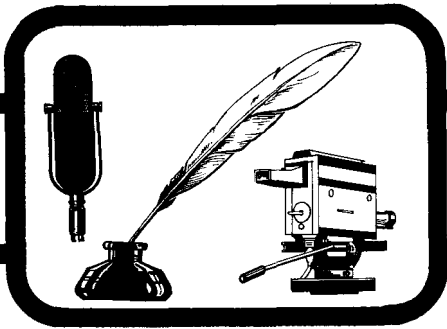


**The original documents are located in Box D9, folder “Ford Press Releases - State of the Union, 1966-1969” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tuesday, Dec. 20

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., House Minority Leader --

The thinking of some of the best brains in the country on the knottiest problems of the day will be reflected in the Republican State of the Union Message to be delivered in mid-January.

That will be the follow-through in connection with four seminars -- just concluded -- at which experts in various fields have shared their ideas on the major issues facing this Nation with the House Republican Leadership.

The last of these seminars, one dealing with economic matters, took place Monday afternoon. The others involved crime and law enforcement, defense, and federal-state relations.

House Republicans will demonstrate in the months ahead that theirs is a party of ideas, a party dedicated to problem-solving and the good of the Nation. The views of experts, sifted over by the House Republican Leadership, will be employed as an idea bank from which withdrawals will be made from time to time.

In the economic sphere, the experts we have consulted agree with me that an income tax increase at this time might trigger a recession. At the same time, they are alarmed by gigantic deficits which may result this fiscal year and next from the Johnson Administration's failure to cut back on federal domestic spending in January, 1966, and to propose a tax increase at that time. The feeling of the experts was that the economy then could have adjusted to a tax increase as a counter to inflation but that it might now go down with the punch.

Suggestions in the area of crime and law enforcement were broad and far-ranging. They included such proposals as a state-oriented National Academy of Justice aimed at improving the quality of local police forces and achieving better coordination among all law enforcement agencies, attempts to strengthen the ability of police to cope with organized crime and other criminal elements, and a nationwide program for the rehabilitation of criminal "repeaters."

Experts on military matters discussed with the House GOP Leadership such questions as the rate of development of a U.S. anti-ballistic missile system in the light of Soviet deployment of ABM's, the ramifications of the U.S.-Soviet agreement banning the deployment of missile systems in outer space, the level of effort in the entire military research and development field, and the quality of Defense Department management as related to the combat-readiness of U.S. forces and their ability to meet various contingencies.

The Federal-State Relations seminar was devoted chiefly to proposed sharing of federal tax revenue with states and cities.

The State of  
The Union-  
A Republican  
Appraisal



## FOREWORD

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

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

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

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



## International Affairs

By Senator Everett M. Dirksen

### Fellow Citizens:

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

The President has a mandate under the Consti-

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

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

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

### **Reason and Realism**

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

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

### **Our Relations With Other Countries**

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

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

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

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

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

### **The Horsemen of Despair**

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

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

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

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

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

### **Vietnam Is Not Our War**

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

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

### **Millions Spent To Aid French**

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

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

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

### **Joint Resolution**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**How else could we keep faith with the young dead?**

**How else do we redeem our word?**

**How else do we regain our prestige?**

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

All this is part of the State of the Union.

★ ★ ★



## Domestic Issues

By Cong. Gerald R. Ford

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

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

### The Torch of Dissent

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

torch of dissent responsibly and constructively.

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

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

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

### **Education**

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

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

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

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

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

Curricula must be enriched.

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

Vocational Rehabilitation for the handicapped must be expanded.

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

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

The door of education must be opened wide.

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

### **Compassion With Competence**

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

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

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



stopped fighting each other.

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

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

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

### Executive Reform

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Cost of Living

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Taxes

**H**ow many Americans know that the laws passed last year, supposedly reducing taxes, actually impose a net increase in Federal taxes for 1966 of

\$3½ billion? The President now advocates additional tax burdens to finance added costs both at home and abroad.

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

### Agriculture

**T**he farm parity ratio in 1965 was below the level of five years ago. At home, we seek a free and prosperous agriculture by encouraging the operation of a healthy market economy. We will continue to resist Administration efforts to artificially depress the market prices of farm commodities and to control the American farmers.

**World population increases are adding a new dimension to the problems of American agriculture and demand new thinking. For our overseas programs, we urge the extension of Public Law 480, the Eisenhower Food for Peace program, and we urge the enactment of legislation, already introduced by 65 Republicans in the House, to establish a bi-partisan "U.S. — World Food Study and Coordinating Commission," in order to begin immediately the task of closing the growing "food gap" on our planet.**

### Political Reforms

**W**e were surprised and pleased that the President touched on the subject of reform of political campaigns and elections. His recommendations do not go far enough.

**Ways must be found to eliminate vote fraud, curb the cost of political campaigns, and expand the franchise. Republicans will propose:**

- **to guard against abuses in the raising and use of political funds;**
- **to raise the ceiling on political expenditures to realistic levels;**
- **to bar effectively political contributions from corporations and unions;**
- **to require meaningful reporting of political contributions and expenditures.**

### **States of the Union**

**O**ur nation has thrived on the diversity and distribution of powers so wisely embedded in the Constitution. The Administration believes in centralized authority, ignoring and bypassing and undermining State responsibilities in almost every law that is passed. As a result, our constitutional structure is today in dangerous disrepair. The States of the Union form a vital cornerstone of our Federal system, and the headlong plunge toward centralization of power in Washington must be halted.

All of us here tonight salute the gallant fight of Senator Dirksen against the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and for the Reapportionment Amendment.

**We urge Congress to enact a system of tax sharing, long advocated by Republicans, to return to the States a fixed percentage of personal income tax without Federal controls. Funds from this source will lighten**

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

### **Unemployment Compensation**

**C**hanges in the system of unemployment compensation are needed, particularly to provide standby protection against the contingency of a substantial rise in the number of workers without jobs. We support the constructive suggestions worked out by the State Unemployment Compensation administrators to meet this problem. We oppose the Administration's bill that would substitute Federal judgment for State determination in matters such as standards and benefits in this program.

### **Civil Rights**

**M**aking real for all Americans the equality to which this nation is committed remains an urgent national concern. Recent progress is encouraging, but not enough. No citizen should be satisfied merely with the expectation of a better tomorrow. It is only right to expect that the Constitution of the United States be put in force everywhere now.

The Congress has enacted four civil rights acts since 1957. There now is need to review these laws, and especially tighten those designed to prevent violence and intimidation of citizens who exercise their constitutional rights.

**Hesitant administration of existing laws**

has made them less effective than they should be. The President has even failed to make the Community Relations Service the effective instrument which Congress intended it to be. Leaderless for half of last year, shunted off to an ambiguous position in the wrong Federal agency, this potentially valuable Service has suffered from neglect.

Let us make it clear to all — there cannot be two kinds of justice, one for whites, another for Negroes.

Nor can there be tolerance of riots, looting, violence, and disorder. These impede the progress sought by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

### The President's Challenge

Last week the President chided Americans who believe, as I do, that we cannot fight a war ten thousand miles away without setting priorities at home.

He asked: Whom will they sacrifice? . . . the poor?

Our answer is a resounding "NO!"

We will not sacrifice poor people.

**We will sacrifice poor programs, poorly conceived and poorly carried out.**

We will sacrifice poor administrators.

We will sacrifice poor arithmetic in public accounting.

**Any sacrifices we call for cannot be compared with those being made by 190 thou-**

sand Americans in Vietnam.

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

We will not sacrifice their future.

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

We are outnumbered two to one in this Congress.

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

We will never sacrifice the sacred right, and the sacred value to our country, of loyal dissent.

This is our duty to all Americans.

★ ★ ★

Prepared under the direction of the Republican  
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# The State of the Union — A Republican Appraisal

*Republican Congressional Leaders last Monday delivered, for the first time, their own State of the Union messages, in reply to the President's address of several days earlier. Some 200 Republican Members of Congress and their wives gathered in a historic Capitol chamber, which once housed the Senate and the Supreme Court, to hear Senate GOP Leader Everett M. Dirksen and House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford discuss the foreign and domestic scenes. The speeches were televised nationally by the three networks.*

By Sen. Everett M. Dirksen

**WE ARE THE LEGATEES** of a great, strong land. We received it from those who were here before us.

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

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

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

### **Our Pledges Fulfilled**

In pursuit of these high purposes, we spent more than \$120 billion of your money on foreign aid. We hoped that if we supplied the tools, other nations would supply the men on Freedom's frontier. We fulfilled our pledges. They did so only in part and too often with ill grace.

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

Two things are needed. The first is a careful, precise audit to see where our fleeting dollars went and what they really accomplished. The second is a sustained and expert scrutiny of every estimate for foreign aid to determine how the aid requested will be used and whether there will be dividends in the form of goodwill and real devotion to peace

and freedom. To accept less would be an injustice to the charity and sacrificial spirit of the American people.

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**CONSIDER NOW** the horsemen of despair who ride over the world—the population explosion, hunger, and poverty. They constitute a crisis already on our doorstep. We pay farmers to pro-



Dirksen: Our word . . .

Ford: Forward

duce less. Industry forever seeks ways to produce more at less cost. Meanwhile, births continue to grow and hunger stalks many areas of the world. Each year, the world gains 65 million persons. The number will grow. So will hunger. Can peace and hunger co-exist?

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

In a few years, Red China will have 800 million people. Leaders can survive only when the urgent creature needs of the people are met. The ugly heads of aggression and conquest vanish when there is no need for new domains. Surely, within the genius of American enterprise, the way can be found for the produce of our fruited plains to reach the empty bellies of the world. The signs of trouble are already written in the firmament and there is no time to lose. This too with its vast potential impact on our future involves the State of the Union.

Consider now the grim struggle in which we are  
(Continued on third page following)

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE  
**NEWSLETTER**  
SUPPLEMENT  
312 CONGRESSIONAL HOTEL  
598 Congress, Second Session  
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.  
January 24, 1968

# 'We Will Not Sacrifice the Ideals That Make Us Republicans'

By Rep. Gerald R. Ford

AS A MINORITY PARTY, it is our task to carry the torch of dissent responsibly and constructively. We look forward, not backward. Our people are restless and impatient with problems too long unsolved and too often compounded by bad laws and bureaucratic failings.

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

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

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

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

## Compassion With Competence

We must liberate the War on Poverty from waste, controversy, and the bad odor of political bossism. We must combine compassion with competence. This Nation can afford what is necessary to help the less fortunate among us to help themselves. The children of the poor must have the highest priority. How many of the poor have actually received any of the twenty-three hundred million taxpayers' dollars from the present War on Poverty? Tragically, very few.

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

America has long waged the most effective War on Poverty in history through the genius of private enterprise cooperating with government. We urge the enactment of the Republican-proposed Human Investment Act to bring private enterprise more effectively to bear on the problem of creating productive jobs for the poor. Through a seven per cent tax credit, this measure will encourage business and labor to employ and train people with limited skills and education.

## Executive Reform

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH of the Federal Government needs reform—not Presidential repatching or piecemeal creation of new departments. The proliferation of Federal programs, compounded by the mass production of laws in the



Congressman Ford, speaking in Old Supreme Court Chamber last Monday evening.

Newsletter Photo by Mickey Senko

last session of Congress, demands the attention of our people.

There are now 42 separate Federal agencies involved in education programs alone. There are at least 252 welfare programs today, including 52 separate Federal economic aid programs, 57 job training programs and 65 Federal programs to improve health. In the 10 years since the second Hoover Commission made its report, during five Democratic-controlled Congresses, employees on the Federal payroll have increased 175,000 and Federal expenditures have increased by \$57 billion.

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(Continued on Next Page)

## Dirksen: There Is No Substitute for Victory

(Continued from Page One)

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

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

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

### A Grim, Costly Battle

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

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

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

But as complications develop and the choice becomes guns or butter or both, groups and individuals become increasingly vocal. Let's get out. We must stay in. We must bomb Hanoi. We must not bomb. We must step up. We must hold back. We must negotiate. We must not negotiate.

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

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

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

SO WHAT? Is there then a rational course to follow? I believe so. Let the peace efforts continue.

Who can object to any honorable effort to secure peace where young blood is involved? Let the military effort continue. It demonstrates our determination to keep our word. Let it be intensified if necessary as sound military judgment dictates. There is, after all, no substitute for victory.

Let the objective be kept crystal clear at all times, and that is guaranteed freedom and independence for the Vietnamese. How else could we keep faith with the young dead? How else do we redeem our word? How else do we regain our prestige? How else do we maintain our leadership in the Free World? All this is part of the State of the Union.

## Ford: No Sacrifice Compares To Those Being Made in Vietnam

(Continued from Previous Page)

the wrong Federal agency, this potentially valuable Service has suffered from neglect.

Let us make it clear to all—there cannot be two kinds of justice, one for whites, another for Negroes. Nor can there be tolerance of riots, looting, violence, and disorder. These impede the progress sought by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

### The President's Challenge

Last week the President chided Americans who believe, as I do, that we cannot fight a war 10,000 miles away without setting priorities at home.

He asked: Whom will they sacrifice? . . . the poor? Our answer is a resounding "NO!"

We will not sacrifice poor people. We will sacrifice poor programs, poorly conceived and poorly carried out. We will sacrifice poor administrators. We will sacrifice poor arithmetic in public accounting.

Any sacrifices we call for, cannot be compared with those being made by 190,000 Americans in Vietnam.

And what of the sacrifices of their families at home, who share inequally in the promises of the Great Society? We urge more adequate housing for our fighting men and their families. We urge a new GI bill of rights of veterans. We will not sacrifice their future. Nor will we sacrifice the future of millions of Americans whose lifetime savings and modest pensions are being nibbled away by inflation.

We are outnumbered two to one in this Congress. But we will continue to speak out for the things in which we believe. We will not sacrifice the ideals that make us Republicans.

We will never sacrifice the sacred right, and the sacred value to our country, of loyal dissent. This is our duty to all Americans.



The State of  
the Union—  
A Republican  
Appraisal

1967



## FOREWORD

On Thursday night, January 19, 1967, the Republican Minority Leaders in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives — Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois and Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan — delivered a Republican message on the State of the Union.

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

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



## Domestic Issues

By Representative Gerald R. Ford

**A**gain we gather in this historic chamber, conscious of the invisible presence of great leaders of the past. This year we are reinforced by the visible presence of new leaders of the future. We welcome enthusiastically the 64 new Republican Senators and Representatives of the 90th Congress.

Senator Dirksen and I are here to give a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union.

November 8, the citizens of America voted on the State of the Union.

## Honesty and Candor

Their message came through loud and clear — a ringing vote for vigorous two-party government. It was a blunt demand for honesty and candor in public affairs. The Credibility Gap must go!

**W**e rejoice in the mandate—a *New Direction* for America.

**No era in our history began with higher hopes than the 1960's. We had bound up the Nation's wounds. We were blessed with eight years of strength, peace and progress under President Eisenhower.**

As the decade dawned, all Americans were stirred by the words, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The years have slipped by and now Americans in 1967 see the decade that dawned in hope fading into frustration and failure, bafflement and boredom.

**T**he President said that the election returns did not mean that people want progress to stop.

We agree.

**They want progress to START—now!**

For every problem of the Sixties, this Administration has revived tired theories of the Thirties.

**F**or the past two years, positive and practical Republican programs have been largely ignored.

Things will be different in the next two years!

We won the first round in the House of Representatives, 364 to 64, with three-quarters of the Democrats following our unanimous Republican lead.

We will win more — many more!

## New Direction, Not Coalition

**C**ynics may call every Republican victory in this Congress a coalition. Let's meet that issue head-on, right now.

The Democratic Party controls the Senate by almost 2 to 1, and the House by 3 to 2.

By definition, coalition requires advance consultation and ultimate compromise of conviction to win a legislative victory.

Republicans will make no such deals.

**R**epublicans will give leadership to the dynamic and Constructive Center in Congress.

We welcome every Democratic vote for positive Republican programs that will give New Direction to our Nation.

**We will press for creative Republican action. When New Direction demands it, we will say "No" to the old Democratic failures.**

Our "No" will be particularly emphatic if we are asked to slow down progress toward the equality that is the right of every American.

**N**ever forget, the Republican Party came into being to make real the belief that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. It is disheartening to see evidence that the Administration is lowering the priority given to these matters in the 90th Congress.

### Sensible Solutions for the Seventies

As we look to the years ahead, Republicans see a program of Sensible Solutions for the Seventies.

That program must begin in 1967.

First priority — the growth and prosperity of our economy.

**T**here are ominous signs of an economic slowdown this year. Unless our course is redirected decisively, we may well face the paradox of a recession with both increased inflation and increased taxation.

The Investment Tax Credit must be restored immediately.

An honest federal budget is imperative. If the Congress is to assess the needs of our economy intelligently, the Administration must not repeat its tragic error of presenting a budget of evasion, manipulation and gimmickry. This budget underestimated expenditures by at least \$14 billion, over \$4 billion of which was non-military.

Congress should immediately repeal the Participation Sales Act, which conceals and distorts the true budgetary situation.

**W**hen we know how much is needed for national security, the Congress can then make certain that essential domestic programs are adequately funded. Low priority programs, desirable as they may be, must be postponed. We assure the President tonight that Republicans will move to cut non-essential spending—even if he doesn't.

In addition, billions of dollars approved by Congress in the past remain unspent. This Congress must take a hard look at those funds. We propose a Rescission Bill, withdrawing the President's authority to obligate and spend such funds that cannot meet the test of economy in the new Congress.

The President belatedly promised to cut \$3 billion from expenditures by the end of June. He should spell out for the American people where these reductions have been made — if they have been made.

**With such uncertainties, the President has not made a convincing case for his tax increase.**

### Tax Sharing

**O**ne of the most significant results of the 1966 elections was the people's choice of 23 new Republican governors, and more than 700 new State legislators.

This reflects not only confidence in our party

and its fine candidates but also faith in State government itself.

**Republicans have faith in the constitutional concept of Federalism, which requires strong and vigorous State as well as national action on a variety of problems. Yet, seen through the Democrats' rear-view mirror of the Thirties, everything can be cured by Federal dictation and Federal funds, doled out through grants-in-aid which keep Washington as the manipulator of all strings.**

There are now over 400 Federal aid appropriations for 170 separate aid programs, administered by a total of 21 Federal Departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out Federal tax dollars.

**F**ederal aid to States and municipalities through this tangled thicket increased from \$1 billion in 1946 to about \$15 billion this year.

**Republicans reiterate their support for a system of tax sharing to return to the States and local governments a fixed percentage of personal income taxes without Federal control. This system would promote a swift improvement in education, law enforcement, community development, mass transit, and other essentially local problems.**

Smog is replacing the weather as the No. 1 topic of conversation, but no two cities have identical problems. Cities are far more diversified than States. They have one common denominator—their problems multiply as people move to the

suburbs. This exodus leaves less revenue to meet more problems.

Tax sharing would restore the needed vitality and diversity to our Federal system. Revenue sharing could also be accomplished with tax credits.

**M**any effective measures to improve agriculture originated with the National Commission on Rural Life, established by President Theodore Roosevelt. Republicans propose a National Committee on Urban Living be created without delay.

**An exaggerated example of urban problems is our own national capital. Yet a swarm of Federal experts is telling the cities how to cure their ills while the only Federal city in our Nation is a disgrace.**

Republicans believe Washington, D. C., should be made a "model city" for demonstration projects and new initiatives in urban progress.

## Education

Higher education and vocational education acts bear strong Republican imprints.

**W**e will continue our efforts to provide assistance to those who bear the rising cost of higher education through tax credits.

The Elementary and Secondary Act, however, at minimum requires substantial revision to simplify forms, reduce excessive paperwork and eliminate the heavy-handed Federal intrusions. All pre-school and early-school problems should be

consolidated in the Office of Education. Republicans trust local school boards to formulate policy and set priorities far more than we trust bureaucrats in Washington.

**Congress should take the Federal handcuffs off our local educators. The best way to do this is by tax sharing and tax credits. If the Democrats, who control Congress, refuse to consider tax sharing legislation, Republicans will seek to substitute block education grants, without Federal earmarking or controls.**

We will propose new approaches to reinforce the vitality and diversity that is the genius of our educational system. It is in the school that the doors of opportunity open to all American children. We shall not deny them the best that can be given.

## Social Security

**T**he President proposed Social Security changes that, it is estimated, would cost the equivalent of a 1.6 percent Social Security payroll tax increase.

At the present tax base, this would ultimately raise the total Social Security payroll tax to more than 12 percent. The Social Security trust fund must be kept sound. Greater benefits normally involve greater taxes, particularly burdensome to our younger citizens.

**As in the past, Republicans now favor an increase in permitted earnings by Social Security recipients. Present earning limitations reflect the depression mentality of the Thirties and make no sense for the Seventies. Widows' benefits and minimum**

**benefits must be brought into line with today's inflated living costs. Those still uncovered should, as soon as possible, be blanketed into the Social Security system at least by age 72.**

Our older citizens must be protected from the extortions of Great Society inflation. They can't wait while we debate.

**C**ongress should enact, retroactive to January 1, an 8 percent increase in Social Security benefits. These increased benefits can be achieved without any tax increase.

About 1/3 of the nation's poor are elderly citizens. Their situation is tragic and desperate. The Poverty War has passed them by.

In the past two years of Democratic control, basic Social Security benefits have fallen 7 percentage points behind the consumer price index.

**Republicans propose Social Security benefits rise automatically with rising prices. It is time we took Social Security out of election-year politics.**

## Veterans

**R**epublicans believe those called upon to sacrifice in Southeast Asia should be treated equally with other veterans. All veterans, war widows and their dependents should be protected from skyrocketing inflation by increased benefits.

## Poverty

The greatest poverty in this country today is the poverty of realistic ideas among Poverty War generals and sergeants. Sensible Republican proposals have been rejected arbitrarily.

Republicans will continue to press for total revamping and redirection of the Poverty War. We want an Opportunity Crusade that will enlist private enterprise and the States as effective partners of the Federal Government in this fight. We would give the children of poverty the very highest priority they deserve. As Republicans have urged for two years, Head Start requires follow-through in the early grades.

We propose a new Industry Youth Corps to provide private, productive employment and training on the job.

We propose the Republican Human Investment Act to induce employers to expand job opportunities for the unskilled.

We propose to enlarge the opportunities of low-income Americans for private home ownership.

All Americans demand a thorough airing of poverty administration, poverty publicity and poverty politics.

## Government Reorganization

The need for streamlining the national government has become even more urgent since we rec-

ommended a new Hoover-type commission a year ago. The President's only specific proposal for reorganization—to combine the Departments of Labor and Commerce—merely scratches the surface.

