

The original documents are located in Box D6, folder “Ford Press Releases - Credibility Gap, 1966-1967” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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NEWS RELEASE

Newport News, Va., Feb. 10, 1966

For release at time speech is made

EXCERPTS

As President Johnson directs the war, Republicans support a position of strength against Communist aggression. We will oppose those Democrats in the Congress who support a policy of appeasement, a weakness which led to World War II.

Republicans have long supported bipartisanship in foreign policy, and most especially at a time when the lives of Americans are at stake. But, bipartisanship is a two-way affair. It does not involve accepting decisions without first demanding a full, frank and public disclosure of the facts upon which those decisions are made.

As the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg once said, a fundamental prerequisite for a truly acceptable bipartisan policy is that "total information must be made available to Congress and the country and that Congress must completely explore and approve the measures by which the President's policy is to be implemented."

From the public viewpoint, there has not been this completeness of disclosure during the Viet Nam struggle.

The American people were not told in 1964 of the Hanoi peace overture. They were not fully advised of the degree and duration of the buildup of United States participation in the Viet Nam ground war.

Not until the 1966 State of the Union Message was there full, official Presidential indication of the distressing possibility that shedding American blood in Viet Nam could well last "for years."

Whereas Republican Congressional leaders were invited to meet with the President prior to his decision to resume bombing of North Viet Nam, there was not the same degree of communication when the President decided to order an extended pause in such bombings.

As Senator Vandenberg said upon another occasion: "We'll stand by you on the crash landings but ^{you} would like to be consulted at the take-off."

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Excerpts from a speech by Congressman Gerald R. Ford, House Republican Leader

The management of the "war on poverty" is a national disgrace. Republicans are working very hard to expose the mistakes, the poor administration, the political bossism.

I am not opposed to the idea of helping the poor to help themselves, but I am critical of the haphazard way the program is being managed by a Democrat Administration.

Unless there is prompt Congressional action to insure the soundness of the poverty program, the plan will continue to be mired in confusion and eventually be pushed aside by the economic demands of the Viet Nam war.

* * *

These are a few stunning examples of poor management of the war on poverty:

In Newport, Rhode Island, enrollees in the Youth Corps included the sons of a surgeon, businessmen, an executive, a school official, a lawyer, and Naval officers.

The *New York Times* reported that in our largest city the Harlem Youth Project had overspent \$2 million in funds contributed to the program by taxpayers.

The director of the Camp Breckinridge, Ky., Job Corps training center was fired when it was learned his wife and the wives of 51 other middle management employees were on the payroll. The camp had 350 staff members for the 358 trainees.

It was disclosed in Omaha, Nebraska, that 90 percent of the youths employed in a neighborhood poverty project were not from low-income families.

* * *

Republicans believe in moving ahead toward equality for all citizens, improving government and its services, increasing jobs and production without inflation. We believe that each State should determine its own kind of Legislature and its own laws.

* * *

These are the hours of destiny and Republicans are deeply concerned with the preservation of our Republic.

The problem of keeping our Republic strikes at the very heart of every American's future and welfare. It is a problem demanding the immediate and undivided attention of Americans.

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FOR THE SENATE:

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

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

March 31, 1966

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

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

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Staff Consultant - John B. Fisher



STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

March 31, 1966

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Big Brother
For Immediate Release
May 18, 1966

Republican Policy Committee Statement on Freedom of Information Legislation
S.1160

The Republican Policy Committee commends the Committee on Government Operations for reporting S.1160. This bill clarifies and protects the right of the public to essential information. Subject to certain exceptions and the right to court review, it would require every executive agency to give public notice or to make available to the public its methods of operation, public procedures, rules, policies, and precedents.

The Republican Policy Committee, the Republican Members of the Committee on Government Operations, and such groups as the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the professional journalism society Sigma Delta Chi, the National Editorial Association and the American Bar Association have long urged the enactment of this legislation. Due to the opposition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, however, this proposal has been bottled up in Committee for over a year. Certainly, information regarding the business of the government should be shared with the people. The screen of secrecy which now exists is a barrier to reporters as representatives of the public, to citizens in pursuit of information vital to their welfare, and to Members of Congress as they seek to carry out their constitutional functions.

