, this law also provides the foundation for future industrial pollution abatement. Under this measure, the Secretary of Interior is directed to conduct an appropriate study of methods for providing incentives to assist in the construction of facilities and works by industry. Tax incentives, as well as other methods of financial assistance, are provided. Seventy-percent Federal grants for research and demonstration projects for prevention of pollution of waters by industry are made available also.

Water pollution poses a serious problem that must be solved. The legislation sponsored and supported by the Republican Members of the House of Representatives will do a great deal to assist in finding a solution. Moreover, the States, cities and the communities will be encouraged to do their share in combatting the common problem of water pollution.

(See September 14, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Combatting Federal Controls

When the Defense Production Act was brought to the House Floor for extension, the Democratic Members of the Banking and Currency Committee included in the legislation a provision that would give the President standby authority to impose consumer credit controls. Although faced with a serious inflationary situation, the 89th Congress under its Democrat leadership was either unwilling or unable to control the real cause of the inflationary problem - the Great Society spending. Instead, they sought to impose governmental controls as a means of stemming the inflationary tide.

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The Republican Membership in the House of Representatives rejected and opposed this radical and unnecessary proposal. They recognized that in a period of rising inflation, it is the individual with a limited or fixed income that suffers the greatest hardship. Without question, the real casualty of such controls would be the family with substantial needs but moderate means. These individuals do not have the resources to pay cash or make a large downpayment when they purchase an automobile, a refrigerator, or some other household appliance.

Fortunately, a sufficient number of Democrat Members joined the Republicans and the standby authority to impose consumer credit controls was stricken from the legislation. In this instance, the control philosophy was voted down. Thus, extreme and unwarranted powers were kept from the hands of the very individuals whose spending policies have caused the inflationary problem. (See June 14, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Fighting Waste, Bungling, and Scandal in the Poverty Program

During the past year, efforts by the Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee to gather information which would be helpful in drafting effective anti-poverty legislation were hampered and handicapped at every turn. The Democrat majority on the Committee repeatedly promised a full-fledged study and was given \$200,000 for this purpose. However, field hearings did not materialize and an ever-changing investigative staff was confused by changes in direction, cancelled trips, and recalls from investigations. The reports which were issued were sketchy and contained statistics and percentages rather than material needed to draft corrective legislation. Moreover, some reports were intentionally withheld from the Republican Members.

The hearings that were finally held on the anti-poverty legislation developed into an 8-day parade of Administration spokesmen and apologists for the poverty program. The Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee recommended 62 witnesses who were knowledgeable in all aspects of the anti-poverty program. However, these recommendations were ignored and the hearings were abruptly terminated. When Chairman Powell of the Education and Labor Committee was asked why this had been done, his only reply was "Because I am the Chairman."

In spite of this arbitrary and woefully inadequate action, there was no real attempt made by the Democrat leadership to correct the many abuses and gross mistakes that plagued the present program and \$1.75 billion for fiscal year 1967 was ultimately authorized.

Fortunately for the American public, the Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee conducted an independent investigation of the poverty program. Abuse after abuse was documented and exposed. A solid basis for an overall reform of the anti-poverty program was established. In order to effectuate the essential reforms and changes, the Republicans introduced substitute legislation entitled the Republican Opportunity Crusade. Unfortunately, this bill and the reforms that it would impose, was rejected. However, a good start on an eventual clean-up of this scandal-ridden program has been made. Republicans will continue to press for needed controls and reforms in the next Congress. (See July 19, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

### Improving Public Transportation

In supporting the establishment of a new Department of Transportation, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives continued the historic policy of the Republican Party of encouraging the development of American transportation. The need for better coordination among the various governmental agencies that deal with transportation has been apparent for many years. In his final budget message to Congress, President Eisenhower stated "A Department of Transportation should be established so as to bring together at Cabinet level the presently fragmented federal functions regarding transportation activities."

The Republican Members were concerned that in the Administration's rush to create a Department of Transportation certain safeguards and considerations might be overlooked. They found that the bill that was originally proposed by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration would have granted the Secretary of Transportation broad authority that invaded the policy-making authority of Congress. It would have scrambled the now-independent accident investigation functions of the CAB with the regulation and control of the airways. Also, the Maritime Administration would be buried deep within the bureaucracy of the new Department.

Due to Republican efforts, the legislation creating the new Department has corrected these defects in the original Administration bill. As a result, the Department of Transportation, as it has now been established, will be able to perform efficiently and effectively.

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Republican Members have responded to one of the great challenges of our times - the reformation of our election and campaign contribution laws. In the past, there have been a number of excellent studies and reports on this subject. President Kennedy appointed a special Commission on Campaign Contributions, and in 1962 the report of this Commission sparked the introduction of several bills. President Johnson sent a message to Congress recommending that something be done but the Administration bill, which was finally introduced, proved to be defective and inadequate.

Alert to the importance of this legislation and the need for prompt action, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives introduced an election reform bill that incorporated a number of the President's proposals, but also included many significant improvements and additions. For example, the Republican bill established a five-member Federal Elections Commission that would receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures and investigate allegations of wrongdoing. All contributions and expenditures of \$100 or more would have to be reported. A \$100 income tax deduction for campaign contributions is provided.