We believe the Post Office Department should be taken out of politics from top to bottom. Republicans favor selecting all Postmasters on merit alone.

What irony—we will probably deliver a man to the Moon before we can properly deliver the United States Mail to its correct address on Earth.

The colossal Department of Agriculture is another executive agency that needs reform. Republicans will continue to support the concept of fair farm prices in the market place, without price-depressing manipulation by bureaucrats. The mass and maze of federal farm laws, rules, regulations and forms must be simplified. Every farmer knows there's enough to do in every 24-hour day on the farm without a load of federal paperwork.

We applaud efforts to create more parks and seashores and will give special emphasis to the preservation of jobs and community stability.

## Labor-Management Laws

A year ago the President promised Congress he would soon propose new ways to handle national emergency strikes. Even though 1967 looms as a year of labor-management strife, the President has not yet delivered. Incredibly, he never mentioned it in his latest State of the Union message.

**W**ithout waiting further, Congress should choose a balanced commission of experts to make recommendations in this complex and sensitive area.

**Our unswerving purpose should be to strengthen free collective bargaining between equals, without unnecessary government meddling. Congress should undertake, without delay, a full review of labor-management laws and the operations of the National Labor Relations Board.**

It is unfair to both labor and management for Congress to legislate blindly in an atmosphere of crisis.

### **Election Reforms**

To do our job better, Congress should act promptly on the bipartisan recommendations for congressional reorganization endorsed last session by our House Republican Policy Committee, but pigeon-holed by the Democratic majority.

**W**e call for a strong House Ethics Committee and an investigating committee under the control of the minority.

Such reforms would restore the people's confidence in Congress and their Government.

Congress must also move ahead on the President's year-old pledge for a Clean Elections Law. Such a law must be on the books before 1968.

**This Clean Elections Law should guarantee full and accurate reporting of political contributions and expenditures in support of national candidates and put an end to**

**abuses in campaign finance. Legislation also is needed to encourage an increased flow of small contributions. Republicans are proud that 69 percent of our contributions in the last Presidential campaign were in sums of less than \$100.**

**L**ast year the Congress unwisely rushed through a bill which would provide as much as 60 million taxpayers' dollars to political parties for the 1968 campaign. This serious mistake should be reversed without delay.

Instead, the Congress would be wise to permit contributors an income tax deduction for political contributions up to \$100.

**Our antiquated Electoral College system of choosing the President should be changed to make sure the people's will prevails.**

**T**he biggest single campaign expense for any national candidate today is television time. Television brings the national debate into every American home. Yet no really thorough study has been made of the public's interest in television as a *political* medium. Television channels, of necessity limited in number, really belong to all the people.

They should not be at the service of the highest bidder or the party in power. They cannot be regulated solely by the conscience or convictions





of network executives and their most popular television faces.

An illogical federal law now operates to prevent television and radio stations from granting time without charge to major party candidates without making equal time available to a host of minor party candidates. We unequivocally favor nationally televised debates between future Presidential contenders.

**We propose legislation requiring television and radio to provide free and equal treatment to major parties and their spokes-**

**men not only in future campaigns, but also for the presentation of divergent political views throughout the periods between formal campaigning.**

### **Law Enforcement**

**C**rime and violence, disregard of law and disrespect for authority, immorality and irresponsibility are on the rise. We welcome the President's recent recognition of this enlarging crisis.

Republicans in the last Congress authored leg-

islation which created a National Commission for the Revision and Reform of Criminal Laws, a major step forward.

**The House also adopted last year, although it died in the Senate, a proposal which Republicans will renew this session in a "Citizens Rights Act of 1967." The Act would make it a crime to travel from one state to another with an intent to incite riots. It would also protect individuals in the exercise of their constitutional rights.**

Wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping worry all Americans who prize their privacy. Properly used, these are essential weapons to those who guard our Nation's security and wage ceaseless war against organized crime.

**T**he Congress, the President and the Courts must properly spell out the permissible limits of their use.

**At all levels of government a massive effort should be made to reduce crime by attacking some of its basic causes: poverty, slums, inadequate education and discrimination. However, our laws and actions should never be based on the theory that a criminal is solely the product of his environment.**

Fear of punishment remains an important deterrent to crime.

We call upon the independent Judicial Branch of our Government to uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused.

**M**ost Americans will resist any trend toward the establishment of a national police force or the unwarranted intrusion of Federal power into local law enforcement. Yet, there is a proper place for Federal assistance and leadership.

Within the Federal correctional system, the Work Release Program and other enlightened prisoner rehabilitation projects must be designed and expanded to reduce the number of second-time offenders.

**The primary responsibility for law enforcement must remain with the States and local authorities. In the last analysis, public safety depends upon the courage and character of the policeman patrolling his beat. The Federal Government can properly help in making law enforcement a more attractive and professional career.**

A National Law Enforcement Institute, similar to the successful National Institutes of Health, should be established for research and training and for the dissemination of the latest techniques in police science.

## National Security

**N**ot as Republicans but as Americans we are gravely worried about the Nation's security. This is not a partisan issue. The conflict is primarily between the Administration and the Congress.

The short-range military policies and the long-range defense posture of this country urgently demand searching re-examination and New Direction. Nothing in the President's State of the

Union Message lessened our deep concern in this all-important area.

Our strategic thinking of the 1970's and beyond, the timely planning and production of advanced weapons systems, and the prudent management of our total national defense capabilities have become stalled on a dead-end street.

**Republicans renew, with even greater urgency, our call for Congress to name a Blue Ribbon Commission of the most able and independent Americans to get on with this job.**

**W**ithin its Constitutional responsibility, Congress can do more.

We must take prompt action to modernize our Navy, increase our superiority in nuclear propulsion, and counter the growing threat of missile-carrying enemy submarines.

**We must take prompt steps to rebuild the American Merchant Marine, already shrunken to one-fifth its former size, and regain our lost lead over the Soviet Union in modern shipbuilding. Shockingly, the U.S. is no longer a major maritime power. The Maritime Administration must be upgraded as an independent agency.**

We must proceed at top speed with the development of long-delayed Advanced Manned Strategic Bombers and Improved Manned Interceptors.

**W**e must strengthen our Reserve and National Guard forces and eliminate inequities in the Draft. Our defense posture should be tailored to

our global commitments.

**The Administration has finally admitted to the American people that the Soviet Union has increased its Intercontinental Ballistic Missile capability and is deploying an Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System. In anticipation of a life-and-death decision on just such a development, Congress has voted millions of dollars which the Administration did not seek and apparently has not used.**

The Congress did its duty and gave the President a clear expression of its will and the means to carry it out.

Before more precious time is lost, Congress and the American people are now entitled to a clear explanation from the President of the perils and problems facing the United States in the new global balance of strategic power.

**W**e, too, seek to avoid a costly new round in the nuclear arms race. But the least the Nation must do now is to speed up its readiness to deploy Anti-Ballistics Missiles in a hurry if our survival requires it.

**Americans are properly devoted to the concept of civilian control in defense matters. This civilian control never before has meant consistent civilian disregard for professional military judgment, intimidation of dissenters and substitution of soulless computers for human experience.**

The first place to close the Credibility Gap is at the Pentagon.

All Americans join in the President's earnest

hopes for an honorable peace and foolproof disarmament. But they are deeply concerned that the Communists even now are intensifying both the hot and cold wars. We must prevail in this worldwide test of willpower and weaponry.

**N**othing has higher priority, in our judgment, than the safety, strength and survival of the United States of America, our people and our posterity.

There will be no Sensible Solutions for the Seventies, no Republicans or Democrats, if we fail in this supreme test of a nation.

To our President, we of the Loyal Opposition say—in the words of another anguished commander-in-chief:\*

“With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.”

\* Abraham Lincoln, 2nd Inaugural Address



## International Affairs

By Senator Everett M. Dirksen

My Fellow-Americans:

**T**he State of the Union — that is, the condition of our country — what is it as we stand on the threshold of another year and another Congress? Last week the President, as the Constitution requires, presented his view of the State of the Union. It was an hour-and-ten-minute address.

Tonight, we have but 27 minutes for a comparable appraisal. Time, therefore, permits but the briefest review of the matter. Mr. Ford has, very effectively, assessed the *domestic* State of the Union. Hence I shall speak only of our external relations with the world.

Perhaps Shakespeare said it all with the words he placed in the mouth of Macbeth. I paraphrase them slightly:

**“We are in blood, stepp’d in so deep,  
That should we wade no more,  
Returning were as tedious as go oe’r.”**

Our operations in Southeast Asia have provoked entreaties, demands, and demonstrations to draw back, to retreat, to leave our commitments unfulfilled. That would be an unthinkable course.

### 500,000 Americans Involved

We promised to heed the Macedonian cry of a small weak nation against the Red aggressors and their threats to her freedom and independence. That cry for help came. We responded. At first our response was of a token nature. But it has grown to become a vast, full-scale military and pacification operation. One way or another, about 500,000 Americans are engaged. The cost in blood and treasure has been enormous. Vietnam has become our third largest war.

**T**he President was both realistic and candid in

his comment in this regard last week. He emphasized the probability of “more cost, more loss, more agony.”

**The General commanding our forces in Vietnam seeks more troops. That would also mean more supplies, more weapons, more planes, and more of everything before the aggressor withdraws or the offer of negotiations is accepted. None of these seem probable at the moment and the grim Four Horsemen continue to stalk the land.**

Is there an answer to this vexing problem *other* than the classical one of enough troops, enough weapons, enough firepower to render the aggressor unable to continue his nefarious intent and design? I wonder.

### ‘We Mean Business’

Have self-inspired fears of Soviet or Red China intervention dissuaded us from a more vigorous effort on land, sea and in the air to bring this conflict to an end, including stern measures to stop the inflow of supplies, food and weapons from supposedly neutral nations? Let us make plain to the world that we mean business! We are in this war to carry out our commitments. To do less would be to break our pledge. In this grim undertaking, a teaspoonful of gospel is not enough. We must do all that is necessary until the freedom and independence of Vietnam are assured.

**I** hope that in the weeks and months ahead the dilemma of Vietnam will stimulate the most thoughtful discussion possible among our people

of all political faiths. As we search together for a solution to Vietnam let us demonstrate to the world our unity of purpose in full, free and orderly discussion of the best ways and means to achieve it.

**War spawns many evils: swollen budgets, the dislocation of young manpower, inflation, surly attitudes of other nations, restrictions on investment abroad, a perishable prosperity, and the brooding danger that our economy may be forced into the straightjacket of wage-and-price controls and perhaps higher taxes. And the evils rising from the crucible of conflict will multiply. Small wonder that the spirit of the nation is vexed and troubled!**

### **Must End Conflict**

We in the loyal opposition, with a primary accent on "loyal," while supporting to the fullest our fighting forces in Vietnam, ask — in fact, demand — that this Administration not only reinforce its determination to bring this conflict to an end in the shortest possible time but that it also look beyond the bombing and other violence of the conflict to where we shall stand and with whom we shall sit when the conflict ceases. What thought has been given thus far, not only to the exercise of far stronger military and diplomatic muscles as the war goes on, but to the making of an eventual peace? What policy will we be asked then to support? Do we sit down at the conference table and bargain with elements other than representatives of the duly constituted government in Hanoi? To do so might mean that any agreements reached would disintegrate overnight

and no line of defense would any longer exist from Saigon to Singapore if such a peacetable surrender should occur. Foresight is the essence of leadership. We stand in need of it as never before.

But Vietnam is not our only migraine. Elsewhere in the world, American foreign policy and its conduct are coming, increasingly, into serious question. In Latin America, the Alliance for Progress causes us now to wonder: Where is the Alliance? Where is the Progress? The failures of economic and social reform required, under Alliance agreement, of those Latin American nations receiving our financial aid are all too visible.

**I**n Africa, there is scarcely a country which has accepted our largess and is eager to accept more that has not become embroiled in internal or unneighborly conflicts that have resulted in a steady retreat from democracy and toward dictatorship or Red-tinted rule.

**I**n Europe, the Common Market holds neither hope nor promise for us. NATO is withering on the vine. Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces has been ordered out of France and has had to find refuge in Belgium. Britain, because of pressure on the pound sterling, has fore-shortened her lines of defense, diminished her troop strength and leaned even more heavily upon us. West Germany is eyeing the Communist markets in eastern Europe but *does* wish to retain our troops — at our expense. What strange bedfellows have developed in Europe — after we have taxed our people to keep them afloat!

To all this one can add the explosiveness of

the Middle East, the discouragement of American capital investment in India — unless Hindus or the Indian Government hold the controlling stock, the unpredictable attitudes of Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, the constant, and unrelenting attacks by Soviet leaders upon our alleged imperialism.

**There is virtue in the ancient admonition to “Be not weary in well-doing” but it is an aggravating experience to have the recipients of our aid and assistance bite the hand that seeks to help them.**

**V**ery pertinent now, because it will expire in June, is the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, intended, as its name suggests, to enlarge our trade abroad. It threatens, however, to do exactly the opposite. Well aware of the delicacy of our international economic position, finance ministers and trade negotiators of countless nations abroad have, for some months now, been horse-trading us out of the protection our industry and agriculture must have and have been enticing us down what begins to look like a rutted one-way street, especially as regards our farm products. It will be for the Congress, before June, to take a hard look at these proceedings, in the interest of American enterprise, the preservation of American jobs, and the continuation of the European markets for our farm products.

The current Trade Negotiations in Geneva are very important to all segments of our economy. Farmers should not be sold down the river in these Trade Negotiations. We will look with disfavor on any agricultural commodity agreement or arrangement that would limit our ability to

export agricultural commodities as a substitute for a truly reciprocal trade agreement program.

**When to these alarms there is added the critical problem of our endangered gold supply and the doubt now being expressed so often abroad as to the fiscal and monetary stability of the United States — never, for decades, hitherto questioned! — a clear, thorough and courageous evaluation of our foreign policy, our trade policies, and our international fiscal and monetary policies is clearly required. We call upon this Administration to agree to a bipartisan scrutiny and study — to begin now — conducted jointly with participants from industry, finance and agriculture.**

As a point and base of beginning for such a study, let me now propose, specifically, that a detailed examination be made of the possibility of forming what I choose to call the Western Economic Union — a Common Market of the nations of the Western Hemisphere — a structure for trade and *mutual* aid designed to stimulate the production and exchange of industrial products and those of agriculture in which protective barriers will not take the form of prohibitive self-defeating tariff walls but of economic policies of insurance against depression and want and despair from Attu to Patagonia.

**A**s regards the Middle East, let me also add the proposal that the United States take the initiative in reconvening the conference of the Tripartite Guarantee Powers, and that these Powers — the United States, the United Kingdom, and France — use this new conference to reaffirm their “unalterable opposition to the use of force or

threat of force” in the Arab-Israel area and revive their pledge to preserve the frontiers and armistice lines in the Middle East.

Of the President’s plea and proposals for the “building of bridges” to the East, it can be fairly asked whether it is truly intended that this East-West trade bridge be a double-decker, capable of moving traffic in each direction or whether it will, as has been so true in the past, become a structure for the conveying of our bounty and treasure to the unfriendly and uncooperative nations without any value whatsoever received in return.

**What justification can be cited for the Administration’s persistent effort to liberalize and extend terms tantamount to aid to the Soviet Union and Communist governments of Eastern Europe, while these nations are supplying most of the guns and missiles that are killing American soldiers and shooting down American planes in South-east Asia?**

The answer to all of this is a clear one: more attention to the conservation of our own strength and resources and less to those nations of the world who regard us as an amiable, vulnerable, jolly Santa Claus who can be slurred at will and cuffed with impunity. The international bank of good-will shows a mounting deficit where our external relations are concerned.

**H**ow truly “Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.” As our problems multiply and our worries increase, the responsibility of the Executive Leadership becomes ever the greater. So, too, the responsibility of the Republicans in loyal opposition be-

comes ever more meaningful. As we Republicans assess the present State of the Union and appraise the progress that we know can be ours, we refuse, despite the heat and burden which world affairs impose, to be dismayed or to despair. We refuse, indeed, as we look to the Seventies, to be weary in “welldoing”, but we are determined that our well-doing shall, to a greater degree, be directed toward the well-being of the American family and the American nation. We realize full well that we are not only in this world but of it. For the beneficences we have showered on this world we deserve something more than the ungrateful cry of “Yanqui, go home”.

To this necessary end — with positive proposals we shall offer the nation — and to this high purpose the Republican Leadership and the Republican Party now commit themselves with a whole heart.

★ ★ ★



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The State of  
The Union—  
A Republican  
Appraisal



## FOREWORD

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

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

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

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



## International Affairs

By Senator Everett M. Dirksen

### Fellow Citizens:

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

The President has a mandate under the Consti-

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

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

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

### **Reason and Realism**

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

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

### **Our Relations With Other Countries**

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

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

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

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

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

### **The Horsemen of Despair**

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

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

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

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

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

### **Vietnam Is Not Our War**

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

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

### **Millions Spent To Aid French**

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

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

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

### **Joint Resolution**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**How else could we keep faith with the young dead?**

**How else do we redeem our word?**

**How else do we regain our prestige?**

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

**All this is part of the State of the Union.**

★ ★ ★



## Domestic Issues

By Cong. Gerald R. Ford

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

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

### The Torch of Dissent

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

torch of dissent responsibly and constructively.

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

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

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

### Education

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

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

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

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

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

Curricula must be enriched.

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

Vocational Rehabilitation for the handicapped must be expanded.

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

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

The door of education must be opened wide.

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

### Compassion With Competence

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

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

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

stopped fighting each other.

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

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

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

### **Executive Reform**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Cost of Living**

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

### Taxes

**H**ow many Americans know that the laws passed last year, supposedly reducing taxes, actually impose a net increase in Federal taxes for 1966 of

\$3½ billion? The President now advocates additional tax burdens to finance added costs both at home and abroad.

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

### Agriculture

**T**he farm parity ratio in 1965 was below the level of five years ago. At home, we seek a free and prosperous agriculture by encouraging the operation of a healthy market economy. We will continue to resist Administration efforts to artificially depress the market prices of farm commodities and to control the American farmers.

**World population increases are adding a new dimension to the problems of American agriculture and demand new thinking. For our overseas programs, we urge the extension of Public Law 480, the Eisenhower Food for Peace program, and we urge the enactment of legislation, already introduced by 65 Republicans in the House, to establish a bi-partisan "U.S. — World Food Study and Coordinating Commission," in order to begin immediately the task of closing the growing "food gap" on our planet.**

### Political Reforms

**W**e were surprised and pleased that the President touched on the subject of reform of political campaigns and elections. His recommendations do not go far enough.

**Ways must be found to eliminate vote fraud, curb the cost of political campaigns, and expand the franchise. Republicans will propose:**

- **to guard against abuses in the raising and use of political funds;**
- **to raise the ceiling on political expenditures to realistic levels;**
- **to bar effectively political contributions from corporations and unions;**
- **to require meaningful reporting of political contributions and expenditures.**

### **States of the Union**

**O**ur nation has thrived on the diversity and distribution of powers so wisely embedded in the Constitution. The Administration believes in centralized authority, ignoring and bypassing and undermining State responsibilities in almost every law that is passed. As a result, our constitutional structure is today in dangerous disrepair. The States of the Union form a vital cornerstone of our Federal system, and the headlong plunge toward centralization of power in Washington must be halted.

All of us here tonight salute the gallant fight of Senator Dirksen against the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and for the Reapportionment Amendment.

**We urge Congress to enact a system of tax sharing, long advocated by Republicans, to return to the States a fixed percentage of personal income tax without Federal controls. Funds from this source will lighten**

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

### **Unemployment Compensation**

**C**hanges in the system of unemployment compensation are needed, particularly to provide standby protection against the contingency of a substantial rise in the number of workers without jobs. We support the constructive suggestions worked out by the State Unemployment Compensation administrators to meet this problem. We oppose the Administration's bill that would substitute Federal judgment for State determination in matters such as standards and benefits in this program.

### **Civil Rights**

**M**aking real for all Americans the equality to which this nation is committed remains an urgent national concern. Recent progress is encouraging, but not enough. No citizen should be satisfied merely with the expectation of a better tomorrow. It is only right to expect that the Constitution of the United States be put in force everywhere now.

The Congress has enacted four civil rights acts since 1957. There now is need to review these laws, and especially tighten those designed to prevent violence and intimidation of citizens who exercise their constitutional rights.

**Hesitant administration of existing laws**

has made them less effective than they should be. The President has even failed to make the Community Relations Service the effective instrument which Congress intended it to be. Leaderless for half of last year, shunted off to an ambiguous position in the wrong Federal agency, this potentially valuable Service has suffered from neglect.

Let us make it clear to all — there cannot be two kinds of justice, one for whites, another for Negroes.

Nor can there be tolerance of riots, looting, violence, and disorder. These impede the progress sought by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

### The President's Challenge

Last week the President chided Americans who believe, as I do, that we cannot fight a war ten thousand miles away without setting priorities at home.

He asked: Whom will they sacrifice? . . . the poor?

Our answer is a resounding "NO!"

We will not sacrifice poor people.

**We will sacrifice poor programs, poorly conceived and poorly carried out.**

We will sacrifice poor administrators.

We will sacrifice poor arithmetic in public accounting.

**Any sacrifices we call for cannot be compared with those being made by 190 thou-**

**sand Americans in Vietnam.**

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

We will not sacrifice their future.

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

We are outnumbered two to one in this Congress.

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

We will never sacrifice the sacred right, and the sacred value to our country, of loyal dissent.

This is our duty to all Americans.

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January 12, 1966

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY, EXPECTED  
ABOUT 9:00 P.M. (EST), WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1966  
TO ALL NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND TV STATIONS

CAUTION: There should be no premature release of this Message to the Congress, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this message until released, which includes any and all references to any material in this message.

Bill D. Moyers

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THE WHITE HOUSE

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE  
OF  
PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
TO BE DELIVERED TO A JOINT SESSION OF  
THE CONGRESS  
JANUARY 12, 1966

I come before you to report on the State of the Union for the third time.

I come to thank you, and to add my tribute, once more, to the nation's gratitude. For this Congress has already reserved for itself an honored chapter in the history of America.

Our nation is now engaged in a brutal and bitter conflict in Vietnam. Later tonight I want to discuss that struggle with you. It must be at the center of our concerns.

But we will not permit those who fire on us in Vietnam to win a victory over the desires and intentions of the American people. This nation is mighty enough -- its society healthy enough -- its people strong enough -- to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while building a Great Society at home.

That is what I have come to ask of you.