Under this legislation, if a request for information is denied, the aggrieved person has the right to file an action in a U.S. District Court, and such court may order the production of any agency records that are improperly withheld. So that the court may consider the propriety of withholding, rather than being restricted to judicial sanctioning of agency discretion, the proceedings are de novo. In the trial, the burden of proof is correctly placed upon the agency. A private citizen cannot be asked to prove that an agency has withheld information improperly for he does not know the basis for the agency action.

Certainly, as the Committee report has stated: "No Government employee at any level believes that the 'public interest' would be served by disclosure of his failures or wrongdoings..." For example, the cost estimates submitted by contractors in connection with the multimillion-dollar deep sea "Mohole" project were withheld from the public even though it appeared that the firm which had won the lucrative contract had not submitted the lowest bid. Moreover, it was only as a result of searching inquiries by the press and Senator Kuchel (R., Cal.) that President Kennedy intervened to reverse the National Science Foundation's decision that it would not be "in the public interest" to disclose these estimates.

The requirements for disclosure in the present law are so hedged with restrictions that it has been cited as the statutory authority for 24 separate classifications devised by Federal agencies 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." This paper curtain must be pierced. This bill is an important first step.

(over)

In this period of selective disclosures, managed news, half-truths, and admitted distortions, the need for this legislation is abundantly clear. High officials have warned that our Government is in grave danger of losing the public's confidence both at home and abroad. The credibility gap that has affected the Administration pronouncements on domestic affairs and Vietnam has spread to other parts of the world. The on-again, off-again, obviously less-than-truthful manner in which the reduction of American forces in Europe has been handled has made this country the subject of ridicule and jokes. "Would you believe?" has now become more than a clever saying. It is a legitimate inquiry.

Americans have always taken great pride in their individual and national credibility. We have recognized that men and nations can be no better than their word. This legislation will help to blaze a trail of truthfulness and accurate disclosure in what has become a jungle of falsification, unjustified secrecy, and misstatement by statistic. The Republican Policy Committee urges the prompt enactment of S.1160.

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PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
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THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

June 9, 1966

FOR THE HOUSE
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STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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

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

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

On May 25, 1966, nineteen distinguished Republican members of the House of Representatives, including the entire Leadership, catalogued and summarized on the floor of the House the detailed reasons why this crisis of confidence has resulted. We have seen this in almost every aspect of the domestic scene. It has been revealed in the President's Budget messages and management. It has appeared in the War on Poverty. It has emerged relative to the NASA program. It was vivid in wage-price guidepost disputes with labor and with management. It was startling in his action on surplus sales of industrial stockpiles and farm products. It became bewildering in Federal job multiplication figures. It surfaced again in appointments to high level offices. It proved shocking in the President's uncertain assessment of the economy. In all these categories of confidence doubt has developed and the American people have, not at all surprisingly, steadily lost faith in a President who is rapidly losing touch with them. A consensus of no confidence is coming to pass.

Constructively, positively, let it be recorded here and now that the Republican opposition wants with all of its heart and energy to support the President of the United States when he is either right or of the right intent. In such cases it will always do so, but the

Republicans in the Congress -- and, indeed, the Democrats in Congress as well -- cannot know what is right or of right intent in the President's policies unless they have the facts upon which to base their judgments. The facts are all too seldom given us by this Administration.

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

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

Therefore, our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President, What CAN we believe?

June 9, 1966

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

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

Our nation is imperiled now.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For this reason, therefore, I urge again that the President

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

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

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

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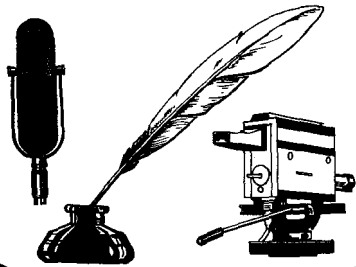
No American, in public office or in private life, wishes or seeks to know the details of any plan or program that must, in the interest of our national security, be kept in executive confidence, but every American does have the right to know where we are going in Viet Nam and how far and to what clear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

For this reason, therefore, I urge again that the President

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

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

Mr. President, What CAN we believe?