The Republican Members of the House Administration Committee pressed for and obtained Committee hearings and consideration of this bill. As a result, the Elections Subcommittee reported an Election Reform bill that contained many of the Republican suggestions. Every Republican Member of the Subcommittee voted for this bill and at the following meeting of the full Committee, all Republican Members were present and ready to vote to report the bill for immediate floor consideration. Unfortunately, the Democratic members would not join the Republicans. So, for this session, this important bill has been killed. However, in the public interest, this legislation must be enacted into law before the 1968 Presidential campaign. Republicans will press for its adoption during the next Congress.

(See May 26, 1966 Policy Committee statement and Reprint of Congressional Record dated August 30, 1966.)

\* \* \* \* \*

### Assisting the Veterans

During the 89th Congress, action on two major veterans' bills resulted directly from Republican leadership.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 (PL 89-358) provided educational benefits for veterans of current military service. This essential legislation was enacted over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. For example, in March 1965, an Administration spokesman told a Senate Committee that enactment of such legislation would not be in accord with the program of the President. Again in September 1965, Administration spokesmen reiterated to a House Committee their opposition to pending veterans' education bills.

(more)

Recognizing the need for this legislation, the House Republican Policy Committee in June 1965 urged Congress to provide educational benefits for Vietnam veterans "as quickly as possible." Again in January 1966, the Policy Committee called for "the immediate enactment of a bill that will authorize a program of education and training for veterans of military service," and urged the Administration to support this legislation. Such a bill became law on March 3, 1966. The President, in approving the bill, said that he would sign it notwithstanding the fact that it went further than he was willing to ask for this year.

The Republican-supported Veterans' Pension Act of 1966 (H.R. 17488) provides an average 5.6 percent increase in monthly pension payments to 1.8 million veterans. As early as October 1965, Republican Members of the House were calling for hearings on proposals to liberalize the pension program. When hearings were held in July 1966, an Administration spokesman testified in opposition to all of the 188 pension bills pending in the House. After rejecting Republican-sponsored amendments to liberalize the bill by increasing the income limitations that control the monthly rate of pension, the Veterans' Affairs Committee reported H.R. 17488.

On September 14, 1966, the House Republican Policy Committee endorsed H.R. 17488, and criticized the Johnson-Humphrey Administration for the continued opposition to legislation that would provide a much-needed cost-of-living rate increase for veterans. At the same time, they called for an increase in the income limitations of the existing pension laws.  
(See January 26 and September 14, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Reorganizing Congress

On July 28, 1966, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress filed its final report with Congress. This report contained a number of important recommendations that would materially strengthen and modernize Congress. Concerned by the apparent decline of Congressional initiative and independence under the Johnson Administration, the Republican Policy Committee joined the Republican Members of the Joint Committee in urging the immediate consideration of the Committee recommendations. A bill entitled "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1966, H.R. 17873," that would implement these recommendations was introduced by the ranking Republican Member of the Joint Committee. Republicans believe that if Congress is to be a more effective institution for carrying out its basic modern functions - legislative review, and representative - it must be updated. Authority that has been unwisely delegated to the executive must be regained. The continued dilution of its historic role must be stopped. However, this cannot take place until the organizational effectiveness and internal operation of Congress has been improved. The recommendations of the Joint Committee provide a giant step in the right direction.

The Republican Members of the House of Representatives long have been interested in Congressional reform. At the outset of this session of Congress, a task force of the House Republicans on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing was appointed to study the matter of Congressional reform in depth. As a result of the work of this task force, a book entitled "We Propose: A Modern Congress" has been published. The conclusions and recommendations contained in this book were presented in full to the Joint Committee and many of the recommendations of the committee stemmed from the work of the task force.  
(See October 10, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

(more)

### Helping College Students

One of the most successful programs designed to help students complete their college education is the Student Loan Program of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Under this Republican-sponsored legislation, more than 968,000 students have borrowed \$834 million.

This year, the very existence of this vital program was threatened by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's recommendation that the program of direct loans to students by participating colleges be scaled back and finally terminated in favor of insured loans. Sensing that this course of action would be disastrous for the many students who depend upon the loans, the Republican Members of Congress insisted that the Student Loan Program be fully funded. Over the continued opposition of the Administration, this was done. As a result, nearly half-a-million students at 1,600 colleges and universities will be able to obtain loans and \$179 million in federal funds will be allocated to the participating institutions for this purpose.

The wisdom of the Republican efforts on behalf of the student loan program has been underlined by recent events. One of the first casualties of the Johnson inflation and soaring interest rates was bank-made student loans. In many areas, banks have stopped accepting applications for government-backed student loans. The 6 percent interest rate on a student loan is no longer attractive when banks can charge their best credit risks 6 percent for short-term loans. If the Administration's attempt to sabotage the student loan program had not been blocked, many students today would be out of money, out of luck, and out of school.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Increasing Social Security Benefits

Republican Members of Congress have demanded that Social Security benefits should be increased now, not in January 1968 as belatedly proposed by President Johnson. This would have been the case if the Democratic majority in Congress had acted upon a Republican proposal that would have provided an automatic increase in benefits whenever there is a stated increase in the consumer price index.