1. To provide the resources to carry forward, with full vigor, the great health and education programs enacted last year.
2. To provide the funds to prosecute with vigor and determination our war on poverty.
3. To give a new and daring direction to our foreign aid program, designed to make a maximum attack on hunger, disease and ignorance in those countries determined to help themselves -- and to help those nations trying to control population growth.
4. To make it possible to expand trade between the United States and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
5. To rebuild completely -- on a scale never before attempted -- entire central and slum areas of several of our cities.
6. To attack the wasteful and degrading poisoning of our rivers, and, as the cornerstone of this effort, clean completely entire large river basins.

MORE



7. To meet the growing menace of crime in the streets -- by building up local law enforcement -- and by revitalizing the entire federal system from prevention to probation.

8. To take additional steps to ensure equal justice to all our people -- by effectively enforcing non-discrimination in federal and state jury selection -- by making it a serious federal crime to obstruct public and private efforts to secure civil rights -- and by outlawing discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

9. To help me modernize and streamline the Federal Government by creating a new Cabinet level Department of Transportation and reorganizing several existing agencies. In turn, I will restructure our Civil Service System in the top grades so that men and women can be easily assigned to jobs where they are most needed, and ability will be both required and rewarded.

10. To make it possible for members of the House of Representatives to work more effectively in the service of the nation through a Constitutional Amendment extending the term of a Congressman to four years, concurrent with that of the President.

Because of Vietnam we cannot do all we should, or all we would like to do.

We will ruthlessly attack waste and inefficiency. We will make sure every dollar is spent with the thrift and common sense which recognizes how hard the taxpayer worked to earn it.

And we will continue to meet needs of our people.

Last year alone the wealth we produced increased 47 billion dollars; and it will soar again this year to a total over 720 billion dollars.

Because our economic policies have produced rising revenues -- if you approve every program I recommend -- our total deficit will be one of the lowest in many years -- only 1.8 billion dollars. Total spending will be 112.8 billion dollars. Revenues will be 111 billion dollars.

On a cash basis -- which is the way you and I keep our family budget -- the federal budget will show a surplus this year. That is to say, if we include all the money your government will take in and spend, your government will collect one half billion dollars more than it will spend in Fiscal Year 1967.

I do not come here tonight to ask for pleasant luxuries and idle pleasures. I am here to recommend that you -- the representatives of the richest nation on earth -- the elected servants of a people who live in abundance unmatched on this globe -- bring the most urgent deficiencies of life to all Americans.

There are men who cry out: We must sacrifice. Let us rather ask them: whom will they sacrifice? Will they sacrifice the children who seek learning -- the sick who need care -- the families who dwell in squalor now brightened by the hope of home? Will they sacrifice opportunity for the distressed -- the beauty of our land -- the hope of our poor.

Time may require further sacrifices. If so, we will make them.

But we will not heed those who wring it from the hopes of the unfortunate in a land of plenty.

I believe we can continue the Great Society while we fight in Vietnam. But if some do not believe this then, in the name of justice, let them call for the contribution of those who live in the fullness of our blessing, rather than strip it from the hands of those in need.

And let no one think the unfortunate and oppressed of this land sit stifled and alone in their hope. Hundreds of their servants and protectors sit before me now in this great chamber.

Three roads converge on the Great Society:

-- growth in the economic health and abundance of our country.

-- justice, to permit all our people to share the freedom and opportunity of America.

-- liberation of our genius and abundance to enrich the quality of our lives.

First is growth -- the national prosperity, which supports the well-being of our people and provides the tools of progress.

I can report to you what you have seen for yourselves in almost every city and countryside. This Nation is flourishing.

Workers are making more money than ever -- with after-tax income in the past five years up 33 percent and in the last year alone up 8 percent.

More people are working than ever -- an increase last year of 2-1/2 million jobs.

Corporations have greater after-tax earnings than ever -- up 65 percent and more over the past five years and last year alone a rise of 20 percent.

And average farm income is higher than ever -- up 40 percent over the past five years and last year up 22 percent.

I was informed this afternoon by the Secretary of the Treasury that his preliminary estimate indicates our balance of payments deficit has been reduced from 2.8 billion dollars in 1964 to 1.3 billion dollars, or less in 1965. This achievement has been made possible by the patriotic and voluntary cooperation of businessmen and bankers working with your government.

We must now work together with increased urgency to wipe out the balance of payments deficit altogether.

As our economy surges toward new heights we must increase our vigilance against the inflation which raises the cost of living and lowers the savings of every family. To prevent inflation it is essential that both labor and business exercise price and wage restraint.

I believe it desirable, because of increased military expenditures, that you temporarily restore the automobile and certain telephone excise tax reductions made effective only twelve days ago. Without raising taxes -- or even increasing the total tax bill paid -- we should

-- improve our withholding system so that Americans can more realistically pay-as-they-go;

-- speed up the collection of corporate taxes;

We should also make other simplifications of the tax structure.

I hope these measures will be adequate. But if the necessities of Vietnam require it, I will not hesitate to return to the Congress for additional appropriations and additional revenues.

MORE

The second road is justice. Simply defined, justice means a man's hope should not be limited by the color of his skin.

I propose:

-- legislation to establish unavoidable requirements for non-discriminatory jury selection in federal and state courts -- and to give the Attorney General the power necessary to enforce those requirements.

-- legislation to strengthen authority of federal courts to try those who murder, attack, or intimidate either civil rights workers or others exercising their constitutional rights -- and to increase penalties to a level equal to the nature of the crime.

-- legislation, resting on the fullest Constitutional authority of the Federal government, to prohibit racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing.

For that other nation within a nation ---the poor -- whose distress has now captured the conscience of America, I will ask the Congress not only to continue, but to speed up the War on Poverty.

For those who live on farms and in rural America, we must plan for the future through the establishment of several new Community Development Districts, improved education through the use of Teacher Corps teams, and better health measures, physical examinations, and adequate and available medical resources.

For those who labor, I propose to improve unemployment insurance, to expand minimum wage benefits, and -- by the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act -- to make the labor laws in all our states equal to the laws of the 31 states which do not have right-to-work measures.

And I also intend to ask the Congress to consider measures which, without improperly invading state and local authority, will enable us effectively to deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest.

The third path is the path of liberation. It is to use our success for the fulfillment of our lives. A great nation is one which breeds a great people. A great people flower not from wealth and power, but from a society which spurs them to the fullness of their genius. That alone is a Great Society.

Yet, slowly, painfully -- on the edge of victory -- has come the knowledge that shared prosperity is not enough. In the midst of abundance modern man walks oppressed by forces which menace and confine the quality of his life, and which individual abundance alone will not overcome.

We can subdue and master these forces -- bring increasing meaning to our lives -- if all of us -- governments and citizens -- are bold enough to change old ways, daring enough to assault new dangers, and if the dream is dear enough to call forth the limitless capacities of this great people.

This year we must continue to improve the quality of American life.

Let us fulfill and improve the great health and education programs of last year, extending special opportunities to those who risk their lives in our armed forces.

I urge the House of Representatives to complete action on three programs already passed by the Senate -- the Teacher Corps, rent assistance, and Home Rule for the District of Columbia.



In some of our urban areas, we must help rebuild entire sections and neighborhoods containing, in some cases, as many as 100,000 people. Working together, private enterprise and government must press forward with the task of providing homes and shops, parks and hospitals, and all the other necessary parts of a flourishing community where our people can come to live the good life.

I will offer other proposals to stimulate and reward planning for the growth of entire metropolitan areas.

Of all the reckless devastations of our natural heritage, none is more shameful than the continued poisoning of our rivers and air.

We must undertake a cooperative effort to end pollution in several entire river basins -- making additional federal funds available to help draw the plans and construct the plants necessary to make the waters of entire river systems clean -- and a source of pleasure and beauty for our people.

To attack and overcome growing crime and lawlessness we must have a stepped-up program to help modernize and strengthen local police forces.

Our people have a right to feel secure in their homes and on their streets. That right must be secured.

Nor can we fail to arrest the destruction of life and property on our highways.

I will propose the Highway Safety Act of 1966 to seek an end to the destruction on our highways which already kills 135 Americans every day -- cripples and injures three million each year -- and which threatens to destroy 80-90 billion dollars in property over the next ten years.

We must also act to prevent the deception of the American consumer -- requiring all packages to state clearly and truthfully their contents -- all interest and credit charges to be fully revealed -- and keeping harmful drugs and cosmetics away from our stores.

It is the genius of our Constitution that under its shelter of enduring institutions and rooted principles there is ample room for the rich fertility of American political invention.

We must change to master change.

I propose we take steps to modernize and streamline the Executive Branch and to modernize the relations between city, state and nation.

A new Department of Transportation is needed to bring together our transportation activities. The present structure -- 35 government agencies, spending 5 billion dollars yearly -- makes it impossible to serve either the growing demands of the nation -- the needs of the industry -- or the right of the taxpayer to full efficiency and frugality.

I will propose a program to construct and flight test a new supersonic transport airplane that will fly three times the speed of sound -- in excess of 2,000 miles per hour.

To examine our federal system -- the relation between city, state, nation and citizens -- we need a commission of the most distinguished scholars and men of public affairs. I will ask them -- to move on to develop a creative federalism to best use the wonderful diversity of our institutions and people to solve the problems, fulfill the dreams of the American people.

As the process of election becomes more complex and costly, we must make it

possible for those without personal wealth to enter public life without being obligated to a few large contributors.

I will submit legislation to revise the present unrealistic restrictions on contributions -- to prohibit the endless proliferation of committees, bringing local and state committees under the act -- to attach strong teeth and severe penalties to the requirement of full disclosure of contributions -- and to broaden the participation of the people, through tax incentives, to stimulate small contributions to the party and candidate of their choice.

To strengthen the work of Congress I strongly urge an amendment to provide a four-year term for Members of the House of Representatives -- which should not begin before 1972.

The present two-year term requires most Members of Congress to divert enormous energies to an almost constant process of campaigning -- depriving the nation of the fullest measure of their skill and wisdom. Today, too, the work of government is far more complex than in our early years, requiring more time to learn and master the technical tasks of legislation. And a longer term will serve to attract more men of the highest quality to political life. The nation, the principle of democracy, and each Congressional district, will be better served by a four-year term. And I urge your swift action.

(This is the end of the first section.)

## The Cup of Peril

Tonight the cup of peril is full in Vietnam.

That conflict is not an isolated episode, but another great event in the policy we have followed with strong consistency since World War II.

The touchstone of that policy is the interest of the United States -- the welfare and freedom of its people. But nations sink when they see that interest through a narrow glass.

In a world grown small and dangerous, pursuit of narrow aims could bring decay and even disaster.

An America mighty beyond description -- yet living in a hostile or despairing world -- would be neither safe, nor free to build a civilization to liberate the spirit of man.

In this pursuit we helped rebuild Western Europe -- gave aid to Greece and Turkey -- and defended the freedom of Berlin.

In this pursuit we have helped new nations toward independence, extended the helping hand of the Peace Corps and carried forward the largest program of economic assistance in the world.

In this pursuit we work to build a hemisphere of democracy and social justice.

In this pursuit we have defended against communist aggression -- in Korea under President Truman -- in the F ormosa Straits under President Eisenhower -- in Cuba under President Kennedy -- and again in Vietnam.

Tonight Vietnam must hold the center of our attention, but across the world problems and opportunities crowd in on the American nation. I will discuss them fully in the months to come, and I will follow the five continuing lines of policy that America has followed under four Presidents.

## Lines of Policy

The first principle is strength.

Tonight we are strong enough to keep all our commitments. We will need expenditures of 58.3 billion dollars for the next fiscal year to maintain this necessary might.

While special Vietnam expenditures for the next fiscal year are estimated to increase by 5.8 billion dollars, all the other expenditures in the entire federal budget will rise by only .6 billion dollars. This is true because of the stringent cost-conscious economies inaugurated in the Defense Department and throughout the government.

A second principle of policy is the effort to control, and reduce -- and ultimately eliminate modern engines of destruction.

We will vigorously pursue existing proposals -- and seek new ones -- to control arms -- and stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

A third major principle of our foreign policy is to help build those associations of nations which reflect the opportunities and necessities of the modern world.

MORE

By strengthening the common defense, by stimulating world commerce, by meeting new hopes, these associations serve the cause of a flourishing world.

We will take new steps this year to help strengthen the Alliance for Progress -- the unity of Europe -- the community of the Atlantic -- the regional organizations of developing continents, and that supreme association -- the United Nations.

We will work to strengthen economic cooperation -- to reduce barriers to trade -- and to improve international finance.

A fourth enduring strand of policy has been to help improve the life of man.

From the Marshall Plan, to this moment; that policy has rested on the claims of compassion -- and the certain knowledge that only a people advancing in expectation will build secure and peaceful lands.

This year I propose major new directions in our program of foreign assistance to help those countries who help themselves.

We will:

-- conduct a world-wide attack on the problems of hunger, disease, and ignorance.

-- place the matchless skill and resources of America -- in farming and in fertilizers -- at the service of those countries committed to developing a modern agriculture.

-- aid those who educate the young in other lands, and give children in other continents the same head start we are trying to give our own. To advance these ends I will propose the International Education Act of 1966.

I will also propose the International Health Act of 1966:

-- to strike at disease by a new effort to bring modern skills and knowledge to the uncared-for suffering of the world -- and by wiping out smallpox, malaria, and controlling yellow fever over most of the world in this decade.

-- to help countries trying to control population growth, by increasing our research -- and by earmarking funds to help their efforts.

-- in the next year we propose to dedicate one billion dollars to these efforts -- and we call on all who have the means to join this work.

#### The Insistent Urge

The fifth, and most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence -- the right of each people to govern themselves -- and shape their own institutions.

For a peaceful world order will be possible only when each country walks the way it has chosen for itself.

We follow this principle by encouraging the end of colonial rule.

We follow this principle, abroad as well as at home, by continued hostility to the rule of the many by the few -- or the oppression of one race by another.

MORE

We follow this principle by building bridges to Eastern Europe. I will ask the Congress for authority to remove the special tariff restrictions which are a barrier to increasing trade between East and West.

The insistent urge toward national independence is the strongest force of today's world.

In Africa and Asia and Latin America it is shattering the designs of those who would subdue others to their ideas or will.

It is eroding the unity of what was once a Stalinist empire.

In recent months a number of nations have cast out those who would subject them to the ambitions of mainland China.

History is on the side of freedom. It is on the side of societies shaped from the genius of each people. History does not favor a single system or belief -- unless force is used to make it so.

That is why it has been necessary for us to defend this basic principle of our policy -- in Berlin, in Korea, in Cuba -- and now in Vietnam.

MORE

A Distant Land

For tonight, as so many nights before, young Americans struggle and die in a distant land.

Tonight, as so many nights before, the American nation is asked to sacrifice the blood of its children and the fruits of its labor for the love of freedom.

How many times -- in my lifetime and in yours, have the American people gathered -- as they do now -- to hear their President tell them of conflict and danger.

Each time they have answered with all the effort that the security and the freedom of the nation required.

They do again tonight in Vietnam.

Not too many years ago Vietnam was a peaceful, if troubled, land. In the North was an independent communist government. In the South a people struggled to build a nation, with the friendly help of the United States.

There were some in South Vietnam who wished to force communist rule on their own people. But their progress was slight. Their hope of success was dim. Then, little more than six years ago, North Vietnam decided on conquest. From that day to this, soldiers and supplies have moved from North to South in a swelling stream -- swallowing the remnants of revolution in aggression.

As the assault mounted, our choice gradually became clear. We could leave, abandoning South Vietnam to its attackers and to certain conquest -- or we could stay and fight beside the people of South Vietnam.

We stayed.

And we will stay until aggression has stopped.

We will stay because a just nation cannot leave to the cruelties of its enemies a people who have staked their lives and independence on our solemn pledge -- a pledge which has grown through the commitments of three American Presidents.

We will stay because in Asia -- and around the world -- are countries whose course of independence rests, in large measure, on confidence in American protection. To yield to force in Vietnam would weaken that confidence, undermine the independence of many lands, and whet the appetite of the aggressor. We would have to fight in one land, and then another -- or abandon much of Asia to the domination of communists.

And we do not intend to abandon Asia to conquest.

The Changing Nature of War

Last year the nature of the war in Vietnam changed again. Swiftly increasing numbers of armed men from the North crossed the border to join forces already in the South. Attack and terror increased, spurred and encouraged by the belief the United States lacked the will to continue and that victory was near.

Despite our desire to limit conflict, it was necessary to act: to hold back the mounting aggression -- to give courage to the people of the South -- and to make our firmness clear to the North. Thus we began limited air action against military targets in North Vietnam -- and increased our fighting force to its present strength of 190,000 men.

These moves have not ended the aggression but they have prevented its success. The aims of the enemy have been put out of reach by the skill and bravery of Americans and their allies -- and by the enduring courage of the South Vietnamese who have lost eight men last year for every one of ours.

The enemy is no longer close to victory. Time is no longer on his side. There is no cause to doubt the American commitment.

Our decision to stand firm has been matched by our desire for peace.

### The Search for Peace

In 1965 we had 300 private talks for peace in Vietnam with friends and adversaries, throughout the world.

Since Christmas your government has labored again -- with imagination and endurance -- to remove any barrier to peaceful settlement. For 20 days now we and our Vietnamese allies have dropped no bombs in North Vietnam.

Able and experienced spokesmen have visited forty countries. We have talked to more than a hundred governments. We have informed the United Nations, and called upon its members to help toward peace.

In public statements and private communications -- to adversaries and to friends, in Rome and Warsaw, in Paris and Tokyo, in Africa and throughout this hemisphere -- we have made our position clear.

We seek neither territory nor bases, economic domination or military alliance in Vietnam. We fight for the principle of self-determination -- that the people of South Vietnam should be able to choose their own course, in free elections, without violence, terror and fear. We believe the people of all Vietnam should make a free decision on the great question of reunification.

This is all we want for South Vietnam. It is all the people of South Vietnam want. And if there is a single nation on this earth that desires less than this for its people, let its voice be heard.

We have also made it clear -- from Hanoi to New York -- there are no arbitrary limits to our search for peace. We stand by the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. We will meet at any Conference table, discuss any proposals -- four points or fourteen or forty -- and consider the views of any group. We will work for a cease-fire now or once discussions have begun. We will respond if others reduce their use of force; and we will withdraw our soldiers once South Vietnam is securely guaranteed the right to shape its own future.

We have said all this, and we have asked -- and hoped -- and waited for a response.

So far we have received no response to prove either success or failure.

We have carried our quest for peace to many nations and peoples because we share this planet with others whose future, in large measure, is tied to our action, and whose counsel is necessary to our own hopes.

We have found understanding and support. And we know they wait with us tonight for a response that can lead to peace.

MORE

### The Days Ahead

I wish tonight I could give you a blueprint for the course of this conflict over the coming months, but we cannot know what the future may require. We may have to face long, hard combat or a long, hard conference, or even both at once.

Until peace comes, or if it does not come, our course is clear. We will act as we must to help protect the independence of the valiant people of South Vietnam. We will strive to limit conflict, for we wish neither increased destruction nor increased danger.

But we will give our fighting men what they must have: every gun, every dollar, and every decision -- whatever the cost and whatever the challenge.

And we will continue to help the people of South Vietnam care for those ravaged by battle, create progress in the villages, and carry forward the healing hopes of peace as best they can amidst the uncertain terrors of war.

Let me be absolutely clear: The days may become months, and the months may become years, but we will stay as long as aggression commands us to battle.

There may be some who do not want peace -- whose ambitions stretch so far that war in Vietnam is but a welcome and convenient episode in an immense design to subdue history to their will. But for others it must now be clear the choice is not between peace and victory. It lies between peace and the ravages of a conflict from which they can only lose.

The people of Vietnam, North and South, seek the same things: the shared needs of man, the needs for food and shelter and education -- the chance to build and work and till the soil free from the arbitrary horrors of battle -- and the desire to walk in the dignity of those who master their own destiny. For many painful years, in war and revolution and infrequent peace, they have struggled to fulfill those needs.

### Crime Against Mankind

It is a crime against mankind that so much courage, and so much will, and so many dreams, must be flung on the fires of war and death.

To all those caught up in this conflict, we therefore say again: Let us choose peace, and with it the wondrous works of peace, and beyond that, the time when hope reaches unchained toward consummation, and life is the servant of life.

In this work, we will discharge our duty to the people whom we serve.

### The State of the Union

This is the State of the Union.

But over it all -- wealth, promise, and expectation -- lies our troubling awareness of American men at war.

How many men who listen to me tonight have served their nation in other wars. How many, how very many, are not here to listen.

MORE



The war in Vietnam is not like these other wars. Yet, finally, war is always the same. It is young men dying in the fullness of their promise. It is trying to kill a man you do not even know well enough to hate.

Therefore, to know war is to know there is still madness in the world.

Many of you share the burden of this knowledge with me. But there is a difference. For finally I must order our guns to fire, against all the most inward pulls of my desire. For we have children to teach and sick to be cured and men to be freed. There are poor to be lifted up and cities to be built and a world to be helped.

Yet we do what we must.

I am hopeful, and I will try, to end this battle and return our sons to their desires.

Yet as long as others will challenge our security and test the dearness of our beliefs with fire and steel, then we must stand or see the promise of two centuries tremble. I believe you do not want me to try that risk. And from that belief your President summons his strength for the trials ahead.

The work must be our work now. Scarred by the weaknesses of man, with whatever guidance God may offer us, we must nevertheless and alone with our mortality, strive to ennoble the life of man on earth.

# # #



*Official Copy*

The State of  
the Union—  
A Republican  
Appraisal

1967



## FOREWORD

On Thursday night, January 19, 1967, the Republican Minority Leaders in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives — Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois and Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan — delivered a Republican message on the State of the Union.

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

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



## Domestic Issues

By Representative Gerald R. Ford

**A**gain we gather in this historic chamber, conscious of the invisible presence of great leaders of the past. This year we are reinforced by the visible presence of new leaders of the future. We welcome enthusiastically the 64 new Republican Senators and Representatives of the 90th Congress.

Senator Dirksen and I are here to give a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union.

November 8, the citizens of America voted on the State of the Union.

## Honesty and Candor

Their message came through loud and clear — a ringing vote for vigorous two-party government. It was a blunt demand for honesty and candor in public affairs. The Credibility Gap must go!

**W**e rejoice in the mandate—a *New Direction* for America.

**No era in our history began with higher hopes than the 1960's. We had bound up the Nation's wounds. We were blessed with eight years of strength, peace and progress under President Eisenhower.**

As the decade dawned, all Americans were stirred by the words, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The years have slipped by and now Americans in 1967 see the decade that dawned in hope fading into frustration and failure, bafflement and boredom.