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MONDAY, JUNE 20, 1966

REGARDING FREEDOM OF INFORMATION BILL

The Congress has performed a notable service for the American people in passing the Freedom of Information Bill. It now remains for the President to sign the bill into law.

President Johnson has acquired a reputation for unnecessary secrecy, and his Administration has become known for its habit of classifying information which in many instances should be made public.

I recently challenged Mr. Johnson to sign the Freedom of Information bill after its approval by Congress. I now renew that challenge.

There is one respect in which the bill just passed falls short. It will not take effect until one year after it is signed. That means the voters cannot feel assured of a full flow of government information between now and November even with the new law on the books. That is most unfortunate.

But this legislation nevertheless looms as a landmark amid congressional efforts to further the people's right to know.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

NATIONAL 8 6800

NEWS



FOR RELEASE

FRIDAY AM'S
October 7, 1966

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS APPROVED OCTOBER 3, 1966
BY THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND WAS RELEASED
TODAY BY REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN RAY C. BLISS

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT THE ADMINISTRATION TO TELL THE TRUTH

Americans are becoming increasingly frustrated by the refusal of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to tell the full truth to the people. Whether it be called "news management" or the "credibility gap," the fact remains that in many areas of public policy, the Democratic Administration fails to tell the whole truth.

In Vietnam the Administration has issued a multitude of conflicting statements about the extent of U.S. involvement, the degree to which American troops are participating, the goals of the war, the reasons for American presence and, most importantly, the prospects for success. On October 1, 1963, for example, Secretary McNamara claimed that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. training personnel." When the Secretary painted that rosy picture, there were about 15,000 U.S. military personnel in Vietnam; by the end of 1965 that number had grown to 180,000; and today our presence is in the magnitude of 300,000.

-more-

One of Secretary McNamara's chief deputies has stated:

"Look, if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid. Did you hear that? ---Stupid."

On the domestic front, too, a credibility gap has been growing steadily--and rapidly--ever since the Eisenhower Administration left office.

The Secretary of Agriculture has said to Democratic candidates:

"Slip, slide, and duck any question of higher consumer prices if you possibly can."

There needs to be enacted "truth in budgeting" legislation, so that the American people can see for themselves how much of the people's money the Democratic Administration is spending. Suppression of the names of summer postal employees affords another example.

As a leading news commentator has noted, "the political lie has become a way of bureaucratic life."

In an era in which the United States seeks, and needs, friends, how can we expect the peoples of other lands to trust our Administration's statements when our own people are becoming increasingly suspicious of its motives and actions?

The Republican Coordinating Committee respectfully urges the Administration to be frank with the American people. The people need the whole truth.

Since the Democratic Party cannot be frank with the American people, the Republicans will tell them the truth.

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1967

No. 124

"WHY ARE WE PULLING OUR BEST PUNCHES IN VIETNAM?"

Speech in the House of Representatives by Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford of Michigan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After outlining his higher tax plans, the President added:

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

Who can question such a comparison?

But the question we may ask—the question I must ask—is this: Why, and how long, must U.S. Marines patrol that sweltering jungle? Why, and how long, must U.S. Navy and Air Force pilots brave increasingly deadly skies because the flow of sophisticated Soviet weapons has not been stopped? Why, and how long, must American soldiers—now nearly half a million—wait 10,000 miles from home to meet and match Asian enemies man to man, body for body?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, when you have to change a tire, you tighten every lug as hard as you can. If you only tighten one, or tighten them unevenly, your car will go

on wobbling down the road and wind up in a ditch.

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

I point no accusing finger. I do not want to be partisan or personal. This is not a Democratic war nor a Republican war but an American war, as all our wars have been once we were in them. My party has, in fact, stated its support of the war in Vietnam more explicitly and muted its public criticism and dissent more successfully than the President's party.