Great Society spending, and the accompanying budget deficits, and certain labor settlements have spiraled living costs to a point where elderly citizens are hard-pressed to make ends meet. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices. They are painfully aware that the purchasing power of our currency has eroded so that the 1957-59 dollar is today worth 88 cents and the 1940 dollar is worth only 43 cents.

The Republican proposal would have provided an across-the-board 8 percent average increase in benefits effective January 1, 1967 for approximately 22 million elderly persons eligible for Social Security payments. It would have been financed from the Social Security fund reserves without raising the Social Security tax rate or the annual earnings base on which it is levied. The entire House Republican membership urged Congress to stay in session until a benefits increase could be worked out. Unfortunately, our pleas on behalf of the people hurt the most by inflation, were not heeded by the Democratic majority.

\* \* \* \* \*

(more)

### Strengthening P.L. 480 and the Food for Peace Program

In 1954, P.L. 480 was enacted into law under the leadership of President Eisenhower and by a Republican Congress. This is the cornerstone of "Food for Peace." It has meant the difference between life and death for millions of people in a world where much of the population is engaged in a race between food production and population growth. This year the Republican Members of the House of Representatives not only supported the extension of P.L. 480 but were instrumental in adding a number of amendments that improved the legislation as follows:

1. Congressional review of the operation and administration of the program was insured by limiting the extension to two years.
2. The basic concept of "friendly countries" was retained.
3. The effectiveness of the P.L. 480 Joint Congressional-Executive Advisory Committee was improved.
4. A 5-percent cash payment in title I sales agreements will be insisted upon when possible.
5. Food sold for foreign currencies will be identified as being provided through the generosity of the American people.
6. Technical assistance in friendly developing countries was expanded through a "farmer-to-farmer" program.

Over the determined opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, Republicans also were successful in obtaining a ban on subsidized sales to nations that trade with North Vietnam. Republicans believe that when Americans and their allies are fighting and dying in the defense of freedom, nations that trade with those with whom we are joined in combat should not receive special treatment and assistance (See June 8 and September 27, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

\* \* \* \* \*

### Updating and Improving the Unemployment Compensation Laws

Under the leadership of the Republican Members of the Ways and Means Committee, a bill was reported and passed by the House of Representatives that preserved the highly-successful system of autonomous State programs of unemployment insurance. In contrast to the Federal dictation and controls contained in the rejected Administration bill, the Republican-sponsored measure updated and improved the present law as follows:

1. Thirteen weeks of extended unemployment compensation is provided during periods of recession.
2. Coverage is extended to those workers who can be generally considered "regularly" employed and for whom there can be reasonable standards of availability for work.
3. Non-profit organizations are given the option of participating as "self-insurers."
4. The wage base is increased from \$3,000 to \$3,900 beginning in 1969 and to \$4,200 beginning in 1972.

(more)

5. A judicial review of determinations by the Secretary of Labor with respect to qualifications of State plans is provided.

The House rejection of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration bill and the acceptance of the Republican measure would have meant that the present program of unemployment compensation, while continuing to provide necessary and essential assistance to the involuntarily unemployed, would not become a federalized system that permits abuse and encourages the unemployed to remain idle the maximum period of time rather than accept suitable employment or enter training programs as quickly as possible. (See June 21, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

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#### Implementing Water Pollution Control Activities

Although the Federal Government has played a leading role in the improvement of our rivers and harbors, it was not until 1956 under the Eisenhower Administration that the first comprehensive Federal Water Pollution Control Act was enacted. This Act was a good beginning and laid a firm foundation for future action. However, to be completely successful, there had to be greater State financial participation in the construction of sewage treatment works. Thus, since 1959, the Republican Members of the Committee on Public Works have insisted that any increase in funds authorized for Federal grants must be used to accelerate needed construction by offering an inducement to the States to participate in the cost of treatment plants. The Water Pollution Control Act of 1966 that was supported by the Republican Members and enacted into law accepts this principle. It contains substantial inducements to the States to participate in the cost of projects under both the accelerated existing program and the proposed clean rivers program.

Through the adoption of a Republican amendment, this law also provides the foundation for future industrial pollution abatement. Under this measure, the Secretary of Interior is directed to conduct an appropriate study of methods for providing incentives to assist in the construction of facilities and works by industry. Tax incentives, as well as other methods of financial assistance, are provided. Seventy-percent Federal grants for research and demonstration projects for prevention of pollution of waters by industry are made available also.

Water pollution poses a serious problem that must be solved. The legislation sponsored and supported by the Republican Members of the House of Representatives will do a great deal to assist in finding a solution. Moreover, the States, cities and the communities will be encouraged to do their share in combatting the common problem of water pollution. (See September 14, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Combatting Federal Controls

When the Defense Production Act was brought to the House Floor for extension, the Democratic Members of the Banking and Currency Committee included in the legislation a provision that would give the President standby authority to impose consumer credit controls. Although faced with a serious inflationary situation, the 89th Congress under its Democrat leadership was either unwilling or unable to control the real cause of the inflationary problem - the Great Society spending. Instead, they sought to impose governmental controls as a means of stemming the inflationary tide.