**T**he President said that the election returns did not mean that people want progress to stop.

We agree.

**They want progress to START—now!**

For every problem of the Sixties, this Administration has revived tired theories of the Thirties.

**F**or the past two years, positive and practical Republican programs have been largely ignored.

Things will be different in the next two years!

We won the first round in the House of Representatives, 364 to 64, with three-quarters of the Democrats following our unanimous Republican lead.

We will win more — many more!

## New Direction, Not Coalition

**C**ynics may call every Republican victory in this Congress a coalition. Let's meet that issue head-on, right now.

The Democratic Party controls the Senate by almost 2 to 1, and the House by 3 to 2.

By definition, coalition requires advance consultation and ultimate compromise of conviction to win a legislative victory.

Republicans will make no such deals.

**R**epublicans will give leadership to the dynamic and Constructive Center in Congress.

We welcome every Democratic vote for positive Republican programs that will give New Direction to our Nation.

**We will press for creative Republican action. When New Direction demands it, we will say "No" to the old Democratic failures.**

Our "No" will be particularly emphatic if we are asked to slow down progress toward the equality that is the right of every American.

**N**ever forget, the Republican Party came into being to make real the belief that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. It is disheartening to see evidence that the Administration is lowering the priority given to these matters in the 90th Congress.

### Sensible Solutions for the Seventies

As we look to the years ahead, Republicans see a program of Sensible Solutions for the Seventies.

That program must begin in 1967.

First priority — the growth and prosperity of our economy.

**T**here are ominous signs of an economic slowdown this year. Unless our course is redirected decisively, we may well face the paradox of a recession with both increased inflation and increased taxation.

The Investment Tax Credit must be restored immediately.

An honest federal budget is imperative. If the Congress is to assess the needs of our economy intelligently, the Administration must not repeat its tragic error of presenting a budget of evasion, manipulation and gimmickry. This budget underestimated expenditures by at least \$14 billion, over \$4 billion of which was non-military.

Congress should immediately repeal the Participation Sales Act, which conceals and distorts the true budgetary situation.

**W**hen we know how much is needed for national security, the Congress can then make certain that essential domestic programs are adequately funded. Low priority programs, desirable as they may be, must be postponed. We assure the President tonight that Republicans will move to cut non-essential spending—even if he doesn't.

In addition, billions of dollars approved by Congress in the past remain unspent. This Congress must take a hard look at those funds. We propose a Rescission Bill, withdrawing the President's authority to obligate and spend such funds that cannot meet the test of economy in the new Congress.

The President belatedly promised to cut \$3 billion from expenditures by the end of June. He should spell out for the American people where these reductions have been made — if they have been made.

**With such uncertainties, the President has not made a convincing case for his tax increase.**

### Tax Sharing

**O**ne of the most significant results of the 1966 elections was the people's choice of 23 new Republican governors, and more than 700 new State legislators.

This reflects not only confidence in our party

and its fine candidates but also faith in State government itself.

**Republicans have faith in the constitutional concept of Federalism, which requires strong and vigorous State as well as national action on a variety of problems. Yet, seen through the Democrats' rear-view mirror of the Thirties, everything can be cured by Federal dictation and Federal funds, doled out through grants-in-aid which keep Washington as the manipulator of all strings.**

There are now over 400 Federal aid appropriations for 170 separate aid programs, administered by a total of 21 Federal Departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out Federal tax dollars.

**F**ederal aid to States and municipalities through this tangled thicket increased from \$1 billion in 1946 to about \$15 billion this year.

**Republicans reiterate their support for a system of tax sharing to return to the States and local governments a fixed percentage of personal income taxes without Federal control. This system would promote a swift improvement in education, law enforcement, community development, mass transit, and other essentially local problems.**

Smog is replacing the weather as the No. 1 topic of conversation, but no two cities have identical problems. Cities are far more diversified than States. They have one common denominator—their problems multiply as people move to the

suburbs. This exodus leaves less revenue to meet more problems.

Tax sharing would restore the needed vitality and diversity to our Federal system. Revenue sharing could also be accomplished with tax credits.

**M**any effective measures to improve agriculture originated with the National Commission on Rural Life, established by President Theodore Roosevelt. Republicans propose a National Committee on Urban Living be created without delay.

**An exaggerated example of urban problems is our own national capital. Yet a swarm of Federal experts is telling the cities how to cure their ills while the only Federal city in our Nation is a disgrace.**

Republicans believe Washington, D. C., should be made a "model city" for demonstration projects and new initiatives in urban progress.

## Education

Higher education and vocational education acts bear strong Republican imprints.

**W**e will continue our efforts to provide assistance to those who bear the rising cost of higher education through tax credits.

The Elementary and Secondary Act, however, at minimum requires substantial revision to simplify forms, reduce excessive paperwork and eliminate the heavy-handed Federal intrusions. All pre-school and early-school problems should be

consolidated in the Office of Education. Republicans trust local school boards to formulate policy and set priorities far more than we trust bureaucrats in Washington.

**Congress should take the Federal handcuffs off our local educators. The best way to do this is by tax sharing and tax credits. If the Democrats, who control Congress, refuse to consider tax sharing legislation, Republicans will seek to substitute block education grants, without Federal earmarking or controls.**

We will propose new approaches to reinforce the vitality and diversity that is the genius of our educational system. It is in the school that the doors of opportunity open to all American children. We shall not deny them the best that can be given.

### **Social Security**

**T**he President proposed Social Security changes that, it is estimated, would cost the equivalent of a 1.6 percent Social Security payroll tax increase.

At the present tax base, this would ultimately raise the total Social Security payroll tax to more than 12 percent. The Social Security trust fund must be kept sound. Greater benefits normally involve greater taxes, particularly burdensome to our younger citizens.

**As in the past, Republicans now favor an increase in permitted earnings by Social Security recipients. Present earning limitations reflect the depression mentality of the Thirties and make no sense for the Seventies. Widows' benefits and minimum**

**benefits must be brought into line with today's inflated living costs. Those still uncovered should, as soon as possible, be blanketed into the Social Security system at least by age 72.**

Our older citizens must be protected from the extortions of Great Society inflation. They can't wait while we debate.

**C**ongress should enact, retroactive to January 1, an 8 percent increase in Social Security benefits. These increased benefits can be achieved without any tax increase.

About 1/3 of the nation's poor are elderly citizens. Their situation is tragic and desperate. The Poverty War has passed them by.

In the past two years of Democratic control, basic Social Security benefits have fallen 7 percentage points behind the consumer price index.

**Republicans propose Social Security benefits rise automatically with rising prices. It is time we took Social Security out of election-year politics.**

### **Veterans**

**R**epublicans believe those called upon to sacrifice in Southeast Asia should be treated equally with other veterans. All veterans, war widows and their dependents should be protected from skyrocketing inflation by increased benefits.

## Poverty

The greatest poverty in this country today is the poverty of realistic ideas among Poverty War generals and sergeants. Sensible Republican proposals have been rejected arbitrarily.

**Republicans will continue to press for total revamping and redirection of the Poverty War. We want an Opportunity Crusade that will enlist private enterprise and the States as effective partners of the Federal Government in this fight. We would give the children of poverty the very highest priority they deserve. As Republicans have urged for two years, Head Start requires follow-through in the early grades.**

We propose a new Industry Youth Corps to provide private, productive employment and training on the job.

**We** propose the Republican Human Investment Act to induce employers to expand job opportunities for the unskilled.

**We propose to enlarge the opportunities of low-income Americans for private home ownership.**

All Americans demand a thorough airing of poverty administration, poverty publicity and poverty politics.

## Government Reorganization

The need for streamlining the national government has become even more urgent since we rec-

ommended a new Hoover-type commission a year ago. The President's only specific proposal for reorganization—to combine the Departments of Labor and Commerce—merely scratches the surface.

**We** believe the Post Office Department should be taken out of politics from top to bottom. Republicans favor selecting all Postmasters on merit alone.

What irony—we will probably deliver a man to the Moon before we can properly deliver the United States Mail to its correct address on Earth.

**The colossal Department of Agriculture is another executive agency that needs reform. Republicans will continue to support the concept of fair farm prices in the market place, without price-depressing manipulation by bureaucrats. The mass and maze of federal farm laws, rules, regulations and forms must be simplified. Every farmer knows there's enough to do in every 24-hour day on the farm without a load of federal paperwork.**

We applaud efforts to create more parks and seashores and will give special emphasis to the preservation of jobs and community stability.

## Labor-Management Laws

A year ago the President promised Congress he would soon propose new ways to handle national emergency strikes. Even though 1967 looms as a year of labor-management strife, the President has not yet delivered. Incredibly, he never mentioned it in his latest State of the Union message.



**W**ithout waiting further, Congress should choose a balanced commission of experts to make recommendations in this complex and sensitive area.

**Our unswerving purpose should be to strengthen free collective bargaining between equals, without unnecessary government meddling. Congress should undertake, without delay, a full review of labor-management laws and the operations of the National Labor Relations Board.**

It is unfair to both labor and management for Congress to legislate blindly in an atmosphere of crisis.

### **Election Reforms**

To do our job better, Congress should act promptly on the bipartisan recommendations for congressional reorganization endorsed last session by our House Republican Policy Committee, but pigeon-holed by the Democratic majority.

**W**e call for a strong House Ethics Committee and an investigating committee under the control of the minority.

Such reforms would restore the people's confidence in Congress and their Government.

Congress must also move ahead on the President's year-old pledge for a Clean Elections Law. Such a law must be on the books before 1968.

**This Clean Elections Law should guarantee full and accurate reporting of political contributions and expenditures in support of national candidates and put an end to**

**abuses in campaign finance. Legislation also is needed to encourage an increased flow of small contributions. Republicans are proud that 69 percent of our contributions in the last Presidential campaign were in sums of less than \$100.**

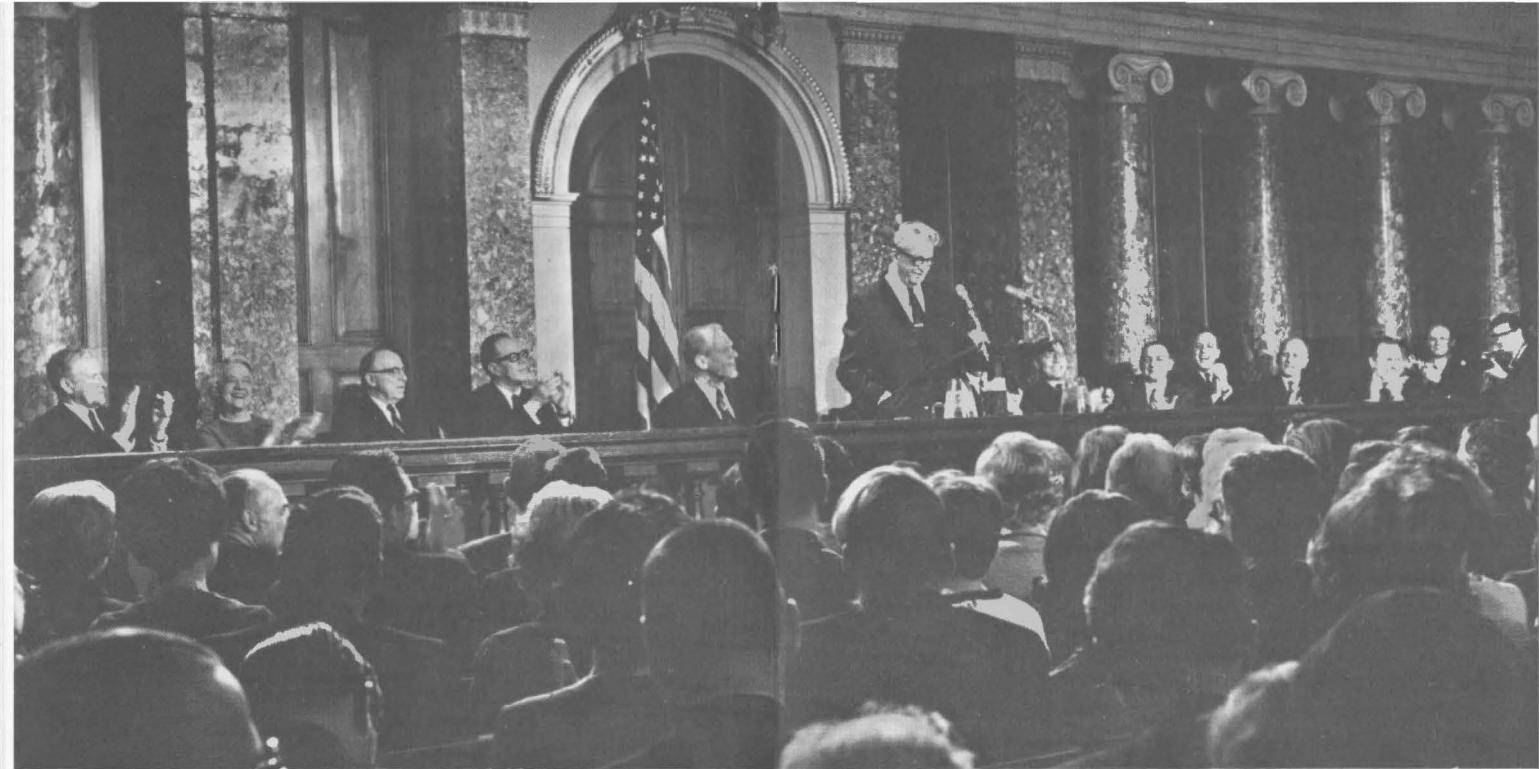
**L**ast year the Congress unwisely rushed through a bill which would provide as much as 60 million taxpayers' dollars to political parties for the 1968 campaign. This serious mistake should be reversed without delay.

Instead, the Congress would be wise to permit contributors an income tax deduction for political contributions up to \$100.

**Our antiquated Electoral College system of choosing the President should be changed to make sure the people's will prevails.**

**T**he biggest single campaign expense for any national candidate today is television time. Television brings the national debate into every American home. Yet no really thorough study has been made of the public's interest in television as a *political* medium. Television channels, of necessity limited in number, really belong to all the people.

They should not be at the service of the highest bidder or the party in power. They cannot be regulated solely by the conscience or convictions



of network executives and their most popular television faces.

An illogical federal law now operates to prevent television and radio stations from granting time without charge to major party candidates without making equal time available to a host of minor party candidates. We unequivocally favor nationally televised debates between future Presidential contenders.

**We propose legislation requiring television and radio to provide free and equal treatment to major parties and their spokes-**

**men not only in future campaigns, but also for the presentation of divergent political views throughout the periods between formal campaigning.**

### **Law Enforcement**

**C**rime and violence, disregard of law and disrespect for authority, immorality and irresponsibility are on the rise. We welcome the President's recent recognition of this enlarging crisis.

Republicans in the last Congress authored leg-

isolation which created a National Commission for the Revision and Reform of Criminal Laws, a major step forward.

**The House also adopted last year, although it died in the Senate, a proposal which Republicans will renew this session in a "Citizens Rights Act of 1967." The Act would make it a crime to travel from one state to another with an intent to incite riots. It would also protect individuals in the exercise of their constitutional rights.**

Wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping worry all Americans who prize their privacy. Properly used, these are essential weapons to those who guard our Nation's security and wage ceaseless war against organized crime.

**T**he Congress, the President and the Courts must properly spell out the permissible limits of their use.

**At all levels of government a massive effort should be made to reduce crime by attacking some of its basic causes: poverty, slums, inadequate education and discrimination. However, our laws and actions should never be based on the theory that a criminal is solely the product of his environment.**

Fear of punishment remains an important deterrent to crime.

We call upon the independent Judicial Branch of our Government to uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused.

**M**ost Americans will resist any trend toward the establishment of a national police force or the unwarranted intrusion of Federal power into local law enforcement. Yet, there is a proper place for Federal assistance and leadership.

Within the Federal correctional system, the Work Release Program and other enlightened prisoner rehabilitation projects must be designed and expanded to reduce the number of second-time offenders.

**The primary responsibility for law enforcement must remain with the States and local authorities. In the last analysis, public safety depends upon the courage and character of the policeman patrolling his beat. The Federal Government can properly help in making law enforcement a more attractive and professional career.**

A National Law Enforcement Institute, similar to the successful National Institutes of Health, should be established for research and training and for the dissemination of the latest techniques in police science.

## National Security

**N**ot as Republicans but as Americans we are gravely worried about the Nation's security. This is not a partisan issue. The conflict is primarily between the Administration and the Congress.

The short-range military policies and the long-range defense posture of this country urgently demand searching re-examination and New Direction. Nothing in the President's State of the

Union Message lessened our deep concern in this all-important area.

Our strategic thinking of the 1970's and beyond, the timely planning and production of advanced weapons systems, and the prudent management of our total national defense capabilities have become stalled on a dead-end street.

**Republicans renew, with even greater urgency, our call for Congress to name a Blue Ribbon Commission of the most able and independent Americans to get on with this job.**

**W**ithin its Constitutional responsibility, Congress can do more.

We must take prompt action to modernize our Navy, increase our superiority in nuclear propulsion, and counter the growing threat of missile-carrying enemy submarines.

**We must take prompt steps to rebuild the American Merchant Marine, already shrunk to one-fifth its former size, and regain our lost lead over the Soviet Union in modern shipbuilding. Shockingly, the U.S. is no longer a major maritime power. The Maritime Administration must be upgraded as an independent agency.**

We must proceed at top speed with the development of long-delayed Advanced Manned Strategic Bombers and Improved Manned Interceptors.

**W**e must strengthen our Reserve and National Guard forces and eliminate inequities in the Draft. Our defense posture should be tailored to

our global commitments.

**The Administration has finally admitted to the American people that the Soviet Union has increased its Intercontinental Ballistic Missile capability and is deploying an Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System. In anticipation of a life-and-death decision on just such a development, Congress has voted millions of dollars which the Administration did not seek and apparently has not used.**

The Congress did its duty and gave the President a clear expression of its will and the means to carry it out.

Before more precious time is lost, Congress and the American people are now entitled to a clear explanation from the President of the perils and problems facing the United States in the new global balance of strategic power.

**W**e, too, seek to avoid a costly new round in the nuclear arms race. But the least the Nation must do now is to speed up its readiness to deploy Anti-Ballistics Missiles in a hurry if our survival requires it.

**Americans are properly devoted to the concept of civilian control in defense matters. This civilian control never before has meant consistent civilian disregard for professional military judgment, intimidation of dissenters and substitution of soulless computers for human experience.**

The first place to close the Credibility Gap is at the Pentagon.

All Americans join in the President's earnest

hopes for an honorable peace and foolproof disarmament. But they are deeply concerned that the Communists even now are intensifying both the hot and cold wars. We must prevail in this worldwide test of willpower and weaponry.

**N**othing has higher priority, in our judgment, than the safety, strength and survival of the United States of America, our people and our posterity.

There will be no Sensible Solutions for the Seventies, no Republicans or Democrats, if we fail in this supreme test of a nation.

To our President, we of the Loyal Opposition say—in the words of another anguished commander-in-chief:\*

“With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.”

\* Abraham Lincoln, 2nd Inaugural Address



## International Affairs

By Senator Everett M. Dirksen

My Fellow-Americans:

**T**he State of the Union — that is, the condition of our country — what is it as we stand on the threshold of another year and another Congress? Last week the President, as the Constitution requires, presented his view of the State of the Union. It was an hour-and-ten-minute address.

**Tonight, we have but 27 minutes for a comparable appraisal. Time, therefore, permits but the briefest review of the matter. Mr. Ford has, very effectively, assessed the domestic State of the Union. Hence I shall speak only of our external relations with the world.**

Perhaps Shakespeare said it all with the words he placed in the mouth of Macbeth. I paraphrase them slightly:

**“We are in blood, stepp’d in so deep,  
That should we wade no more,  
Returning were as tedious as go oe’r.”**

Our operations in Southeast Asia have provoked entreaties, demands, and demonstrations to draw back, to retreat, to leave our commitments unfulfilled. That would be an unthinkable course.

### **500,000 Americans Involved**

**We promised to heed the Macedonian cry of a small weak nation against the Red aggressors and their threats to her freedom and independence. That cry for help came. We responded. At first our response was of a token nature. But it has grown to become a vast, full-scale military and pacification operation. One way or another, about 500,000 Americans are engaged. The cost in blood and treasure has been enormous. Vietnam has become our third largest war.**

**T**he President was both realistic and candid in

his comment in this regard last week. He emphasized the probability of “more cost, more loss, more agony.”

**The General commanding our forces in Vietnam seeks more troops. That would also mean more supplies, more weapons, more planes, and more of everything before the aggressor withdraws or the offer of negotiations is accepted. None of these seem probable at the moment and the grim Four Horsemen continue to stalk the land.**

Is there an answer to this vexing problem *other* than the classical one of enough troops, enough weapons, enough firepower to render the aggressor unable to continue his nefarious intent and design? I wonder.

### **‘We Mean Business’**

Have self-inspired fears of Soviet or Red China intervention dissuaded us from a more vigorous effort on land, sea and in the air to bring this conflict to an end, including stern measures to stop the inflow of supplies, food and weapons from supposedly neutral nations? Let us make plain to the world that we mean business! We are in this war to carry out our commitments. To do less would be to break our pledge. In this grim undertaking, a teaspoonful of gospel is not enough. We must do all that is necessary until the freedom and independence of Vietnam are assured.

**I** hope that in the weeks and months ahead the dilemma of Vietnam will stimulate the most thoughtful discussion possible among our people

of all political faiths. As we search together for a solution to Vietnam let us demonstrate to the world our unity of purpose in full, free and orderly discussion of the best ways and means to achieve it.

**War spawns many evils: swollen budgets, the dislocation of young manpower, inflation, surly attitudes of other nations, restrictions on investment abroad, a perishable prosperity, and the brooding danger that our economy may be forced into the straightjacket of wage-and-price controls and perhaps higher taxes. And the evils rising from the crucible of conflict will multiply. Small wonder that the spirit of the nation is vexed and troubled!**

### **Must End Conflict**

We in the loyal opposition, with a primary accent on "loyal," while supporting to the fullest our fighting forces in Vietnam, ask — in fact, demand — that this Administration not only reinforce its determination to bring this conflict to an end in the shortest possible time but that it also look beyond the bombing and other violence of the conflict to where we shall stand and with whom we shall sit when the conflict ceases. What thought has been given thus far, not only to the exercise of far stronger military and diplomatic muscles as the war goes on, but to the making of an eventual peace? What policy will we be asked then to support? Do we sit down at the conference table and bargain with elements other than representatives of the duly constituted government in Hanoi? To do so might mean that any agreements reached would disintegrate overnight

and no line of defense would any longer exist from Saigon to Singapore if such a peacetable surrender should occur. Foresight is the essence of leadership. We stand in need of it as never before.