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, when these reasoned, responsible, and limited military measures were urged by the leaders of the loyal opposition party some 20 months ago, American casualties in Vietnam stood at less than 1,500 dead and 6,500 wounded; a total of 8,000 as compared to 87,000 today.

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

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

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

Second, our warning against involvement in a disadvantageous land war in Asia has gone unheeded. It now is ac-

ademic. Half a million Americans are deeply involved, more than 10,000 have lost their lives in the intervening 20 months, and the only answer present leadership has to offer is to order 45,000 more into battle.

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

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

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

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

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

I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war, and result in our committing a good many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land. And for that reason I haven't chosen to enlarge the war.

Mr. Speaker, I supported the President when he reversed this decision 6 months

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Would the American people believe that in mid-1967, after 2½ years of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam—an area about the size of Michigan—only three out of every 10 significant military targets had ever been struck by U.S. airpower?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

Would the American people believe that when Secretary McNamara made his ninth visit to Vietnam last month, public opinion that U.S. forces there might be used more effectively, nearly half the identified top priority targets in North Vietnam were officially off limits

to air attack under high-level orders from Washington?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

Would the American people believe that high-level directives for more than 2 years prevented American airmen from hitting five out of six of North Vietnam's key industrial targets? That however primitive, nearly 90 percent of the targets in the enemy's warmaking industrial base remained unscathed?

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

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

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

The real issue, Mr. Speaker, was whether we really have any hope of winning the Vietnam war, in the sense of meaningful and concerted military pressure that could force the enemy to the negotiating table, or not. If not, I can

see no justification for sending one more American over there, let alone 45,000.

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

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

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

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

The gentleman forecast.

On the same day Columnist Joseph Kraft in the Washington Post complained that—

Nowhere is the assertion that a specified effort continued over a particular time ought to yield a defined result. The Defense Secretary talks of progress, but does not say progress toward *what*. As a result there is no good measure for asserting what the United States is doing in Vietnam.

Maybe the President has some scheme for getting the country out of the war as invisibly as he got it into the war—

This columnist continued.

Maybe there is a program for applying military pressure until the other side breaks.

Maybe there is a plan for negotiations after the elections in South Vietnam next month.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Can we match the Asian Communists even in patience?

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

In his tax increase message President Johnson concluded that—

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

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

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

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

Without this, we shall continue to wallow and weave and wobble in what

General Eisenhower called "as nasty a mess as we have ever been in." Neither more men, nor more money, nor more material will do any good unless there is more will and more courage at the top.

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

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

Would Americans believe, Mr. Speaker, that during all of 1966, handcuffed by such secret restraints, brave American

Office Copy

airmen flew more than 100,000 combat missions over North Vietnam without attacking one of these significant strategic targets? Would they believe that under this policy, apparently unchanged, only about 1,000 strikes were directed against top priority pressure points during 1966, while 279 U.S. planes were lost?

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

I am not a military expert, but I have full confidence in many dedicated Americans who are, and in the facts that support their deep and patriotic concern. I believe the American people deserve to be told the truth about Vietnam. There is no need to conceal such information from the enemy, unless it be to deceive one's

own countrymen.

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

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

I do not want to wait until the September 1967 elections in South Vietnam

to start ending this war.

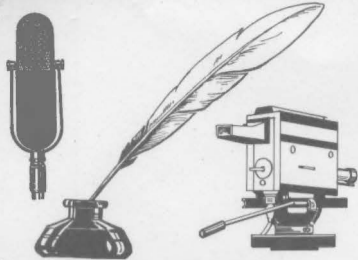
I do not want to wait until the 1968 elections in the United States to bring this war to an end.

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

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

It is my earnest plea that he will reconsider.

(Not Printed at Government Expense)



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR AM's RELEASE OR ON DELIVERY--

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(more)



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

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

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

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

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

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

After outlining his higher tax plans, the President added:

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

(more)

join his outfit on the line."

Who can question such a comparison?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Emphasis mine.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our air power punch?

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

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Can we match the Asian Communists even in patience?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is my earnest plea that he will reconsider.

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

Favorable to Unfavorable Ratio 10-to-1

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

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

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

NEGATIVE

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

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