(more)

The Republican Membership in the House of Representatives rejected and opposed this radical and unnecessary proposal. They recognized that in a period of rising inflation, it is the individual with a limited or fixed income that suffers the greatest hardship. Without question, the real casualty of such controls would be the family with substantial needs but moderate means. These individuals do not have the resources to pay cash or make a large downpayment when they purchase an automobile, a refrigerator, or some other household appliance.

Fortunately, a sufficient number of Democrat Members joined the Republicans and the standby authority to impose consumer credit controls was stricken from the legislation. In this instance, the control philosophy was voted down. Thus, extreme and unwarranted powers were kept from the hands of the very individuals whose spending policies have caused the inflationary problem. (See June 14, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Fighting Waste, Bungling, and Scandal in the Poverty Program

During the past year, efforts by the Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee to gather information which would be helpful in drafting effective anti-poverty legislation were hampered and handicapped at every turn. The Democrat majority on the Committee repeatedly promised a full-fledged study and was given \$200,000 for this purpose. However, field hearings did not materialize and an ever-changing investigative staff was confused by changes in direction, cancelled trips, and recalls from investigations. The reports which were issued were sketchy and contained statistics and percentages rather than material needed to draft corrective legislation. Moreover, some reports were intentionally withheld from the Republican Members.

The hearings that were finally held on the anti-poverty legislation developed into an 8-day parade of Administration spokesmen and apologists for the poverty program. The Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee recommended 62 witnesses who were knowledgeable in all aspects of the anti-poverty program. However, these recommendations were ignored and the hearings were abruptly terminated. When Chairman Powell of the Education and Labor Committee was asked why this had been done, his only reply was "Because I am the Chairman."

In spite of this arbitrary and woefully inadequate action, there was no real attempt made by the Democrat leadership to correct the many abuses and gross mistakes that plagued the present program and \$1.75 billion for fiscal year 1967 was ultimately authorized.

Fortunately for the American public, the Republican Members of the Education and Labor Committee conducted an independent investigation of the poverty program. Abuse after abuse was documented and exposed. A solid basis for an overall reform of the anti-poverty program was established. In order to effectuate the essential reforms and changes, the Republicans introduced substitute legislation entitled the Republican Opportunity Crusade. Unfortunately, this bill and the reforms that it would impose, was rejected. However, a good start on an eventual clean-up of this scandal-ridden program has been made. Republicans will continue to press for needed controls and reforms in the next Congress. (See July 19, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)



### Improving Public Transportation

In supporting the establishment of a new Department of Transportation, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives continued the historic policy of the Republican Party of encouraging the development of American transportation. The need for better coordination among the various governmental agencies that deal with transportation has been apparent for many years. In his final budget message to Congress, President Eisenhower stated "A Department of Transportation should be established so as to bring together at Cabinet level the presently fragmented federal functions regarding transportation activities."

The Republican Members were concerned that in the Administration's rush to create a Department of Transportation certain safeguards and considerations might be overlooked. They found that the bill that was originally proposed by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration would have granted the Secretary of Transportation broad authority that invaded the policy-making authority of Congress. It would have scrambled the now-independent accident investigation functions of the CAB with the regulation and control of the airways. Also, the Maritime Administration would be buried deep within the bureaucracy of the new Department.

Due to Republican efforts, the legislation creating the new Department has corrected these defects in the original Administration bill. As a result, the Department of Transportation, as it has now been established, will be able to perform efficiently and effectively.

(See August 10, 1966 Policy Committee statement.)

\* \* \* \* \*

### Attacking Tight Money Problems

Although the big company with a large net profit may have little trouble borrowing money, the individual who wants to buy a car, obtain a college loan, or purchase a home has a terrific problem due to the present inflationary situation. If he is lucky enough to find a lender, he may have to pay an extremely high rate of interest to obtain a loan. Long before the Johnson-Humphrey Administration was willing to even admit that a problem existed, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives recognized that the average person was being hurt in the present tight money market and set out on a course of action that would afford this individual meaningful relief.

They called for an immediate slash in non-defense, non-essential domestic spending - not just in regard to appropriations as the President urged, but also with respect to new Great Society program authorizations that trigger the appropriations process. They sought a reduction in point discounts on FHA and VA home financing through an administrative adjustment of rates to a more realistic level. Republicans opposed the enactment of the Sales Participation Act scheme, noting that a program of this type could only mean additional government competition for the already scarce investment dollar. (The Administration subsequently recognized its error in enacting this proposal and suspended the sale of participations.) Republican Members also called for the removal of FNMA's \$15,000 administrative limitation on purchases of mortgages under its secondary market operations. This, too, has been implemented by the Administration. Finally, in order to cool off competition for savings among the financial institutions, Republicans pressed for and obtained sound remedial legislation.