But Vietnam is not our only migraine. Elsewhere in the world, American foreign policy and its conduct are coming, increasingly, into serious question. In Latin America, the Alliance for Progress causes us now to wonder: Where is the Alliance? Where is the Progress? The failures of economic and social reform required, under Alliance agreement, of those Latin American nations receiving our financial aid are all too visible.

**I**n Africa, there is scarcely a country which has accepted our largess and is eager to accept more that has not become embroiled in internal or unneighborly conflicts that have resulted in a steady retreat from democracy and toward dictatorship or Red-tinted rule.

In Europe, the Common Market holds neither hope nor promise for us. NATO is withering on the vine. Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces has been ordered out of France and has had to find refuge in Belgium. Britain, because of pressure on the pound sterling, has fore-shortened her lines of defense, diminished her troop strength and leaned even more heavily upon us. West Germany is eyeing the Communist markets in eastern Europe but *does* wish to retain our troops — at our expense. What strange bedfellows have developed in Europe — after we have taxed our people to keep them afloat!

To all this one can add the explosiveness of

the Middle East, the discouragement of American capital investment in India — unless Hindus or the Indian Government hold the controlling stock, the unpredictable attitudes of Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, the constant, and unrelenting attacks by Soviet leaders upon our alleged imperialism.

**There is virtue in the ancient admonition to “Be not weary in well-doing” but it is an aggravating experience to have the recipients of our aid and assistance bite the hand that seeks to help them.**

**V**ery pertinent now, because it will expire in June, is the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, intended, as its name suggests, to enlarge our trade abroad. It threatens, however, to do exactly the opposite. Well aware of the delicacy of our international economic position, finance ministers and trade negotiators of countless nations abroad have, for some months now, been horse-trading us out of the protection our industry and agriculture must have and have been enticing us down what begins to look like a rutted one-way street, especially as regards our farm products. It will be for the Congress, before June, to take a hard look at these proceedings, in the interest of American enterprise, the preservation of American jobs, and the continuation of the European markets for our farm products.

The current Trade Negotiations in Geneva are very important to all segments of our economy. Farmers should not be sold down the river in these Trade Negotiations. We will look with disfavor on any agricultural commodity agreement or arrangement that would limit our ability to

export agricultural commodities as a substitute for a truly reciprocal trade agreement program.

**When to these alarms there is added the critical problem of our endangered gold supply and the doubt now being expressed so often abroad as to the fiscal and monetary stability of the United States — never, for decades, hitherto questioned! — a clear, thorough and courageous evaluation of our foreign policy, our trade policies, and our international fiscal and monetary policies is clearly required. We call upon this Administration to agree to a bipartisan scrutiny and study — to begin now — conducted jointly with participants from industry, finance and agriculture.**

As a point and base of beginning for such a study, let me now propose, specifically, that a detailed examination be made of the possibility of forming what I choose to call the Western Economic Union — a Common Market of the nations of the Western Hemisphere — a structure for trade and *mutual* aid designed to stimulate the production and exchange of industrial products and those of agriculture in which protective barriers will not take the form of prohibitive self-defeating tariff walls but of economic policies of insurance against depression and want and despair from Attu to Patagonia.

**A**s regards the Middle East, let me also add the proposal that the United States take the initiative in reconvening the conference of the Tripartite Guarantee Powers, and that these Powers — the United States, the United Kingdom, and France — use this new conference to reaffirm their “unalterable opposition to the use of force or



threat of force" in the Arab-Israel area and revive their pledge to preserve the frontiers and armistice lines in the Middle East.

Of the President's plea and proposals for the "building of bridges" to the East, it can be fairly asked whether it is truly intended that this East-West trade bridge be a double-decker, capable of moving traffic in each direction or whether it will, as has been so true in the past, become a structure for the conveying of our bounty and treasure to the unfriendly and uncooperative nations without any value whatsoever received in return.

**What justification can be cited for the Administration's persistent effort to liberalize and extend terms tantamount to aid to the Soviet Union and Communist governments of Eastern Europe, while these nations are supplying most of the guns and missiles that are killing American soldiers and shooting down American planes in South-east Asia?**

The answer to all of this is a clear one: more attention to the conservation of our own strength and resources and less to those nations of the world who regard us as an amiable, vulnerable, jolly Santa Claus who can be slurred at will and cuffed with impunity. The international bank of good-will shows a mounting deficit where our external relations are concerned.

**H**ow truly "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." As our problems multiply and our worries increase, the responsibility of the Executive Leadership becomes ever the greater. So, too, the responsibility of the Republicans in loyal opposition be-

comes ever more meaningful. As we Republicans assess the present State of the Union and appraise the progress that we know can be ours, we refuse, despite the heat and burden which world affairs impose, to be dismayed or to despair. We refuse, indeed, as we look to the Seventies, to be weary in "welldoing", but we are determined that our well-doing shall, to a greater degree, be directed toward the well-being of the American family and the American nation. We realize full well that we are not only in this world but of it. For the beneficences we have showered on this world we deserve something more than the ungrateful cry of "Yanqui, go home".

To this necessary end — with positive proposals we shall offer the nation — and to this high purpose the Republican Leadership and the Republican Party now commit themselves with a whole heart.

★ ★ ★

Prepared under the direction of the Republican  
National Committee, 1625 Eye Street, N.W.,  
Washington, D. C. 20006  
Ray C. Bliss, Chairman

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# THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

**FOR THE SENATE:**

Everett M. Dirksen  
of Illinois

Consultant to the  
Leadership

John B. Fisher

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JAN. 17, 1967

**FOR THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

Gerald R. Ford  
of Michigan

**PRESIDING:**

The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS:

The following is the text of a telegram just sent to the presidents of the American Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the National Broadcasting Company:

"The Republican Leadership of the Congress has decided, as you were advised on January 9th, that on the evening of Thursday, January 19th, at 9:30 p.m., it will present to the nation the Republican appraisal of the State of the Union.

The site of this occasion will be the Old Supreme Court Chamber in the United States Capitol.

Representatives of all news and communications media are most cordially invited to attend.

Last week all national television networks gave live and simultaneous coverage to the President's one-hour-and-ten-minute State of the Union Message. Our presentation will take about thirty minutes.

In view of present indications that the television networks plan only to video-tape our presentation for later, indefinite replay, we request and expect--in a spirit of complete fairness--that this plan will be amended to make possible live television coverage of the event for the full advantage and benefit of the American people."

###

Room S-124 U.S. Capitol—(202) 225-3700



# **THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS**

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# # #

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen  
of Illinois

Thomas H. Kuchel  
of California

Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
of Iowa

Margaret Chase Smith  
of Maine

George Murphy  
of California

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss

# THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

## Press Release

FOR THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford  
of Michigan

Leslie C. Arends  
of Illinois

Melvin R. Laird  
of Wisconsin

John J. Rhodes  
of Arizona

H. Allen Smith  
of California

Bob Wilson  
of California

Charles E. Goodell  
of New York

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY, EXPECTED  
ABOUT 9:30 P.M. (EST), THURSDAY, JAN. 19, 1967  
TO ALL NEWSPAPERS, RADIO, AND TV STATIONS

**CAUTION:** There should be no premature release of this Message by the Republican Leaders of the Congress, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this Message until released, which includes any and all reference to any material in this message.

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THE STATE OF THE UNION -- A REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL  
Address of Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.)  
Minority Leader of the House of Representatives

Again we gather in this historic chamber, conscious of the invisible presence of great leaders of the past. This year we are reinforced by the visible presence of new leaders of the future. We welcome enthusiastically the 64 new Republican Senators and Representatives of the 90th Congress.

(NEW MEMBERS RISE)

Senator Dirksen and I are here to give a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union.

November 8, the citizens of America voted on the State of the Union.

Their message came through loud and clear--a ringing vote for vigorous two-party government. It was a blunt demand for honesty and candor in public affairs. The Credibility Gap must go!

We rejoice in the mandate-- a New Direction for America.

No era in our history began with higher hopes than the 1960's. We had bound up the Nation's wounds. We were blessed with eight years of strength, peace and progress under President Eisenhower.

As the decade dawned, all Americans were stirred by the words, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The years have slipped by and now Americans in 1967 see the decade that dawned in hope fading into frustration and failure, bafflement and boredom.

The President said that the election returns did not mean that people want progress to stop.

We agree.

They want progress to START--now!

For every problem of the Sixties, this Administration has revived tired theories of the Thirties.

For the past two years, positive and practical Republican programs have been largely ignored.

Things will be different in the next two years!

We won the first round in the House of Representatives, 364 to 64, with three-quarters of the Democrats following our unanimous Republican lead.

We will win more--many more!

#### NEW DIRECTION, NOT COALITION

Cynics may call every Republican victory in this Congress a coalition. Let's meet that issue head-on, right now.

By definition, coalition requires advance consultation and ultimate compromise of conviction to win a legislative victory.

Republicans will make no such deals.

Republicans will give leadership to the dynamic and Constructive Center in Congress.

We welcome every Democratic vote for positive Republican programs that will give New Direction to our Nation.

We will press for creative Republican action. When New Direction demands it, we will say "No" to the old Democratic failures.

Our "No" will be particularly emphatic if we are asked to slow down progress toward the equality that is the right of every American.

Never forget, the Republican Party came into being to make real the belief that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. It is disheartening to see evidence that the Administration is lowering the priority given to these matters in the 90th Congress.

#### SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES

As we look to the years ahead, Republicans see a program of Sensible Solutions for the Seventies.

That program must begin in 1967.

First priority--the growth and prosperity of our economy.

There are ominous signs of an economic slowdown this year. Unless our course is redirected decisively, we may well face the paradox of a recession with both increased inflation and increased taxation.

The Investment Tax Credit must be restored immediately.

(MORE)

An honest federal budget is imperative. If the Congress is to assess the needs of our economy intelligently, the Administration must not repeat its tragic error of presenting a budget of evasion, manipulation and gimmickry. This budget underestimated expenditures by at least \$14 billion, over \$4 billion of which was non-military.

Congress should immediately repeal the Participation Sales Act, which conceals and distorts the true budgetary situation.

When we know how much is needed for national security, the Congress can then make certain that essential domestic programs are adequately funded. Low-priority programs, desirable as they may be, must be postponed. We assure the President tonight that Republicans will move to cut non-essential spending--even if he doesn't.

In addition, billions of dollars approved by Congress in the past remain unspent. This Congress must take a hard look at those funds. We propose a Rescission Bill, withdrawing the President's authority to obligate and spend such funds that cannot meet the test of prudence of the new Congress.

The President belatedly promised to cut \$3 billion from expenditures by the end of June. He should spell out for the American people where these reductions have been made--if they have been made.

With such uncertainties, the President has not made a convincing case for his tax increase.

#### STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES -- TAX SHARING

One of the most significant results of the 1966 elections was the people's choice of 23 new Republican governors, and more than 700 new state legislators.

This reflects not only confidence in our party and its fine candidates but also faith in state government itself.

Republicans have faith in the constitutional concept of Federalism, which requires strong and vigorous state as well as national action on a variety of problems. Yet, seen through the Democrats' rear-view mirror of the Thirties, everything can be cured by Federal dictation and Federal funds, doled out through grants-in-aid which keep Washington as the manipulator of all strings.

There are now over 400 Federal aid appropriations for 170 separate aid programs, administered by a total of 21 Federal Departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out Federal tax dollars.

Federal aid to states and municipalities through this tangled thicket increased from \$1 billion in 1946 to about \$15 billion this year.

(MORE)

## SOCIAL SECURITY

President Johnson proposed Social Security changes that it is estimated would cost the equivalent of a 1.6 percent Social Security payroll tax increase.

At the present tax base, this would ultimately raise the total Social Security payroll tax to 12.15 percent. The Social Security trust fund must be kept sound. Greater benefits normally involve greater taxes, particularly burdensome to our younger citizens.

As in the past, Republicans now favor an increase in permitted earnings by Social Security recipients. Present earning limitations reflect the depression mentality of the Thirties and make no sense for the Seventies. Widows benefits and minimum benefits must be brought into line with today's inflated living costs. Those still uncovered should, as soon as possible, be blanketed into the Social Security system at least by age 72.

Our older citizens must be protected from the extortions of Great Society inflation. They can't wait while we debate.

Congress should enact, retroactive to January 1, an 8 percent increase in Social Security benefits. These increased benefits can be achieved without any tax increase.

About 1/3 of the nation's poor are elderly citizens. Their situation is tragic and desperate. The Poverty War has passed them by.

In the past two years of Democratic control, basic Social Security benefits have fallen 7 percentage points behind the consumer price index.

Republicans propose Social Security benefits rise automatically with rising prices. It is time we took Social Security out of election-year politics.

## VETERANS

Republicans believe those called upon to sacrifice in Southeast Asia should be treated equally with other veterans. All veterans, war widows and their dependents should be protected from skyrocketing inflation by increased benefits.

## POVERTY

The greatest poverty in this country today is the poverty of realistic ideas among Poverty War generals--and sergeants. Sensible Republican proposals have been rejected arbitrarily.

Republicans will continue to press for total revamping and redirection of the Poverty War. We want an Opportunity Crusade that will enlist private enterprise and the states as effective partners of the Federal Government in this fight. We would give the children of poverty the very highest priority they

(MORE)



deserve. As Republicans have urged for two years, Head Start requires follow-through in the early grades.

We propose a new Industry Youth Corps to provide private, productive employment and training on the job.

We propose the Republican Human Investment Act to induce employers to expand job opportunities for the unskilled.

We propose to enlarge the opportunities of low-income Americans for private home ownership.

All Americans demand a thorough airing of poverty administration, poverty publicity and poverty politics.

#### GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

The need for streamlining the national government has become even more urgent since we recommended a new Hoover-type commission a year ago. The President's only specific proposal for reorganization--to combine the Departments of Labor and Commerce--merely scratches the surface.

We believe the Post Office Department should be taken out of politics from top to bottom. Republicans favor selecting all Postmasters on merit alone.

What irony--we will probably deliver a man to the Moon before we can consistently deliver the United States Mail to its correct address on Earth.

The colossal Department of Agriculture is another executive agency that needs reform. Republicans will continue to support the concept of fair farm prices in the market place, without price-depressing manipulation by bureaucrats. The mass and maze of federal farm laws, rules, regulations and forms must be simplified. Every farmer knows there's enough to do in every 24-hour day on the farm without a load of federal paperwork. We applaud efforts to create more parks and seashores and will give special emphasis to the preservation of jobs and community stability.

#### LABOR-MANAGEMENT LAWS

A year ago President Johnson promised Congress he would soon propose new ways to handle national emergency strikes. In the interval he has made no proposals whatsoever. Incredibly, he never mentioned it in his latest State of the Union Message.

Without waiting further, Congress should choose a balanced commission of experts to make recommendations in this complex and sensitive area.

Our unswerving purpose should be to strengthen free collective bargaining between equals, without unnecessary government meddling. Congress should undertake, without delay, a full review of labor-management laws and the operations of the National Labor Relations Board.

(MORE)

It is unfair to both labor and management for Congress to legislate blindly in an atmosphere of crisis.

CONGRESSIONAL, CAMPAIGN, AND ELECTION REFORMS

To do our job better, Congress should act promptly on the bipartisan recommendations for congressional reorganization endorsed last session by our House Republican Policy Committee, but pigeon-holed by the Democratic majority.

We call for a strong House Ethics Committee and an investigating committee under the control of the minority.

Such reforms would restore the people's confidence in Congress and their Government.

Congress must also move ahead on the President's year-old pledge for a Clean Elections Law. Such a law must be in force before 1968.

This Clean Elections Law should guarantee full and accurate reporting of political contributions and expenditures in support of national candidates and put an end to abuses in campaign finance. Legislation also is needed to encourage an increased flow of small contributions. Republicans are proud that 69 percent of our contributions in the last Presidential campaign were in sums of less than \$100.

Last year the Congress unwisely rushed through a bill which would provide as much as 60 million taxpayers' dollars to political parties for the 1968 campaign. This serious mistake should be reversed without delay.

Instead, the Congress would be wise to permit contributors an income tax deduction for political contributions up to \$100.

Our antiquated Electoral College system of choosing the President should be changed to make sure the people's will prevails.

In planning for the 1968 Presidential campaign and elections, the Congress must come to grips with the foremost factor in political competition today--a factor unknown when present laws were written--television.

The biggest single campaign expense for any national candidate today is television time. Television brings the national political debate into every American home. Yet no really thorough study has been made of the public's interest in television as a political medium. Television channels, of necessity limited in number, really belong to all the people.

They should not be at the service of the highest bidder or the party in power. They cannot be regulated solely by the conscience or convictions of network executives and their most popular television faces.

An illogical federal law now operates to prevent television and radio

(MORE)

stations from granting time without charge to major party candidates without making equal time available to a host of minor party candidates. We unequivocally favor nationally televised debates between future Presidential contenders.

We propose legislation requiring television and radio to provide free and equal treatment to major parties and their spokesmen not only in future campaigns, but also for the presentation of divergent political views throughout the periods between formal campaigning.

#### CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Crime and violence, disregard of law and disrespect for authority, immorality and irresponsibility are on the rise. We welcome the President's recent recognition of this enlarging crisis.

Republicans in the last Congress authored legislation which created a National Commission for the Revision and Reform of Criminal Laws, a major step forward.

The House also adopted last year, although it died in the Senate, a proposal which Republicans will renew this session in a "Citizens Rights Act of 1967." The Act would make it a crime to travel from one state to another with an intent to incite riots. It would also protect individuals in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

Wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping worry all Americans who prize their privacy. Properly used, these are essential weapons to those who guard our Nation's security and wage ceaseless war against organized crime.

The Congress, the President and the Courts must promptly spell out the permissible limits of their use.

At all levels of government a massive effort should be made to reduce crime by attacking some of its basic causes: poverty, slums, inadequate education and discrimination. However, our laws and actions should never be based on the theory that a criminal is solely the product of his environment.

Fear of punishment remains an important deterrent to crime.

We call upon the independent Judicial Branch of our Government to uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused.

Most Americans will resist any trend toward the establishment of a national police force or the unwarranted intrusion of Federal power into local law enforcement. Yet, there is a proper place for Federal assistance and leadership.

(MORE)

Within the Federal correctional system, the Work Release Program and other enlightened prisoner rehabilitation projects must be designed and expanded to reduce the number of second-time offenders.

The primary responsibility for law enforcement must remain with the states and local authorities. In the last analysis, public safety depends upon the courage and character of the policeman patrolling his beat. The Federal Government can properly help in making law enforcement a more attractive and professional career.

A National Law Enforcement Institute, similar to the successful National Institutes of Health, should be established for research and training and for the dissemination of the latest techniques in police science.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY

Not as Republicans but as Americans we are gravely worried about the Nation's security. This is not a partisan issue. The conflict is primarily between the Administration and the Congress.

The short-range military policies and the long-range defense posture of this country urgently demand searching re-examination and New Direction. Nothing in the President's State of the Union Message lessened our deep concern in this all-important area.

Our strategic thinking of the 1970's and beyond, the timely planning and production of advanced weapons systems, and the prudent management of our total national defense capabilities have become stalled on a dead-end street.

Republicans renew, with even greater urgency, our call for a Blue Ribbon Commission of the most able and independent Americans Congress can choose to get on with this job.

Within its Constitutional responsibility, Congress can do more.

We must take prompt action to modernize our Navy, increase our superiority in nuclear propulsion, and counter the growing threat of missile-carrying enemy submarines.

We must take prompt steps to rebuild the American Merchant Marine, already shrunken to one-fifth its former size, and regain our lost lead over the Soviet Union in modern shipbuilding. Shockingly, the U.S. is no longer a major maritime power. The Maritime Administration must be upgraded as an independent agency.

We must proceed at top speed with the development of long-delayed Advanced Manned Strategic Bombers and Improved Manned Interceptors.

We must strengthen our Reserve and National Guard forces and eliminate

(MORE)

inequities in the Draft. Our defense posture should be tailored to our global commitments.

The Administration has finally admitted to the American people that the Soviet Union has increased its Intercontinental Ballistic Missile capability and is deploying an Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System. In anticipation of a life-and-death decision on just such a development, Congress has voted millions of dollars which the Administration did not seek and apparently has not used.

The Congress did its duty and gave the President a clear expression of its will and the means to carry it out.

Before more precious time is lost, Congress and the American people are now entitled to a clear explanation from the President of the perils and problems facing the United States in the new global balance of strategic power.

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The first place to close the Credibility Gap is at the Pentagon.

All Americans join in the President's earnest hopes for an honorable peace and foolproof disarmament. But they are deeply concerned that the Communists even now are intensifying both the hot and the cold wars. We must prevail in this worldwide test of willpower and weaponry.

Nothing has higher priority, in our judgment, than the safety, strength and survival of the United States of America, our people and our posterity.

There will be no Sensible Solutions for the Seventies, no Republicans or Democrats, if we fail in this supreme test of a nation.

To our President, we of the Loyal Opposition say--in the words of another anguished commander-in-chief. \*

"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

# # #

\* Abraham Lincoln, 2nd Inaugural Address

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen  
of Illinois

Thomas H. Kuchel  
of California

Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
of Iowa

Margaret Chase Smith  
of Maine

George Murphy  
of California

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss

# THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

## Press Release

FOR THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford  
of Michigan

Leslie C. Arends  
of Illinois

Melvin R. Laird  
of Wisconsin

John J. Rhodes  
of Arizona

H. Allen Smith  
of California

Bob Wilson  
of California

Charles E. Goodell  
of New York

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY, EXPECTED  
ABOUT 9:30 P.M. (EST), THURSDAY, JAN. 19, 1967  
TO ALL NEWSPAPERS, RADIO, AND TV STATIONS

**CAUTION:** There should be no premature release of this Message by the Republican Leaders of the Congress, nor should its contents be paraphrased, alluded to or hinted at in earlier stories. There is a total embargo on this Message until released, which includes any and all reference to any material in this message.

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THE STATE OF THE UNION -- A REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL

Address of Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.)  
Minority Leader of the House of Representatives

Again we gather in this historic chamber, conscious of the invisible presence of great leaders of the past. This year we are reinforced by the visible presence of new leaders of the future. We welcome enthusiastically the 64 new Republican Senators and Representatives of the 90th Congress.

(NEW MEMBERS RISE)

Senator Dirksen and I are here to give a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union.

November 8, the citizens of America voted on the State of the Union.

Their message came through loud and clear--a ringing vote for vigorous two-party government. It was a blunt demand for honesty and candor in public affairs. The Credibility Gap must go!

We rejoice in the mandate-- a New Direction for America.

No era in our history began with higher hopes than the 1960's. We had bound up the Nation's wounds. We were blessed with eight years of strength, peace and progress under President Eisenhower.

As the decade dawned, all Americans were stirred by the words, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

The years have slipped by and now Americans in 1967 see the decade that dawned in hope fading into frustration and failure, bafflement and boredom.

The President said that the election returns did not mean that people want progress to stop.

We agree.

They want progress to START--now!



For every problem of the Sixties, this Administration has revived tired theories of the Thirties.

For the past two years, positive and practical Republican programs have been largely ignored.

Things will be different in the next two years!

We won the first round in the House of Representatives, 364 to 64, with three-quarters of the Democrats following our unanimous Republican lead.

We will win more--many more!

#### NEW DIRECTION, NOT COALITION

Cynics may call every Republican victory in this Congress a coalition. Let's meet that issue head-on, right now.

By definition, coalition requires advance consultation and ultimate compromise of conviction to win a legislative victory.

Republicans will make no such deals.

Republicans will give leadership to the dynamic and Constructive Center in Congress.

We welcome every Democratic vote for positive Republican programs that will give New Direction to our Nation.

We will press for creative Republican action. When New Direction demands it, we will say "No" to the old Democratic failures.

Our "No" will be particularly emphatic if we are asked to slow down progress toward the equality that is the right of every American.

Never forget, the Republican Party came into being to make real the belief that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. It is disheartening to see evidence that the Administration is lowering the priority given to these matters in the 90th Congress.

#### SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS FOR THE SEVENTIES

As we look to the years ahead, Republicans see a program of Sensible Solutions for the Seventies.

That program must begin in 1967.

First priority--the growth and prosperity of our economy.

There are ominous signs of an economic slowdown this year. Unless our course is redirected decisively, we may well face the paradox of a recession with both increased inflation and increased taxation.

The Investment Tax Credit must be restored immediately.

(MORE)

An honest federal budget is imperative. If the Congress is to assess the needs of our economy intelligently, the Administration must not repeat its tragic error of presenting a budget of evasion, manipulation and gimmickry. This budget underestimated expenditures by at least \$14 billion, over \$4 billion of which was non-military.

Congress should immediately repeal the Participation Sales Act, which conceals and distorts the true budgetary situation.

When we know how much is needed for national security, the Congress can then make certain that essential domestic programs are adequately funded. Low-priority programs, desirable as they may be, must be postponed. We assure the President tonight that Republicans will move to cut non-essential spending--even if he doesn't.

In addition, billions of dollars approved by Congress in the past remain unspent. This Congress must take a hard look at those funds. We propose a Rescission Bill, withdrawing the President's authority to obligate and spend such funds that cannot meet the test of prudence of the new Congress.

The President belatedly promised to cut \$3 billion from expenditures by the end of June. He should spell out for the American people where these reductions have been made--if they have been made.

With such uncertainties, the President has not made a convincing case for his tax increase.

#### STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES -- TAX SHARING

One of the most significant results of the 1966 elections was the people's choice of 23 new Republican governors, and more than 700 new state legislators.

This reflects not only confidence in our party and its fine candidates but also faith in state government itself.

Republicans have faith in the constitutional concept of Federalism, which requires strong and vigorous state as well as national action on a variety of problems. Yet, seen through the Democrats' rear-view mirror of the Thirties, everything can be cured by Federal dictation and Federal funds, doled out through grants-in-aid which keep Washington as the manipulator of all strings.

There are now over 400 Federal aid appropriations for 170 separate aid programs, administered by a total of 21 Federal Departments and agencies, 150 Washington bureaus and 400 regional offices, each with its own way of passing out Federal tax dollars.

Federal aid to states and municipalities through this tangled thicket increased from \$1 billion in 1946 to about \$15 billion this year.

(MORE)



Republicans reiterate their support for a system of tax sharing to return to the states and local governments a fixed percentage of personal income taxes without Federal control. This system would promote a swift improvement in education, law enforcement, community development, mass transit, and other essentially local problems.

Smog is replacing the weather as the No. 1 topic of conversation, but no two cities have identical problems. Cities are far more diversified than states. They have one common denominator--their problems multiply as people move to the suburbs. This exodus leaves less revenue to meet more problems.

Tax sharing would restore the needed vitality and diversity to our Federal system. Revenue sharing could also be accomplished with tax credits.

Many effective measures to improve agriculture originated with the National Commission on Rural Life, established by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Republicans propose a National Committee on Urban Living be created without delay.

An exaggerated example of urban problems is our own national capital. Yet a swarm of Federal experts is telling the cities how to cure their ills while the only Federal city in our Nation is a disgrace.

Republicans believe Washington, D. C., should be made a "model city" for demonstration projects and new initiatives in urban progress.

#### EDUCATION

Higher education and vocational education acts bear strong Republican imprints.

We will continue our efforts to provide assistance to those who bear the rising cost of higher education through tax credits.

The Elementary and Secondary Act, however, at minimum requires substantial revision to simplify forms, reduce excessive paperwork and eliminate the heavy-handed Federal intrusions. All pre-school and early-school problems should be consolidated in the Office of Education. Republicans trust local school boards to formulate policy and set priorities far more than we trust bureaucrats in Washington.

Congress should take the Federal handcuffs off our local educators. The best way to do this is by tax sharing and tax credits. If the Democrats, who control Congress, refuse to consider tax sharing legislation, Republicans will seek to substitute block education grants, without Federal earmarking or controls.

We will propose new approaches to reinforce the vitality and diversity that is the genius of our educational system. It is in the school that the doors of opportunity open to all American children. We shall not deny them the best that can be given.

(MORE)

## SOCIAL SECURITY

President Johnson proposed Social Security changes that it is estimated would cost the equivalent of a 1.6 percent Social Security payroll tax increase.

At the present tax base, this would ultimately raise the total Social Security payroll tax to 12.15 percent. The Social Security trust fund must be kept sound. Greater benefits normally involve greater taxes, particularly burdensome to our younger citizens.

As in the past, Republicans now favor an increase in permitted earnings by Social Security recipients. Present earning limitations reflect the depression mentality of the Thirties and make no sense for the Seventies. Widows benefits and minimum benefits must be brought into line with today's inflated living costs. Those still uncovered should, as soon as possible, be blanketed into the Social Security system at least by age 72.

Our older citizens must be protected from the extortions of Great Society inflation. They can't wait while we debate.

Congress should enact, retroactive to January 1, an 8 percent increase in Social Security benefits. These increased benefits can be achieved without any tax increase.

About 1/3 of the nation's poor are elderly citizens. Their situation is tragic and desperate. The Poverty War has passed them by.

In the past two years of Democratic control, basic Social Security benefits have fallen 7 percentage points behind the consumer price index.

Republicans propose Social Security benefits rise automatically with rising prices. It is time we took Social Security out of election-year politics.

## VETERANS

Republicans believe those called upon to sacrifice in Southeast Asia should be treated equally with other veterans. All veterans, war widows and their dependents should be protected from skyrocketing inflation by increased benefits.

## POVERTY

The greatest poverty in this country today is the poverty of realistic ideas among Poverty War generals--and sergeants. Sensible Republican proposals have been rejected arbitrarily.

Republicans will continue to press for total revamping and redirection of the Poverty War. We want an Opportunity Crusade that will enlist private enterprise and the states as effective partners of the Federal Government in this fight. We would give the children of poverty the very highest priority they

(MORE)

deserve. As Republicans have urged for two years, Head Start requires follow-through in the early grades.

We propose a new Industry Youth Corps to provide private, productive employment and training on the job.

We propose the Republican Human Investment Act to induce employers to expand job opportunities for the unskilled.

We propose to enlarge the opportunities of low-income Americans for private home ownership.

All Americans demand a thorough airing of poverty administration, poverty publicity and poverty politics.

#### GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

The need for streamlining the national government has become even more urgent since we recommended a new Hoover-type commission a year ago. The President's only specific proposal for reorganization--to combine the Departments of Labor and Commerce--merely scratches the surface.

We believe the Post Office Department should be taken out of politics from top to bottom. Republicans favor selecting all Postmasters on merit alone.

What irony--we will probably deliver a man to the Moon before we can consistently deliver the United States Mail to its correct address on Earth.

The colossal Department of Agriculture is another executive agency that needs reform. Republicans will continue to support the concept of fair farm prices in the market place, without price-depressing manipulation by bureaucrats. The mass and maze of federal farm laws, rules, regulations and forms must be simplified. Every farmer knows there's enough to do in every 24-hour day on the farm without a load of federal paperwork. We applaud efforts to create more parks and seashores and will give special emphasis to the preservation of jobs and community stability.

#### LABOR-MANAGEMENT LAWS

A year ago President Johnson promised Congress he would soon propose new ways to handle national emergency strikes. In the interval he has made no proposals whatsoever. Incredibly, he never mentioned it in his latest State of the Union Message.

Without waiting further, Congress should choose a balanced commission of experts to make recommendations in this complex and sensitive area.

Our unswerving purpose should be to strengthen free collective bargaining between equals, without unnecessary government meddling. Congress should undertake, without delay, a full review of labor-management laws and the operations of the National Labor Relations Board.

It is unfair to both labor and management for Congress to legislate blindly in an atmosphere of crisis.

CONGRESSIONAL, CAMPAIGN, AND ELECTION REFORMS

To do our job better, Congress should act promptly on the bipartisan recommendations for congressional reorganization endorsed last session by our House Republican Policy Committee, but pigeon-holed by the Democratic majority.

We call for a strong House Ethics Committee and an investigating committee under the control of the minority.

Such reforms would restore the people's confidence in Congress and their Government.

Congress must also move ahead on the President's year-old pledge for a Clean Elections Law. Such a law must be in force before 1968.

This Clean Elections Law should guarantee full and accurate reporting of political contributions and expenditures in support of national candidates and put an end to abuses in campaign finance. Legislation also is needed to encourage an increased flow of small contributions. Republicans are proud that 69 percent of our contributions in the last Presidential campaign were in sums of less than \$100.

Last year the Congress unwisely rushed through a bill which would provide as much as 60 million taxpayers' dollars to political parties for the 1968 campaign. This serious mistake should be reversed without delay.

Instead, the Congress would be wise to permit contributors an income tax deduction for political contributions up to \$100.

Our antiquated Electoral College system of choosing the President should be changed to make sure the people's will prevails.

In planning for the 1968 Presidential campaign and elections, the Congress must come to grips with the foremost factor in political competition today--a factor unknown when present laws were written--television.

The biggest single campaign expense for any national candidate today is television time. Television brings the national political debate into every American home. Yet no really thorough study has been made of the public's interest in television as a political medium. Television channels, of necessity limited in number, really belong to all the people.

They should not be at the service of the highest bidder or the party in power. They cannot be regulated solely by the conscience or convictions of network executives and their most popular television faces.

An illogical federal law now operates to prevent television and radio

(MORE)

stations from granting time without charge to major party candidates without making equal time available to a host of minor party candidates. We unequivocally favor nationally televised debates between future Presidential contenders.

We propose legislation requiring television and radio to provide free and equal treatment to major parties and their spokesmen not only in future campaigns, but also for the presentation of divergent political views throughout the periods between formal campaigning.

#### CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Crime and violence, disregard of law and disrespect for authority, immorality and irresponsibility are on the rise. We welcome the President's recent recognition of this enlarging crisis.

Republicans in the last Congress authored legislation which created a National Commission for the Revision and Reform of Criminal Laws, a major step forward.

The House also adopted last year, although it died in the Senate, a proposal which Republicans will renew this session in a "Citizens Rights Act of 1967." The Act would make it a crime to travel from one state to another with an intent to incite riots. It would also protect individuals in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

Wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping worry all Americans who prize their privacy. Properly used, these are essential weapons to those who guard our Nation's security and wage ceaseless war against organized crime.

The Congress, the President and the Courts must promptly spell out the permissible limits of their use.

At all levels of government a massive effort should be made to reduce crime by attacking some of its basic causes: poverty, slums, inadequate education and discrimination. However, our laws and actions should never be based on the theory that a criminal is solely the product of his environment.

Fear of punishment remains an important deterrent to crime.

We call upon the independent Judicial Branch of our Government to uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused.

Most Americans will resist any trend toward the establishment of a national police force or the unwarranted intrusion of Federal power into local law enforcement. Yet, there is a proper place for Federal assistance and leadership.

(MORE)

Within the Federal correctional system, the Work Release Program and other enlightened prisoner rehabilitation projects must be designed and expanded to reduce the number of second-time offenders.

The primary responsibility for law enforcement must remain with the states and local authorities. In the last analysis, public safety depends upon the courage and character of the policeman patrolling his beat. The Federal Government can properly help in making law enforcement a more attractive and professional career.

A National Law Enforcement Institute, similar to the successful National Institutes of Health, should be established for research and training and for the dissemination of the latest techniques in police science.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY

Not as Republicans but as Americans we are gravely worried about the Nation's security. This is not a partisan issue. The conflict is primarily between the Administration and the Congress.

The short-range military policies and the long-range defense posture of this country urgently demand searching re-examination and New Direction. Nothing in the President's State of the Union Message lessened our deep concern in this all-important area.

Our strategic thinking of the 1970's and beyond, the timely planning and production of advanced weapons systems, and the prudent management of our total national defense capabilities have become stalled on a dead-end street.

Republicans renew, with even greater urgency, our call for a Blue Ribbon Commission of the most able and independent Americans Congress can choose to get on with this job.

Within its Constitutional responsibility, Congress can do more.

We must take prompt action to modernize our Navy, increase our superiority in nuclear propulsion, and counter the growing threat of missile-carrying enemy submarines.

We must take prompt steps to rebuild the American Merchant Marine, already shrunken to one-fifth its former size, and regain our lost lead over the Soviet Union in modern shipbuilding. Shockingly, the U.S. is no longer a major maritime power. The Maritime Administration must be upgraded as an independent agency.

We must proceed at top speed with the development of long-delayed Advanced Manned Strategic Bombers and Improved Manned Interceptors.

We must strengthen our Reserve and National Guard forces and eliminate

(MORE)

inequities in the Draft. Our defense posture should be tailored to our global commitments.

The Administration has finally admitted to the American people that the Soviet Union has increased its Intercontinental Ballistic Missile capability and is deploying an Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System. In anticipation of a life-and-death decision on just such a development, Congress has voted millions of dollars which the Administration did not seek and apparently has not used.

The Congress did its duty and gave the President a clear expression of its will and the means to carry it out.

Before more precious time is lost, Congress and the American people are now entitled to a clear explanation from the President of the perils and problems facing the United States in the new global balance of strategic power.

We, too, seek to avoid a costly new round in the nuclear arms race. But the least the Nation must do now is speed up its readiness to deploy Anti-Ballistic Missiles in a hurry if our survival requires it.

Americans are properly devoted to the concept of civilian control in defense matters. This civilian control never before has meant consistent civilian disregard for professional military judgment, intimidation of dissenters and substitution of soulless computers for human experience.

The first place to close the Credibility Gap is at the Pentagon.

All Americans join in the President's earnest hopes for an honorable peace and foolproof disarmament. But they are deeply concerned that the Communists even now are intensifying both the hot and the cold wars. We must prevail in this worldwide test of willpower and weaponry.

Nothing has higher priority, in our judgment, than the safety, strength and survival of the United States of America, our people and our posterity.

There will be no Sensible Solutions for the Seventies, no Republicans or Democrats, if we fail in this supreme test of a nation.

To our President, we of the Loyal Opposition say--in the words of another anguished commander-in-chief. \*

"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

# # #

\* Abraham Lincoln, 2nd Inaugural Address

FROM THE OFFICE OF  
THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS

January 19, 1967  
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Millions of fair-minded and independent Americans will be disappointed, as we were, at the half-a-loaf response of the commercial television networks to our request for fair and equal television treatment of our 28-minute Republican appraisal of the State of the Union tonight.

Misinterpretation of the name and nature of our presentation requires clarification. This never was intended to be and will not be a "reply" or "rebuttal" to the Constitutional message of the President on the State of the Union. It will be a constructive but different report, by Republican Leaders of the new Congress on the State of that same Union. We believe all the American people are entitled to hear both views and want to hear both views, now and in the future.

We commend the national radio networks and the educational stations which are meeting their responsibilities squarely, and we are confident that this will also be true of the nation's newspapers, magazines and other media. Our specific comments on the political character of network television will be made in our State of the Union presentation. What is basically at issue is not fairness to Republicans, but fairness to the American audience.



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REPUBLICAN BILLS INTRODUCED - 90TH CONGRESS

1. Tax Sharing (HR 784-Laird; HR 4070-Goodell)
2. National Commission on Urban Living (HR 3155-Quie)
3. Tax Credits for Higher Education Costs (HR 781-Laird)
4. Increase Earnings Limit for Social Security Recipients (HR 297-Bolton)
5. Eight Percent Increase in Benefits Retroactive to Jan. 1 )
6. Increase Social Security Benefits with Living Costs ) (HR 31-Byrnes)
7. Increase Benefits for Veterans and Widows (HR 1307-Saylor)
8. Human Investment Act (HR 4574-Curtis)
9. Hoover-Type Commission (HR 69-Mathias-M.D.)
10. Merit System for Postmasters (HR 425-Cunningham)
11. Fair Farm Prices in Market Place (H. Con. Res. 96-Dole)
12. House Ethics Committee (H. Con. Res. 42-Reid, N.Y.; H. Res. 71-May)
13. Minority-Controlled Investigating Committee (H. Res. 52-Dwyer; HR 873-Michel)
14. Clean Elections Law (HR 806-Lipscomb; HR 631-Goodell)
15. Repeal Long Amendment (HR 465-Davis)
16. Citizens' Rights Act (HR 421-Cramer)
17. Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense (H. J. Res. 2-Lipscomb)
18. Independent Maritime Agency (HR 841-Maillard)
19. Congressional Reorganization (HR 2925-Curtis)
20. Tax Credit for State-Local Taxes (HR 1047-Poff)
21. Strengthen Reserves and National Guard, Draft Revisions (HR 422-Curtis)
22. Electoral College Reform (H. J. Res. 40-Davis)
23. Block Grants for Education (HR 308-Brock)
24. Opportunity Crusade (Goodell)
25. Repeal Participation Sales (Goodell)
26. Restore Investment Tax Credit (Goodell)

(NOTE: This list is far from complete. In many instances, identical or similar bills have been introduced by numerous other Republican members. The somewhat arbitrary selection is intended only to show the general subject areas which have been implemented by Republican-sponsored bills.)

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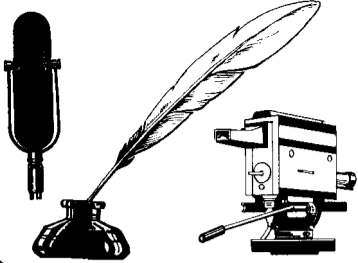
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CONGRESSMAN  
**GERALD R. FORD**  
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE AT 11 A.M.  
WED., FEB. 8, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

Three weeks have passed since Senator Dirksen and I gave our Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union. We have been very gratified by the news coverage and thoughtful editorial treatment it has received, and by the interest in a positive Republican program which our mail reflects.

In many of the comments I read the idea was expressed that our Republican proposals had much merit IF they were actually incorporated into legislation. Now, as 187 Republicans in the House are about to go home to their districts and around the country for Lincoln Day meetings, people will surely ask us: Well, what have you done about all those good ideas you proposed in your State of the Union program?

Our researchers tell us there were 39 points in our domestic State of the Union appraisal which require specific legislative action. They also report that two-thirds of these positive, constructive Republican goals already have been reflected in bills introduced in the first month of this 90th Congress.

Republican bills listed in the background memo attached cover these 26 subject areas, but the list is by no means exhaustive since in many cases numerous other Republicans have introduced identical or similar bills. I have introduced some of them myself.

I think starting the legislative ball rolling on two-thirds of our positive Republican proposals within the first month of the Congress is a pretty good record to take back to the people who elected us last November. During the 18 years I have been a Member of the House, I can't remember a harder-working or more businesslike group of Republicans; and if we get any kind of cooperation from the Democratic majority, we are going to write many of these proposals into law.

The big difference between this Congress and the last one is that the normal legislative process has been restored. This will mean better government for all Americans. Last year laws were passed without full hearings and with only scant floor debate--the people sensed this and stopped that steamroller cold.

By giving you this run-down of Republican bills implementing two-thirds of our domestic State of the Union proposals--26 out of 39 legislative goals--I don't mean to say they all have the 100% endorsement of all House Republicans or of the Republican leadership. The details will be ironed out in the normal process. The House Republican Policy Committee, however, has acted on two of the most urgent items--an Election Reform Law and a House Ethics Committee.

REPUBLICAN BILLS INTRODUCED - 90TH CONGRESS

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Hugh Scott  
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**PRESIDING:**

The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

*Press Release*

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**May 25, 1967**

**FOR THE HOUSE  
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Richard H. Poff  
of Virginia

William C. Cramer  
of Florida

**STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

Russian guns, Russian bullets, Russian surface-to-air missiles, Russian MIGS, Communist machine guns and Communist mortars continue to kill and maim American fighting men and innocent civilians by the thousands in Viet Nam. Nevertheless, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration continues to urge that we trade with the enemy by "building bridges" between us and these Communist dealers in death.

There may be some who find it wholly consistent that Americans should fight for freedom and survival against Communist aggression on the one hand, while trading and dealing for Communist enrichment on the other. We do not. We will continue to oppose economic aid to an enemy whose global goal is the extinction of freedom.

Trade can be an instrument for world peace but only when applied in the hard-nosed tradition of the Yankee trader, not with the soft-headed hope that it will somehow sway dedicated Communist governments from their stated international goals. The extension of most-favored-nation tariff treatment to Communist East Europe in existing circumstances is unwarranted and unwise.

The reduction of export controls on East-West trade in so-called "non-strategic items" is dangerous, and Congress should carefully review this whole subject. It may well be that present controls should be tightened and certainly they should be more clearly defined by the elected representatives of the people.

Guaranteeing commercial credits to Communist governments is a form of economic foreign aid heretofore reserved for our friends.



Such a policy compels our own people, against their will, to encourage and strengthen Communism. It is illogical to do this while committing American lives to a Communist-supported war in Viet Nam.

The May Day order of the day issued by the Soviet Defense Minister, Marshall Andrei Grechko, accused the United States of "hatching sinister plots to spread aggression" in other parts of the world beyond Viet Nam. Anyone who has studied Soviet tactics knows that Moscow always accuses its adversary of doing what the Kremlin itself is plotting to do.