(more)

It is unfortunate the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has been slow to awaken to the dangers of this situation. Interest rates are now at the highest point that they have been in over 40 years. These high interest rates have added tremendously to the cost of financing the ever-mounting Federal debt. The rising demand for credit by the Federal Government and business has drawn credit away from credit-sensitive industries such as homebuilding. As a result, homebuilding and home buying, one of the Nation's largest industries, is now faced with a major crisis. Private housing starts in September were down 26 percent from September 1965. Applications for FHA-insured mortgages on existing homes were down 34 percent from a year ago.

In the next Congress, Republicans will continue to press for appropriate remedial action. They will do all they can to help the pensioner, the Social Security recipient, and the individual with a fixed income or a fixed wage who has become the forgotten man of the Great Society.  
(See May 10, June 8, and July 27, 1966 Policy Committee statements.)

\* \* \* \* \*

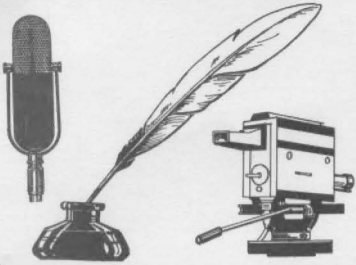
#### Maintaining Law and Order

Republicans of the 89th Congress have stood vigilant in protecting the public's interest in, and demand for, measures assuring increased protection for law and order in our society.

Of primary significance was the National Criminal Law Revision Commission bill introduced by Representative Poff (R.-Va.) and twenty of his Republican colleagues in June of this year. This bill was drafted and introduced when the President's so-called "crime package" of legislation was found to be wanting. The Poff bill was substituted for an unimaginative proposal in the President's package, received bipartisan acclaim and support, and was passed by the House by a unanimous vote on September 6, 1966.

Republicans again answered the growing demand for increased responsibility in the streets and urban centers of our land when Representative Cramer (R.-Fla.) proposed and won approval for an anti-riot measure. This measure prohibited the interstate travel of professional demonstrators and troublemakers. It ultimately prevailed over a watered-down Administration substitute but failed in the Senate. Subsequently, approximately eighty Members of the House, Republican and Democrat, introduced this anti-riot measure as separate legislation. Unfortunately, this legislation was bottled up in the Democrat-controlled Judiciary Committee and failed of passage before the end of the session.

In another and vital area of criminal law reform, the Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966, House Republicans again remained vigilant to the cause of law and order. Republican-backed amendments were successful in turning back an Administration attempt to weaken the penalty structure of present law as it applies to sellers of narcotic drugs. Mandatory minimum sentences, which nearly all witnesses at the hearings had agreed upon as an effective deterrent to narcotics traffic, were thereby maintained to assist law-enforcement officers in the war on narcotic traffickers.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1966

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICHIGAN, REGARDING 2ND SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS.

The 89th Congress had some successes in its second session, but it will be most remembered for one glaring failure.

That failure was the refusal of this Democratic Congress, this Congress with greater than 2-to-1 Democratic majorities, to come to grips with inflation and thus strike a blow for the little people and the aged.

The destructiveness of the inflation now plaguing this country is worsening. The cost of living is continuing its sharp and steady climb. Yet this Democratic Congress refused to help hold down prices by cutting several billions in unnecessary federal spending. This Democratic Congress instead insisted on further inflating President Johnson's already-inflated budget.

The Nation has just suffered through a nearly-10-month legislative session with the "spendingest" President and Congress in our country's history. Together this combination spells Johnson-Democrat inflation, and that is the story of the second session, 89th Congress.

This Democratic Congress recorded another failure closely related to Johnson-Democrat inflation. The Congress did not increase Social Security benefits this year. Johnson-Democrat inflation demanded that there be action. Republicans urged passage of Social Security legislation at this session and introduced bills providing for automatic increases in benefits tied to the cost of living without a payroll tax increase.

President Johnson and Democrats in Congress ignored Republican pleas. Then Mr. Johnson suddenly--near the end of the session--called for congressional action next year on a benefits increase effective not now but in January, 1968. It was an increase to be financed by a payroll tax boost. When Republicans then demanded an immediate 8% across-the-board increase in Social Security benefits without a payroll tax increase, Democratic leaders shrugged it off.

Please note the answer Republicans received when Rep. John W. Byrnes, R-Wis., proposed a \$1.6 billion benefits boost without a payroll tax increase. HEW Undersecretary Wilbur J. Cohen said this could be done but it might contribute substantially to present inflationary pressures. The circle came right back to Johnson-Democrat inflation--the inflation which had created the need for a Social Security benefits increase in the first place.

(MORE)

RE: 2ND SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

Repeatedly during this session of Congress, President Johnson himself has hung a spender tag on his lopsided Democratic majorities. Yet in a recent campaign speech, Mr. Johnson said the historians would rate the 89th as "the great Congress." The President really ought to make up his mind. He can't have it both ways.

At the end of the last session, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said the 89th Congress in its second session ought to "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed."