Since last May 1, violence and trouble clearly instigated by Communists have erupted almost on signal in widely scattered parts of the world -- in the Sea of Japan, along the 38th parallel in Korea, in Hongkong, and the Middle East. The open threat of intervention by the Soviet Union to support Nasser's reckless gamble in the Gulf of Aqaba gravely threatens world peace and gives little evidence of any Russian desire for "building bridges" to the Free World.

In my judgment the Soviet bloc has embarked on a bold and concerted effort to divert the attention of the United States and Western Europe from the grim struggle in Southeast Asia at a time when the NATO shield is softer than at any time since it was raised by former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

Surely it is no time to woo the Communist world with trade concessions. Let the Soviet Union and Eastern European Communist governments first convince us that they truly seek peace in Viet Nam, the Middle East and elsewhere. Until then we should refuse to be party to any mercenary deals in which the main advantage is with our avowed enemies.

We will support mutually-beneficial, really reciprocal political and economic agreements with Communist governments only when they prove beyond question, as they easily can, that their policies and actions are aimed at lasting peace, honorable settlement of the war in Viet Nam and the crisis in the Middle East, and abandonment of their support for so-called "wars of national liberation" against free and independent peoples.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN

Have you heard of a single Russian, who was reported as a casualty in Viet Nam? You haven't and you won't. What you see reported are American and South Vietnamese casualties. On May 25th, the U. S. Command reported that total American casualties were in excess of 70,000. This included 10,253 dead. South Vietnamese troop deaths exceed 46,000.

Here is the dreadful, current tabulation of our losses:

<u>U.S. DEATHS</u>	<u>U.S. WOUNDED</u>
6,235 Army	37,327 Army
307 Navy	1,645 Navy
3,370 Marine	21,283 Marine
341 Air Force	1,170 Air Force
<u>10,253 TOTAL</u>	<u>61,425 TOTAL</u>
<u>Non-combatant</u>	
2,058	
<u>SOUTH VIET NAM DEATHS</u>	
46,626	

How were they killed? For the most part by Red Russian weapons and Red Chinese weapons in the hands of the Red Viet Cong. It's that simple. And there are more weapons to come.

Our airmen have shot down 71 Russian-built MIGS. It is estimated that another 350 MIGS are available for replacements. Our military reports that 2,450 Russian-built missiles have been fired at our planes. Tens of thousands of Russian-built and Chinese-built rifles and mortars have been found by our troops in the jungles, fields, and Viet Cong supply dumps. The weapons come from the Russians and their wretched Red allies. The victims of these weapons are young Americans and South Vietnamese. The instruments of death are Red-built. The dead, the amputees, the armless, the legless are Americans and South Vietnamese.

These are the people with whom we are asked to set up a partnership to "build bridges". These are the people to whom we are asked to turn the cheek of compassion and embark on a policy of East-West

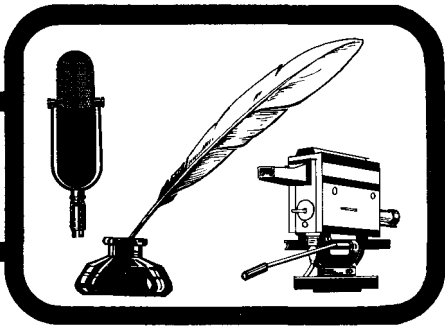
(more)



trade. Is trade so sweet and profits so desirable as to be purchased at the price we now pay in death and agony? The volume of trade which might be developed would be a pittance compared with our gross national product. And how durable would such a bridge be when the trade and traffic which flows over it carries the taint of blood?

Whenever the ghastly business in Viet Nam comes to an end and the Reds are prepared to become reliable partners in peace, there will be time enough to talk about "building bridges".

How strange that the Reds are so interested in the American buck that they are ready to venture into the bridge-building business even with Yankee imperialists! We doubt however that the American people are so interested in a few rubles that they are willing to "build bridges" with American credit, American loans, American machine tools when the death cries from Viet Nam ring daily in their ears.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--  
January 17, 1968

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

The American people have the will and the strength to meet their every crisis at home and abroad. Where Republicans differ with the President is on the means and the method.

President Johnson obviously still believes that the solution to all of America's problems lies with the federal bureaucracy.

The goals the President outlined are admirable. But the American people will not follow the route he has mapped for achieving those objectives--the road of irresponsibly large federal outlays in a time when the dollar is under attack both at home and overseas.

The President's approach is to spend more and tax more.

This Congress will insist that federal spending be held to reasonable levels--because this is the best way to fight inflation, halt the rise in interest rates and let Americans make real wage gains.

The President cited the urgency of a nationwide attack on crime. The Administration should have moved with utmost speed to launch a war on crime last year.

The President never once spoke of building a Great Society. I am not surprised. In recent months we have been plagued by riots, near-anarchy, and rampant crime in the streets.

The President said nothing about fulfilling his 1966 State of the Union pledge to send Congress a proposal for improved handling of national emergency strikes.

It is strange, too, that the President did not urge a Clean Elections Law.

The President's statement outlining a cautious approach to Vietnam peace talks was the most realistic comment in his entire message. We must remember that more than 20,000 Americans were killed in battle in Korea while talks went on at Panmunjom. This should be a sobering thought for us all.

# # #

**FOR THE SENATE:**

Everett M. Dirksen  
of Illinois

Thomas H. Kuchel  
of California

Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
of Iowa

Margaret Chase Smith  
of Maine

George Murphy  
of California

Milton R. Young  
of North Dakota

Hugh Scott  
of Pennsylvania

**PRESIDING:**

The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss

# THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

## Press Release

*Official Copy*

**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

Richard H. Poff  
of Virginia

William C. Cramer  
of Florida

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"THE STATE OF THE UNION -- THE REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL"

will be presented, live, over the C B S Television Network, from  
10 p.m. to 11 p.m. on Tuesday, January 23rd.

The program will include a presentation of positive Republican  
proposals and programs for the nation, together with critical comment  
on Administration policies and performance in recent months and years.

Participating in this hour-long program will be the following  
Republican Members of Congress:

Senator Howard Baker of Tenn.  
Senator Peter Dominick of Colo.  
Senator Robert Griffin of Mich.  
Senator Thomas Kuchel of Calif.  
Senator George Murphy of Calif.  
Senator Charles Percy of Ill.  
Senator Hugh Scott of Pa.  
Senator John Tower of Texas

Congressman George Bush of Texas 1608  
Congressman Gerald Ford of Mich.  
Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisc.  
Congressman Robert Mathias of Calif.  
Congresswoman Catherine May of Wash.-  
Congressman Richard Poff of Va.  
Congressman Albert Quie of Minn.  
Congresswoman Charlotte Reid of Ill.  
Congressman William Steiger of Wisc.

Because of the unique nature of this program and the limitations  
of time present, a complete documentation and text of "The State  
of the Union -- The Republican Appraisal" will be issued later in the  
week.

Planning and preparation for this telecast is under the  
direction of Senator George Murphy of California and Congressman  
Charles E. Goodell of New York.



PERCENT APPROVING OF L. B. J. PERFORMANCE  
(in percent)

	January	October	Point change
National Region:.....	48	38	+10
East.....	53	43	+10
Midwest.....	46	36	+10
South.....	44	33	+11
West.....	52	38	+14
Sex:			
Men.....	49	39	+10
Women.....	48	37	+11
Politics:			
Republicans.....	28	22	+ 6
Democrats.....	65	53	+12
Independents.....	28	30	+ 4
Education:			
College.....	44	37	+ 7
High school.....	49	38	+11
Grade school.....	51	37	+14
Age:			
21 to 29 years.....	45	40	+ 5
30 to 49 years.....	49	39	+10
50 and over.....	50	34	+16
Religion:			
Protestant.....	45	34	+11
Catholic.....	53	48	+ 5

(Mr. CONTE (at the request of Mr. VANDER JAGT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. CONTE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

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[Mr. CONTE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

ESTUARY OF THE POTOMAC RIVER  
AS SOURCE OF WATER

(Mr. GUDE (at the request of Mr. VANDER JAGT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial appearing in the January 28 issue of the Washington Post. The editorial deals with a proposal by Ellery R. Fosdick, consulting engineer for the National Parks Association, to use the estuary of the Potomac River as a source of water to help meet the needs of the Washington area. I feel that Mr. Fosdick's report should receive careful consideration as we study the development of the Potomac River basin and the future water requirements of the growing Washington metropolitan area on either side of the Potomac.

The article follows:

WATER FROM THE ESTUARY

Ellery R. Fosdick, consulting engineer for the National Parks Association, has submitted a report on Washington's future water resources which makes a strong case for relying on the estuary instead of on upstream dams and reservoirs.

He is much more optimistic about recovery of water from the estuary than the Army Engineers who have favored upstream reservoirs. His case has been strengthened by the obvious necessity of diminishing pollu-

tion of the estuary whether it is or is not to be a source of water. Many of the costs involved will be incurred, in any case. While the great supply in the estuary can never be made potable without treatment, of course, no other water available can be put into city mains untreated. The estuary is a marvelous fresh water storage resource—24 miles long before it reaches salt water. Here are more than 100 billion gallons of water in natural storage.

Fosdick thinks the discharge of the Potomac which now supplies the city will be adequate for many years to come except for a few summer months, and the deficiency can be made up by pumping from the estuary. The pumping stations required for this would cost far less than the elaborate system of dams and reservoirs proposed by the Army Engineers. Moreover, it would not disturb the ecology of the Potomac Basin as dams would.

The essential difference between the parks expert and the War Department engineers springs from differing views on the feasibility of recovery of potable water from the estuary. Surely this must be an ascertainable matter. The Secretary of the Interior is required by the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 to report on the Potomac by November 1, 1969. He has indicated that his study may be available sooner. It should be hurried up if possible for it will have an important bearing on further feasibility studies.

The quality and volume of the Potomac above Little Falls no doubt could be helped by better soil practices in the watershed, by small tributary reservoirs and other conservation methods. But the first thing that we need to establish is the usability of the estuary.

REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL OF THE  
STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD (at the request of Mr. VANDER JAGT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on January 23 a representative group of members of my party in the Congress presented our annual Republican appraisal of the state of the Union. At the suggestion of the distinguished minority leader of the Senate, Senator DIRKSEN, who, unfortunately, was unable to participate because of illness, our presentation of previous years was broadened to include nine members of this and eight members of the other body. Former President Eisenhower sent an inspiring personal message from California for the occasion. The joint Republican leadership of the Congress appointed the distinguished Senator from California, Senator MURPHY, and our distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. GOODELL) to coordinate the presentation. They labored long and selflessly on behalf of all Republicans in the Congress to better inform the American people of our principles, policies, and programs. Under previous order of the House I am inserting herewith in the RECORD the full presentation including last-minute changes and portions deleted due to time limitations of television. I am most grateful to everyone who took part and assisted in this presentation and to the Columbia Broadcasting System which carried it to the Nation on an hour of live evening time.

THE STATE OF THE UNION: A REPUBLICAN  
APPRAISAL

(OPENING REMARKS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES)

You and I—all of us—enjoy a precious privilege, that of living under the greatest self-governing society known to history.

To establish and sustain that society which guarantees to every citizen equal rights before the law, our Founding Fathers and intervening generations have fought hard in office. We are the beneficiaries of their work and sacrifices. A solemn obligation rests upon us today to do no less in our time. Not merely for ourselves but for our children and for the cause of human liberty on the earth. Under our two-party method of Government, it is essential that members of the Party not in power become convinced that new measures and directions are required to preserve and strengthen our free system. The reasons for their convictions should be made known to their fellow citizens. Tonight some of your elected Representatives in the Congress are presenting to you their views. We of the Republican Party welcome your thoughtful attention as these views are laid before you. We know that these are critical times for our beloved country—as critical as any I have known in my lifetime. The thought, the hard work, the dedication of every citizen are now required if we are to hold true to the ideals of human dignity and liberty that have meant so much to America and to the world.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

(By Senator GEORGE MURPHY OF CALIFORNIA)

Six nights ago we listened to a dreary discourse on the Nation's problems—some of which have been with us for the last several years. There were no new or practical solutions other than—spend money—collect more taxes—and hope for the best.

Tonight my colleagues will present some Republican proposals—which we believe will be positive—progressive—and productive—so that the next time we hear a State of the Union Speech—there will be more to cheer about—less to worry about.

Our speakers tonight are expressing the thoughts of the American people—that was proved in 1966. The year 1966 was a very good year for Republicans. We won 47 more seats in the House, 4 seats in the Senate, 8 more Governors toward today's total of 26. It's a fact. In a majority of the United States we're the Majority party already. Why is this? It's because we are truly the party of the people.

There is no question that comes closer to home than taxes. As a matter of fact, you probably just got your income tax forms last week. In my lifetime, I have watched our federal system of taxation expand from a very gentle beginning, a puny penetration, into an all consuming monster which, if not restrained, may completely destroy the richest, the most productive society in all of history.

Possibly the most important citizen of all, the man who provides our food and fibre, is the American Farmer. He has been restricted, regimented, and regulated, scrutinized, analyzed, and subsidized. No one has been treated more unjustly. The American farmer can out-plant—out harvest—out produce—and out perform any competitor—anywhere in the world—and yet we find him at the very bottom of the economic ladder.

The preservation of our federal system by elected Representatives is of vital importance to us all. This, we Republicans can handle more gracefully than the opposition—because we are trying to preserve what the Founding Fathers gave us.

To gather all the tax money and all the power into Washington—we Republicans feel is neither safe nor prudent.



This transition has already gone too far and must be reversed, before it's too late.

We in Congress are just as determined as our great Governors are to restore the rightful share of revenue and responsibility to all 50 States.

The right of every citizen of our land to equal rights under the law and to equal opportunity has always been a basic principle of the Republican Party—the Party of Abraham Lincoln. We had hoped that another of our new Senators—Ed Brooke of Massachusetts—could be with us to speak from his heart on this subject—but unfortunately he was unable to return from a long-planned tour of Africa to be present tonight.

The most tortured and tormented subject of our time is the question of the war in Vietnam—never have “the irresponsibles” run so rampant—never have so many unfounded distortions been wildly circulated and emotionally recited in order to weaken our national determination. And never has our national policy been so inadequately stated by our leaders.

I believe most Americans also feel that those who travel about the world preaching the violent destruction of America should be prosecuted under existing sedition laws—and if the law is inadequate—let's write some that will fit the conditions.

We hear a lot these days of the Hawks and the Doves—one desiring war—and the other demanding some sort of instant peace. I don't know anyone who desires war or violence—and I am aware of only a small, misguided group—publicized way out of proportion to their size—who wish to relive the mistake of the Munich and the mockery of Panmunjon.

#### INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT

(By Congressman WILLIAM A. STEIGER of Wisconsin)

It is an honor to appear on this program with former President Eisenhower. The return of the integrity he brought to public service and the conduct of national affairs is our goal.

Last week President Johnson tried to tell us we're really troubled because of too rapid progress.

I disagree. The reasons are deeper. There is more than surface unrest. The cause is not progress but years of over-promise and under-performance.

In 1968 I was one of 47 new Republican Congressmen who came here because Americans wanted a change and wanted new ways of solving old problems. While stiff a minority in Congress, we have tried to carry out *your* mandate for change.

We began by pressing for a permanent ethics committee in the House of Representatives. We were successful and intend to push for the high standards of conduct that you demand.

We came to Congress committed to make our government more responsive and more responsible. We have reinforced our Republican Leadership in fighting to reform the legislative branch of government. Congress must be modernized to serve you better. And that legislation is now awaiting House election.

We need a Clean Elections Law that will guarantee that you'll know what's been going on behind the scenes *before* you vote. And that law must be on the books for the 1968 elections.

These and other measures can help restore the faith of the American people in their government.

Americans are impatient with mediocrity. So am I. Americans are not content to sit back and watch morality become a joke or responsibility become a plaything for politicians. Nor are we willing to watch politicians build a so-called great society of big government and little people. Our purpose is a great people.

We must pioneer in government as we have pioneered in technology. America's creative talent can and must provide a government equal to our challenges and worthy of our dreams.

We must view tomorrow's promises through yesterday's performance. And yesterday's performance is not enough.

#### LET'S RESTORE AMERICA'S WORLD LEADERSHIP

(By Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, of California, representing the Senate Republican Leader, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois)

A new attitude, new vigor, new direction, new confidence, are not required if this nation is to stem its headlong descent from a role of leadership held so long in the world.

In this 20th Century free peoples have looked to America in their struggle for human liberty. Dwight Eisenhower brought like-minded nations together for collective security. It remains the world's best hope for just and enduring peace. But now our government clearly lacks the ability to rally our allies.

In Western Europe, despite a remarkable economic rebirth, there is growing distrust. The British pound shrinks, the shadows of the British Empire fade, and Britain herself is shut out from the Common Market by France, her one-time ally.

The integrity of the American dollar, continues under foreign assault. We must put our house in order. What has happened to the British pound must not happen to the American dollar.

In the Middle East, the Soviet Union has moved into the Mediterranean, and threatens to open a new front in the cold war—playing off America's friendship to Israel against the vengeance of Arab extremists.

In Latin America, the high promise of the Alliance For Progress remains unfulfilled. Even the historic concept of freedom of the seas has been allowed to become a mockery off the Pacific Coast of Latin America.

History may yet record the Vietnam conflict as the most tragic and costly within memory. The Administration has failed to make clear our goals to friend and foe alike. It has not been candid with the American people in facing up to the complex and difficult road which lies ahead.

The nation searches for principles to guide us:

We must face the realities and accept them.

We must not be wed to past mistakes.

We must not debase our diplomacy with pledges we cannot keep.

We must never throw away what our men have fought to win.

We must rekindle the spirit of mutual trust among free peoples—mindful that America must not go it alone.

The American people yearn for a change. Our party intends to give it to them.

#### BETTER WAYS TO A BRIGHTER FUTURE

(By Congressman GERALD R. FORD of Michigan, the House Republican Leader)

1968 is no ordinary year.

The State of the Union is serious business. President Johnson came before Congress.

The Nation was anxious and waiting for his words.

Never were Americans hoping harder for someone to *call them to action*.

People all across this nation are deeply disturbed, concerned about what's going on, right here at home. I'm moved by the simple eloquence of their letters—their unashamed love for America.

*Doesn't the President listen to any of these people?*

They've seen raging violence, destruction and death right on their own doorsteps—their homes and stores ablaze and looted—tanks and paratroopers—not on faraway battlefields but rolling through once quiet neighborhoods.

And the President could only tell us he detects “a questioning” and “a certain restlessness” among his countrymen.

We can speak far plainer than *that!*

Riots, murder and robbery—is that just “restlessness?”

Deepening disbelief in our nation's policies, doubts about our most sacred institutions and traditions, concern over the credibility of our government's word—the worth of our government's dollar—do you call that “questioning?”

The President's only explanation was, “When a great ship cuts through the sea, the waters are *always* stirred and troubled.”

Apparently the President has been standing on the stern—looking backward at the wake—wondering which of his officers to dump overboard next!

His ship is wallowing in a storm-tossed sea, drifting toward the rocks of domestic disaster, beaten by the waves of a world-wide fiscal crisis.

The Captain should *return to the bridge*.

We need a Captain who will seize the helm—call up full power—break out new charts—hold our course steadfast and bring us through the storm.

We need a Captain who inspires his crew to heroic endeavor.

We need a Captain with courage to clear the deck—jettison the deadweight—a Captain who learned his seamanship beyond the Potomac and the Pedernales.

It is no time to Abandon Ship.

It's time for all hands to man their action stations.

Let's not give up the ship!

America has weathered many a terrible storm, rescued many a weaker vessel—and we'll do it again. Let's start with the USS Pueblo. We want our Ship of State going full speed ahead.

We offer responsible and responsive leadership that looks to the worth and will of all our people, that turns from the tired theories and proven failures of the past to the realities of the present and presses forward on better ways to a brighter future.

#### MORE HOMES FOR AMERICANS

(By Senator CHARLES H. PERCY of Illinois)

Tonight most of us will go to bed in a decent home. For some Americans, though, a decent home of their own remains only a dream.

Our cities are beset with harsh living conditions, ranging from traffic congestion to air pollution. But the most critical urban crisis is housing.

The public housing record is not good. Urban renewal has demolished more houses than public housing has constructed. Too often, public housing has only served to crowd thousands of poor families together in high rise ghettos. These have become the vertical slums of our cities.

To help all Americans to own their own home, we support a National Home Ownership Opportunity Act. This Act would allow a new home owner to work on his own house, and have his labor contribute to his down payment.

The Act would combine the resources of government and private industry by drawing upon private expertise to assist low income families in building or rehabilitating homes.

It would also allow the government to financially assist low income families who cannot pay commercial interest rates.

There is a great opportunity here for government and private industry to work together in the good of the country. As the Homestead Act opened the West, this could be the 20th Century Homestead Act, helping to remake the face of our cities.

Low income families deserve our help while striving to own their home. This nation requires a realistic housing program, not more false promises. We must begin to offer to the

slum dweller the hope that he as an individual can succeed.

#### MORE JOBS FOR AMERICANS

(By Congressman ALBERT H. QUIE of Minnesota)

The cities are boiling with frustration. Frustration can be a man without a good job. We need an immediate program to provide hundreds of thousands of jobs in private enterprise. That's the only way we can provide jobs fast enough to cool the seething cities.

Yet the Johnson Administration has opposed every Republican effort to involve private enterprise in the poverty program. They've been long on promises—short on performance. Now, at long last, the President is beginning to talk about jobs for the poor in private enterprise. He'll be talking more about private industry doing the job his poverty war just has not done.

To the President who has been opposing our approach for four long years, and now says he will do it our way, we have this challenge.

We challenge you to support our Human Investment Act, that would encourage business and industry to train under-employed men and women. We challenge you to support an Industry Youth Corps, not just government youth corps. Support our call for voluntary boards of businessmen in every city across the country to mobilize the community to help the poor get off welfare rolls.

Do not pour more money into old programs that don't work. Do provide training for jobs that are waiting to be filled. Use poverty dollars wisely to involve the poor in helping themselves, not to feed bureaucracy or city hall patronage.

Many of the prisoners of poverty can learn to earn. These Americans need their hopes fulfilled. This country must launch a new crusade for human renewal.

Words and more words are not enough, Mr. President.

#### CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

(By Congressman RICHARD H. POFF of Virginia)

The first duty of government is to maintain law and order. The peace and tranquility guaranteed by the Constitution must be restored.