Instead the Congress busied itself this year rushing through a whole new batch of legislation proposed by Mr. Johnson. Whatever loophole plugging and remedial action was taken resulted primarily because of Republican pressure.

You might call the tiny band of Republican Congressmen in the 89th the mighty minority because they:

- \* Helped write into the foreign aid bill a strict prohibition against aid to any free world nation trading with North Vietnam or Cuba.
- \* Helped hold the mass transit authorization to the \$150 million figure asked by the President, reducing it from the \$175 million sought by House Democratic leaders.
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- \* Led a successful fight to include in the Food for Freedom Act a ban on subsidized food sales to countries trading with North Vietnam.
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- \* Kept constant pressure on big-spending Democrats and thus kept their spending fever from getting worse than it was.

These were among the accomplishments of the 89th Congress, second session--  
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# # #



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For the purposes of supporting programs under S. 3008 in the field of family planning, our present plans contemplate \$20 million in fiscal year 1968, \$25 million in fiscal year 1969, and \$30 million in fiscal year 1970. We will review these figures in connection with our next year's program. In addition, funds are also being made available for family planning through Title XIX of the Social Security Act, Medical Assistance Program; Maternity and Infant Care project grants, and formula grants to the States for Maternal and Child Health Services.

I ask that the entire letter be reprinted in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. TYDINGS. This projection of expenditures indicates that the Department has now recognized the dimensions of the family planning problem in the United States and its willingness to commit funds of sufficient magnitude to begin meeting that problem.

As I pointed out at the time I introduced my domestic family planning bill, we need to spend between \$75 and \$100 million each year to provide family planning services to the 5 million indigent women of childbearing age who can be expected to desire such services.

While the spending levels projected by the Department will not meet the whole need, they will go a long way, and are of an order of magnitude of 5 to 10 times the present spending levels. This is an important breakthrough.

Other significant developments in the domestic field include two amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act which, first, gives the local community action agency, rather than the Office of Economic Opportunity, the authority to determine whether unmarried women shall be eligible to receive family planning information; and, second, authorizes \$61 million for neighborhood health centers, which may include family planning services.

The Congress also appropriated \$2.5 million, over and above the President's budget requests, for the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development to conduct research "in the area of population dynamics with particular emphasis upon research on the comparative effectiveness and impact of various contraceptive devices" and for training in the field of reproductive biology.

**II. FOREIGN FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM**

Significant breakthroughs were also achieved in the foreign field.

The food-for-peace bill establishes a 2-year program of food assistance to developing nations. It explicitly permits the local currencies generated by the sale of U.S. agricultural commodities to be used:

For financing, at the request of such country, programs emphasizing maternal welfare, child health and nutrition, and activities, where participation is voluntary, related to the problems of population growth, under procedures established by the President through any agency of the United States, or through any local agency which he determines is qualified to administer such activities.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 incorporates an amendment, which I of-

fered, which also authorizes the use of excess foreign currencies—counterpart funds—for voluntary family planning programs overseas. The definition of voluntary family planning programs includes "the dissemination of family planning information, medical assistance, and supplies to individuals who desire such assistance." During the consideration of the bill, the Congress affirmed that AID already possesses authority to use dollar funds, as well as local currencies, for "technical assistance and other activities in the field of population control."

Taken together, these bills provide a strong statutory basis for the expansion of federally supported family planning programs at home and abroad. There can no longer be any doubt in the administration or the country that this Congress was determined to defuse the population bomb.

The population clocks ticks every hour of every day. There is not a moment to lose in dealing with what President Johnson has called the most profound challenge to the future of all the world. It now remains for the administration to provide the initiative, the energy, and the staff to implement these programs effectively.

October 20, 1966.

**EXHIBIT 1**

Hon. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear SENATOR TYDINGS: Thank you for your letter of October 10 and for your interest in S. 3008 which would enable the Department to develop programs in family planning.

We have indicated in testimony in both the Senate and the House of Representatives that family planning programs can be developed as an integral part of comprehensive health services within the States. S. 3008 assures that comprehensive public health services, in which family planning would be included, can be developed through a flexible State grant program administered by the Public Health Service. This would be accomplished in two ways, first, by providing non-categorical formula grant support to localities and States for utilizing Federal assistance to meet their most important health problems; and secondly, by means of project grants for health services development which would enable the Public Health Service to award grants to any public or non-profit agency, institution, or organization to cover part of the cost of (1) providing services to meet health needs of limited geographic scope or of specialized regional or national significance, (2) stimulating and supporting for an initial period new programs of health service, or (3) undertaking studies, demonstrations, or training designed to develop new methods or improve existing methods of providing health services. Project grant awards may be made to public agencies such as State, county or metropolitan health departments, universities, hospitals, and to non-profit private voluntary organizations such as universities, hospitals, and voluntary agencies.

In his recent testimony before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Surgeon General, Dr. William H. Stewart, in response to specific questions by Representative Samuel N. Friedel, indicated that both the formula grant to States for comprehensive public health services and the project grant for health services development can be used to support family planning activities.

For the purposes of supporting programs under S. 3008 in the field of family planning,

our present plans contemplate \$20 million in fiscal year 1968, \$25 million in fiscal year 1969, and \$30 million in fiscal year 1970. We will review these figures in connection with our next year's program. In addition, funds are also being made available for family planning through Title XIX of the Social Security Act, Medical Assistance Program; Maternity and Infant Care project grants; and formula grants to the States for Maternal and Child Health Services.

In view of your deep and continuing interest in family planning, I am enclosing a copy of the Departmental Report which summarizes the current activities of our operating agencies in this important field.

Sincerely yours,

Under Secretary.

**Statement by Representative Gerald R. Ford, Republican, of Michigan, Regarding 2d Session, 89th Congress**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

**OF HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 22, 1966

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the 89th Congress had some successes in its 2d session, but it will be most remembered for one glaring failure.

That failure was the refusal of this Democratic Congress, this Congress with greater than 2-to-1 Democratic majorities, to come to grips with inflation and thus strike a blow for the little people and the aged.

The destructiveness of the inflation now plaguing this country is worsening. The cost of living is continuing its sharp and steady climb. Yet this Democratic Congress refused to help hold down prices by cutting several billions in unnecessary Federal spending. This Democratic Congress instead insisted on further inflating President Johnson's already-inflated budget.

The Nation has just suffered through a nearly 10-month legislative session with the "spendingest" President and Congress in our country's history. Together this combination spells Johnson-Democrat inflation, and that is the story of the 2d session, 89th Congress.

This Democratic Congress recorded another failure closely related to Johnson-Democrat inflation. The Congress did not increase social security benefits this year. Johnson-Democrat inflation demanded that there be action. Republicans urged passage of social security legislation at this session and introduced bills providing for automatic increases in benefits tied to the cost of living without a payroll tax increase.

President Johnson and Democrats in Congress ignored Republican pleas. Then Mr. Johnson suddenly—near the end of the session—called for congressional action next year on a benefits increase effective not now but in January 1968. It was an increase to be financed by a payroll tax boost. When Republi-

cans then demanded an immediate 8-percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits without a payroll tax increase. Democratic leaders shrugged it off.

Please note the answer Republicans received when Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, Republican, of Wisconsin, proposed a \$1.6 billion benefits boost without a payroll tax increase. HEW Under Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen said this could be done but it might contribute substantially to present inflationary pressures. The circle came right back to Johnson-Democrat inflation—the inflation which had created the need for a social security benefits increase in the first place.

Repeatedly during this session of Congress, President Johnson himself has hung a spender tag on his lopsided Democratic majorities. Yet in a recent campaign speech, Mr. Johnson said the historians would rate the 89th as "the great Congress." The President really ought to make up his mind. He cannot have it both ways.

At the end of the last session, Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD said the 89th Congress in its 2d session ought to "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed."

Instead the Congress busied itself this year rushing through a whole new batch of legislation proposed by Mr. Johnson. Whatever loophole plugging and remedial action was taken resulted primarily because of Republican pressure.

You might call the tiny band of Republican Congressmen in the 89th the mighty minority because they—

Helped write into the foreign aid bill a strict prohibition against aid to any free world nation trading with North Vietnam or Cuba.

Helped hold the mass transit authorization to the \$150 million figure asked by the President, reducing it from the \$175 million sought by House Democratic leaders.

Gained a change in the investment tax credit suspension bill to let business firms take the 7-percent credit for investments in air and water pollution control.

Exerted pressure which resulted in a \$7,500 ceiling on expenses for training a Job Corps enrollee.

Won approval of poverty war amendment requiring one-third participation by the poor in local community action programs.

Led a successful fight to include in the Food for Freedom Act a ban on subsidized food sales to countries trading with North Vietnam.

Succeeded in keeping the Federal Maritime Administration out of the new Transportation Department so that there can be a concerted effort in the years ahead to rebuild the U.S. merchant fleet.

Kept constant pressure on big-spending Democrats and thus kept their spending fever from getting worse than it was.

These were among the accomplishments of the 89th Congress, 2d session—improvements promoted by the mighty minority.

### Summary of Activities by the Senate Committee on Armed Services

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 22, 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record a summary of activities by the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES BY SENATE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, 89TH CONGRESS, 2d Session

##### LEGISLATION

P.L. 89-367: Supplemental 1966 authorization for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, for research, development, test, and evaluation, and for military construction.

Authorizes appropriations for these purposes in the amount of \$4,857,450,000.

P.L. 89-501: Authorizing appropriations during fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and for research, development, test, and evaluation for the armed forces, and military pay increase.

Authorizes appropriations for these purposes in the amount of \$17,480,759,000.

Provides a pay increase for members of the uniformed services of 3.2 percent.

P.L. 89-568: Military construction authorization.

Authorizes military construction and provides authorization for housing construction and maintenance in the amount of \$1,500,842,000.

P.L. 89-614: Military medical benefits.

Authorizes an improved health benefits program for members of the uniformed services and their dependents and for retired members by initiating a program of outpatient care from civilian medical sources for dependents of members and by providing a program of care in civilian facilities for retired members of the uniformed services.

P.L. 89-606: Increasing number of Air Force colonels and lieutenant colonels.

Provides an enhanced promotion opportunity for Air Force officers to the grade of colonel and lieutenant colonel by authorizing an increase in the number of officers that may hold these grades.

P.L. 89-650: Candidates for appointment to the military academies.

Permits the sons of Reserve officers who have been on active duty for more than eight years to be eligible to compete for Presidential appointments to the military academies and permits the sons of members of the uniformed services who were killed or totally disabled in the line of duty at any time to be eligible to compete for such appointments.

P.L. 89-608: Emergency evacuation allowance.

Extends authorization for the payment of special allowances to dependents of members of the uniformed services who are evacuated under emergency circumstances.

P.L. 89-538: Savings deposits for members of the uniformed services overseas.

To counter an adverse balance of payments and to encourage thrift, permits an interest rate as high as 10 percent to be paid on pay and allowances that are deposited by members of the Armed Forces overseas.

H.R. 15748: Thirty days leave and transportation extending service in Vietnam.

Authorizes 30 days leave and round trip transportation to the United States or to a place a member selects to a member of our armed forces in Vietnam who voluntarily extends his duty there for at least six months.

P.L. 89-534: Gold Star lapel buttons.

Authorizes gold star lapel buttons to the next of kin of members of the armed forces who lost their lives in Vietnam or as a result of cold war incidents.

H.R. 5297: Limiting revocation of retired pay.

Requires that reservists completing 20 years of satisfactory Federal service be furnished a certificate to this effect and that payment of retired pay beginning at age 60 based on such certificate may not be revoked except for fraud.

P.L. 89-490: Loan of equipment to Boy Scouts.

Authorizes the Secretary of Defense to lend equipment and to provide transportation and services to the Boy Scouts of America in connection with the Twelfth Boy Scouts World Jamboree and Twenty-first Boy Scouts World Conference to be held in 1967.

S. 2444: Alaska communications disposal. Authorizes the disposal of the Government-owned long-lines communication facilities in the State of Alaska.

S. 3834: Price adjustments on Defense milk contracts.

Permits adjustment of contract price on certain milk contracts by the Department of Defense where the cost of milk was affected by marketing orders by the Department of Agriculture.

S. 3887: Attendance at military academies of certain foreign nationals.

Permits admission of a limited number of students from countries associated in the defense of South Vietnam to service academies of the United States.

H.R. 266: Extending time for selecting retirement home.

Permits an extension in the time allowed for selecting a home to which transportation allowances are paid upon release from military service.

P.L. 89-603: Grade of brigadier general in medical service corps of regular Army.

Permits officers in the medical service corps of the regular Army to be appointed to the grade of brigadier general.

P.L. 89-607: Exempting certain contractors from examination-of-records clause.

Facilitates certain procurement overseas by authorizing waiver of examination-of-records clause in circumstances in which it is impracticable to include such a clause.

P.L. 89-609: Male nurses.

Authorizes regular commissions for male nurses for the Armed Forces.

P.L. 89-483: Civil defense emergency authorization.

Extends the authority of the President to proclaim a civil defense emergency and to invoke emergency powers in such an event.

H.R. 10646: Exemplary rehabilitation certificates.

Permits the Department of Labor to award an exemplary rehabilitation certificate to a member of the Armed Forces who has received a less than honorable discharge and who can show that his post service conduct has been exemplary.

H.R. 14761: Marine Corps generals.

Increases the number of Marine Corps officers that can be general officers.

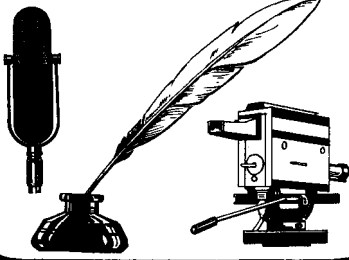
P.L. 89-536: Salary of academic dean of Naval Postgraduate School.

Amends a limitation on the salary of the academic dean of the Naval Postgraduate School.

P.L. 89-396: Loan of navy vessels the Republic of China.

Authorizes the loan of one destroyer and one destroyer escort to the Republic of China.

P.L. 89-533: Donation of obsolete weapon to Germany.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY HOUSE MINORITY LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., RE 1966 ELECTIONS

The voters Tuesday took a sizable step forward--toward Responsible Government. The Republican gains registered throughout the country were a victory not only for the Republican Party but for the American people.

The election results are particularly meaningful for the House of Representatives. The forces of moderation will be measurably strengthened in the next Congress. Republicans will have greater representation on congressional committees and will be able to take a hand in writing the nation's laws. This means Republicans can concentrate on building a record in the 90th Congress and on pointing the nation's course toward more responsible government. This promises a healthy choice for the voters in 1968.

Perhaps the most salutary effect of the 1966 elections is that there may be more prudent and frugal use of the taxpayers' money by the 90th Congress because of the increase in Republican numbers. This could serve as a brake on inflation and help to steady the economy.

The voters made some wise choices on Tuesday. I only hope the good-government process begun in the 1966 elections is completed in 1968.

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