No nation in history has been able to survive the collapse of its moral structure and the anarchy and lawlessness that follow.

Look at the situation confronting us today.

Murder is epidemic. Rape is commonplace—Burglary happens so often it is no longer news. Pornography, filth and dope are peddled on nearly every street corner. Crime has grown six times as fast as the population.

Despite the urgent warnings of F.B.I. Director Hoover and law enforcement officers everywhere the Johnson Administration has failed to take effective action. The Attorney General has banned the use of modern investigative techniques. The soaring increase in crime has been called just "a little bit" of an increase.

The recent statements of President Johnson that reflect a new awareness, some hardening of purpose, are welcome.

State and local law enforcement officers must have help, but without Federal domination and control. Our Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act that passed the House last year provides such assistance.

We must escalate the War against Crime so that all citizens, regardless of color, will be safe in their home, at their places of business and on the streets.

The American people want the "enforcement" put back into law enforcement.

#### LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

(By Senator ROBERT P. GRIFFIN of Michigan)

If a single thread runs through Republican thinking, it is an abiding faith in the individual.

Over the years, Republicans have stood up—not only for the public interest and for the right of workers to join unions—but also to make sure that the individual union member is not relegated to second-class citizenship.

Today, American workers are deeply concerned as they see the collective bargaining process breaking down . . . as they see strike losses increasing by 96% under the Johnson Administration.

They're not satisfied with an NLRB that distorts the law. And they believe their union dues ought to be used strictly for union business—not for politics.

Back in 1966, President Johnson pledged that he would propose and press the Democratic-controlled Congress for certain reforms, pointing particularly to the need for better legal machinery to help in settling strikes.

Needless to say, 1966 has passed. 1967 has come and gone. And America listened carefully to the State of the Union message last week. But, although paralyzing strike after strike has emphasized the problem, President Johnson still has not delivered on that 1966 pledge.

In this troubled area, our Nation desperately needs leadership—new leadership with vision and courage to stand up for the public interest and the rights of the individual worker.

After winning that Senate race in Michigan not so long ago, I'm more convinced than ever that millions of American workers—who refuse to take political marching-orders from anyone—are eager to support that new leadership next November.

#### THE ECONOMY IN CRISIS

(By Congressman GEORGE BUSH of Texas)

We hear a great deal today about a tax increase . . . a tax increase to halt inflation, a tax increase to check the outflow of gold, a tax increase to restore confidence in the dollar. Republicans respond that before we consider a tax increase, we must cut spending.

The nation faces this year—as it did last—a tremendous deficit in the federal budget, but in the President's message, there was no sense of sacrifice of the part of the government, no assignment of priorities, no hint of the need to put first things first.

This reckless policy has imposed the cruel tax of rising prices on the people, pushed interest rates to their highest levels in 100 years, sharply reduced the rate of real economic growth and saddled every man and woman and child in this country with the largest tax burden in our history.

And what does the President say? He says we must still pay more taxes and he proposes drastic reductions on the rights of Americans to invest and travel abroad.

If the President wants to control inflation, he's got to cut back on federal spending. The best way to stop the gold drain is to live within our means in this country.

We Republicans pledge ourselves to find solutions to America's most urgent problems in health, housing, education, jobs and security but we shall never sacrifice the American people to a cynical policy of wasteful spending and higher taxes.

#### THE BIGGEST THREAT TO EVERY FAMILY

(By Congresswoman CATHERINE MAY of the State of Washington)

The President said a lot about protecting the consumer in his State of the Union Message the other night. But he did fail to tell

us about the protection we need most of all—effective protection from rising prices.

Now if there is anyone who knows just how fast prices are rising, it is those of us who work in the kitchen and shop in the grocery store, and when the people running our government tell us that a little rise in prices is a good thing, we say: Maybe so, but you're carrying a good thing too far!

With skyrocketing prices and increasing taxes, it is little wonder American workers want more take-home pay to keep pace with their cost-of-living. And now we even see the threat of wage controls.

This must stop. The American family has to balance its budget and the President can do more to get things back in balance in his budget.

You don't have to be an economist or a big government planner to know that rising prices, the biggest threat to every family, stem from unsound government policies.

I think I speak for American women—and men too—when I call upon the President to stop wasting our money and make it worth something again.

#### THE FARMER'S HIGH HURDLES

(By Congressman BOB MATHIAS of California)

I have faced some high hurdles in my time. But, you know, they're nothing compared to the hurdles facing the American farmer today. I know this because I represent a farm area and I hear from them every day. The Johnson Administration, by deliberate policies such as the dumping of grain reserves, has pushed farm income down. This has left the farmer with an ever-declining share of America's food dollar.

Government trade policies have destroyed historic markets and encouraged imports.

In spite of misdirected and self-defeating Federal programs, the energy and ingenuity of the American farmer have outpaced the tremendous growth of our population. They've fed millions of hungry people around the world. Our farmers must have the opportunity to run their own farms with minimum government interference and to join together to negotiate for better farm prices. The most productive people in our economy, the American farmers, took a pay cut of a billion and a half dollars in 1967, and the situation is getting worse. Farm prices stood at 74% of parity last year; the lowest level since 1933.

In the face of these shocking failures, the Administration and the Secretary of Agriculture are determined to make their controls a permanent part of the farm scene. Their programs are geared to the tired theories of the 30's, not to the challenge of the 70's.

Every time the Johnson Administration comes up with a new farm program, the farmers pay more and get less. We think it's time for a change . . . and so does the American farmer.

#### RESTORING FEDERALISM AND FREEDOM

(By Congressman MELVIN R. LAIRD of Wisconsin)

Republicans believe there are better ways for Americans to do things than the way of the great planned society. President Johnson's solution is to pile program upon program, regulated, administered, and directed from Washington.

Republicans would establish revenue sharing with our states and localities to return a percentage of Federal income taxes with no strings attached. We would consolidate the hundreds of existing programs into block grants that would be both more flexible and more effective in getting the job done. And we would provide tax credits both for state and local taxes paid and for such special purposes as education and job training.

Our problems can only be solved if all levels of our society—governmental and private—pull together in a true partnership. This means that we have to strengthen states and localities, not weaken them. The job is not being done today because local and state officials don't have the money. They have the ability . . . and the knowledge . . . but they lack the resources because the Federal tax collector has gobbled them up.

Republicans have faith in our Governors and State Legislators. We believe in our Mayors and school board members. We think you can trust them to do what is right for the people and the community they serve. When they don't, we have faith that the people will replace them with office holders who will. That is what our representative government is all about.

Revenue sharing, together with block grants and tax credits, would restore true Federalism in America. It would give control back to the people, provide the tools for programs that work, arrest the drift of power to Washington, and preserve the fundamental freedoms of the American people.

#### CONFUSION, CHAOS AND CREDIBILITY

(By Senator HOWARD H. BAKER, JR. of Tennessee)

During the past few minutes, we have heard of domestic chaos in America. But you see, in this nuclear age our concern can be no less for the bewildering array of confusion and chaos abroad. Whether we speak of Vietnam or Cuba, West Berlin or Latin America, the Middle East or Africa, there is a common theme: America is forfeiting its leadership. The credibility of our intentions, our will, our economic solvency is being questioned. Not since the Civil War has the United States been so divided. Never has American prestige abroad fallen so low.

We find NATO in shambles and summarily evicted from France. We find the seeds of world war sown in the strife-torn Middle East; a restless giant in Latin America is just beginning to arouse, as are the emerging Nations of Africa. Asia is measuring the will and wisdom of the American posture.

As the free world loses faith in our leadership, it is also losing hope that we have the will to order our own house. Thus, the international and the domestic problems merge, as Nations rush to convert dollars to gold. And what must we do?

We must have bold unifying leadership. We must establish credibility for the humane motives of America and its will to resist aggression. We must restore confidence in the American economy, before it is too late. We must help those who are willing to help themselves, not with just handouts which so often produce bitterness and resentment but with dignity and grace and respect. We must lay aside the tired old techniques of the past and stand ready to innovate, to use our vast nuclear technology to produce fresh water from sea water, to produce abundant food supplies and energy, employed to promote cooperation instead of conflict. We must be as concerned with preventing another Vietnam as we are with bringing this one to an honorable conclusion.

There must be a new direction, new leadership, credible and sound. And to secure these ends we pledge ourselves, singly and in bipartisan effort, now and in the future.

#### DANGER IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Senator HUGH SCOTT of Pennsylvania)

One of the greatest dangers to world peace is ticking away in the Middle East. The President's State of the Union Message was vague about U.S. efforts in that vital area of the world—because the Johnson Administration's policies are vague.

The Soviet Union relishes that kind of situation.

Last year, the Soviets goaded the Arab states into a military showdown with Israel. While the United States stood aloof, the Israelis fought a brilliant war and beat both the Arab armies and their expensive Soviet weapons.

Since last June the Soviet Union has been pouring modern tools of war into the Middle East, and the area is again buzzing with powerful new Soviet jet planes.

As the Soviets rush in to become the major force in the Middle East, with a policy of turbulence, what is United States policy? No one seems to know.

The U.S. is doing nothing to convince the Soviets of the grievous world danger in this arms race. Continuing sales of Soviet arms to Arab countries force Israel to find deterrent weapons.

Where is the initiative of the Johnson Administration to get Arabs and Israelis to the same peace table and preferably through direct talks?

The greatest insurance against Soviet domination of the Middle East is a strong Israel, living at peace with its Arab neighbors.

Peace in the Middle East and survival of gallant Israel depends upon a firm and clear American policy.

#### A DEFENSE POSTURE SECOND TO NONE

(By Senator PETER H. DOMINICK of Colorado)

The peace of the Free World depends largely on American strength—economic, moral and military strength.

The right to wake up unafraid is every American's heritage, secure in the knowledge that this country is too strong to attack. There can be no partisan politics in our efforts to maintain this goal. It is too important to mankind. But let's look at the record.

We are told of bomb shortages, automatic rifle malfunctions and lack of proper jungle gear. We have no new fighter aircraft and the TFX is still a question mark. 16" naval fire power from battleships have been literally kept in moth balls, and repeated Congressional efforts to obtain an anti-missile system have been summarily thrust aside until this year.

In the meanwhile, the Red Chinese have been steadily expanding their nuclear capability. The Soviets have surpassed us in deliverable nuclear megatonnage and they have developed a fractional orbiting nuclear bomb and six new fighter-bomber aircraft systems. They have the largest submarine fleet in the world and they are well on their way toward completion of an anti-missile system.

We are menaced now—not tomorrow or next year or the next decade, but now. The overwhelming strategic superiority developed under President Eisenhower has rapidly dissipated. This Administration has developed a strange new doctrine—that Soviet strategic equality is better than American supremacy.

That dangerous doctrine must be reversed while there is still time. Peace, with freedom, is inseparable from American strength. Let's keep it.

#### WHAT PEACE DEMANDS TODAY

(By Senator JOHN G. TOWER of Texas)

I'm here tonight to tell you where we believe the great majority of Americans stand on Vietnam.

First and foremost we stand for the all-out support of our half-million fighting men and women—material support and moral support.

We stand for military success in Vietnam that will enable the Vietnamese to rebuild a free nation.

We stand for an era of peace and stability that will embrace all of Southeast Asia.

We stand for the effective utilization of America's vast air and sea superiority.

We stand for quarantine of the enemy's supply lines so that he can no longer fight.

We stand for firm resistance to naked Communist aggression in Vietnam as we did in Greece, Berlin, Korea and Cuba. We also stand for the complete protection of American ships in international waters.

We note that in the last few months the Johnson Administration has been vigorously prosecuting the war in Vietnam. But, we also note that for far too long it followed a self-defeating policy of "gradualism."

That "gradualism" policy caused us to pull our punches; it prolonged the fighting; it cost American lives unnecessarily. This war could be over today if the Johnson Administration had acted with determination instead of with vacillation.

It is no wonder that the communist enemy is confused about American intentions and doubts American determination. The Administration's ping-pong pronouncements have left even Americans confused.

Throughout this century Republican Administrations have understood how to maintain world peace. Today, we understand what peace demands.

The nation suffers from a "peace gap" which we are determined to close.

#### OUR SONS IN VIETNAM

(By Congresswoman CHARLOTTE T. REID of Illinois)

Yes, I am a mother. Two of my four children are sons—one of whom served four years in the Marine Corps and the other left for Vietnam just last week. I believe that not only all parents, but all thinking Americans are as deeply distressed as I am by complacency, disunity, and protest here at home.

There are many problems which threaten our American way of life—crime, disrespect for law and order—but particularly the war. Our men in Vietnam are fighting to insure the freedom and happiness of all of us—of our children and, indeed, our grandchildren, too.

So—we must impose on ourselves the kind of discipline we impose on our soldier sons. While we have American troops in Vietnam, we must be certain that they have our wholehearted support. We must be certain that the Johnson Administration knows what it is trying to do in Vietnam and that it knows how to do it. Above all, there must be no false promises.

More than 16,000 families have learned the final, terrible price of freedom. Yet, the casualty lists continue to rise. We must be certain that the lives which have been lost will not have been sacrificed in vain.

#### WE WILL GO FORWARD

(By Congressman GERALD R. FORD of Michigan, the House Republican Leader)

What you've seen is a picture of our party, how we look, what we think, how we feel and why we believe there must be better ways to run our country.

Only by facing facts can we, as one nation and one people, move forward to forge in our time a more perfect Union.

It seems strange not to have Senator Dirksen by my side. We've missed him tonight and want him back soon.

I speak for all of us, I'm sure, in expressing special thanks to you, Senator Murphy, for the tremendous job you've done in presiding over this hour, and to my friend and colleague from New York, Congressman Goodell, who relinquished a place on the program to make room for others.

We have told the truth as we see it about the State of the Union.

We're proud of our party and its leaders from Abraham Lincoln to General Eisenhower. We're proud of legislators like those you've just seen—of our great governors and the young men and women coming up and taking charge.

Two-party competition made America great and keeps it free. When stakes are high

and problems grave, we need more airing of the issues—not less.

Debate must be candid, it must be high-level, and it must be respectful of honest differences.

All Americans should, and we do, respect the high office of the Presidency. We ask this question most seriously and respectfully:

Will the President now agree to meet our nominee in man-to-man debates on the overpowering issues of 1968?

Will he do his part in dramatizing to the whole world, face to face before the American people, that free discussion in troubled times does not divide us but unites us.

Lincoln did.

John F. Kennedy did.

Lyndon Baines Johnson should.

We, the most powerful nation and people in history, toss and turn with the tides of discontent, seethe with the injustices of hope denied, wrestle with the burdens of a war unwon.

And now a startling flame bursts up from a 15-year-old war still smoldering on another Asian peninsula, Korea. Negotiations at Panmunjon have never ended, perhaps are going on this very hour.

All Americans will pray tonight for peace. I know of no loyal American, whether we be Democrats or Republicans or independents, who isn't hoping the Pueblo incident can be resolved peacefully, who doesn't want peace in Korea and peace in Vietnam as quickly as it can be honorably found.

No American worthy of the name is opposed to peace or wants war. We stand tonight behind our President—and we have throughout each enemy testing of our national will—in every earnest effort he makes for enduring peace.

Republicans stand for peace at home and peace in the world.

Peace anywhere and everywhere finally depends on strength, firmness and candor from our leaders, calm courage and confidence from our people.

We defend peace most surely when we demand candor, firmness and strength in facing up to both foreign challenges and domestic difficulties. To be strong abroad we must be strong at home.

In the year just passed we have watched our cities erupt and our savings erode.

But Americans are neither quitters nor losers.

We can take the hard truth, make the hard choices, and put our country's future first.

Physical power and spiritual strength we have. Great leadership we shall find.

And we, each one of us, must look deep into his conscience, searching to establish what is truly American, hoping to find a new America that unites the dreams and serves the needs of all of us.

This generation of Americans, and the next and the next, will once again establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty.

We will not be distracted by the shrill discord of the spoilers.

We will not be diverted by the doom's day fantasies of the fearful.

Let us instead hear this: "Be strong and of a good courage, be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee."

We will go forward with high hearts and ready hands for the hard work ahead.

#### THE POSITIVE REPUBLICAN PROGRAMS

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD (at the request of Mr. VANDER JAGT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this

point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the role assigned to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] in the preparation of our Republican appraisal of the state of the Union was to summarize the positive Republican programs advanced by the other participants or previously proposed in the 90th Congress. In seeking to comply with the limitations of live television, it became apparent that there were far too many of these proposals—more than 47—even to enumerate briefly without subtracting from the time allotted to others. The gentleman from New York unselfishly ruled himself out of the presentation over the CBS network on January 23 and played an indispensable but invisible role. The joint Republican leadership of the Congress, however, announced on January 22 that additional material would be made available to the public at a later date. I am honored to place in the RECORD at this point the summary prepared by the distinguished chairman of our House Republican Planning and Research Committee [Mr. GOODELL].

#### CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN PROGRAMS

(By Congressman CHARLES E. GOODELL of New York)

In this rapidly changing twentieth century, where today's job cannot be done with yesterday's tools, our nation must seek to utilize every human resource to solve our nation's problems. Transformed from an agrarian to an industrial society in less than 100 years, with seven of every ten Americans now living in urban areas, our nation must solve the new and demanding problems of an urban society while still coping with problems remaining from previous generations. To accomplish this task, Republicans in the United States Congress recommend 47 overall proposals, including more than 50 specific, positive programs for a better America:

1. Immediate passage of a Congressional reform bill to improve Congressional legislative machinery.
2. Establishment of a permanent Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress.
3. Adoption of a Clean Elections Law to reestablish confidence in the integrity of our election process.
4. Adoption of improvements in our electoral college system.
5. Establishment of a Hoover-style commission to recommend needed reforms in the executive branch of our government.
6. Adoption of an Intergovernmental Cooperation Act to promote more effective relationships between federal, state and local governments.
7. Improved usage of our nation's fiscal resources through a federal revenue sharing program with state and local governments.
8. Bloc grants to state and local governments to make our federal grant-in-aid program more effective.
9. Allowance of tax credits to state and local governments for federal taxes paid that state and local governments might have better revenue sources to solve their own problems.
10. Creation of an independent investigating committee in the United States Congress under the control of members of the opposite party from the party of the President.
11. Strengthening of the power of Congress to oversee the Executive Branch and guarantee that legislative intent is carried out through such programs as an independent oversight agency of Congress and expanded, re-oriented Committee staffs.

12. Passage of a permanent legislative code of ethics.

13. Enactment of a National Homeownership Opportunity Act to assist low-income families in owning their own homes.

14. A Human Investment Act to encourage business and industry in training unemployed men and women.

15. Creation of an Office of Industry Participation in the executive branch to coordinate private efforts in solving pressing urban problems.

16. An Industry Youth Corps to assist our nation's young people in finding employment in private, productive jobs, not dead-end public jobs.

17. Establishment of voluntary boards of businessmen in cities throughout this nation to mobilize the total resources of communities in helping the poor overcome their special problems in obtaining employment and getting off the welfare rolls.

18. Utilization of the "community action" concept to assure participation of the poor in solving their own problems, while avoiding use of poverty funds for political patronage.

19. Phasing over of the Job Corps into community residential training facilities that are, wherever possible, combined with state vocational education programs to provide efficient and effective help for unskilled young men and women in qualifying for productive, private employment.

20. Establishment of military career centers to assist otherwise unqualified young men in pursuing military careers on a volunteer basis.

21. Providing states with a key in Head Start programs while retaining parental and non-public agency participation and supportive health, nutrition and family services.

22. Establishment of an Early Years program, to include both elementary school children who have participated in Head Start and those who have not, providing needed additional educational, social and nutritional services.

23. Coordination and unified administration of inter-related programs such as Head Start with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Job Corps with Vocational Education and Poverty training with the Manpower Training programs, thereby avoiding waste and administrative overlap.

24. A 100% income tax deduction for medical expenses and drug costs incurred by our senior citizens.

25. Appointment of a National Commission on Urban Living to study in-depth the problems of our urban areas.

26. Creation of a blue-ribbon commission to study the long-range needs of our American military posture.

27. Continued development of the Advanced Manned Strategic Bomber, the long-range interceptor aircraft, our anti-submarine warfare capabilities, our anti-missile system, and every feasible use of nuclear power for our Navy.

28. Expansion of veterans' benefits to provide cost-of-living increases for veterans receiving service-connected disability benefits and for widows of veterans receiving death compensation benefits.

29. Expansion of the G.I. benefits program to widows of servicemen who died while serving our country and to wives of servicemen who incurred total disability while serving.

30. An improved earnings exemption for veterans so that their desire to earn additional income will not be hampered by prospects of a harsh reduction in their veterans' benefits.

31. Creation of an Office of Inspector General in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to insure the safety and efficiency of our space program.

32. Immediate enactment of legislation to protect civil rights workers from violence



while traveling interstate and prompt passage of legislation to make illegal the use of interstate communication and transportation facilities to provoke violence.

33. Legislation to take the Post Office out of politics.

34. Increasing flexible usage of Title I funds by the states in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

35. Promoting increased efficiency and exhibility in the administration of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act through involving state participation more effectively.

36. Establishment of fiscal priorities that will enable our nation to fully fund programs to meet urgent national and human needs.

37. Reduction of the fiscal deficit and reversal of inflationary monetary policies to stabilize the cost of living.

38. Full recognition that our balance of payments problem cannot be met with short-run controls, but requires realistic programs to expand controls and curtail unnecessary expenditures.

39. Immediate enactment of legislation to provide proper federal assistance to state and local governments in strengthening their law enforcement capabilities.

40. Pursuit of a firm and realistic course in coping with a serious crime problem, particularly the use, with proper judicial safeguards, of electronic surveillance in combating organized crime.

41. Establishment of an independent Federal Maritime Administration to plan for re-development of our merchant marine.

42. Assignment of a higher priority by this Administration to rebuilding the maritime industry.

43. Legislation allowing wheat growers to receive advance crop payments.

44. Changing the present feed grains program to emphasize stronger market prices.

45. Prompt consideration of legislation designed to improve the bargaining position of farmers.

46. Extension of Public Law 480, the Eisenhower Food for Peace program, with an additional emphasis on expanding markets for U.S. farm production.

47. Development of an incentive program to encourage construction of air and water pollution control facilities by private business and industry.

Opportunity and security remain the hallmarks of the American Dream. These 47 recommendations are a part of our Republican program to insure the future of our nation through providing equal opportunity and security for all Americans. Crucial to our nation's progress and vital to the progress of all mankind is the way we as Americans renew our commitment to this goal.

**DATA NEEDS FOR REGIONAL AND LOCAL DECISIONMAKING**

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. ANDER JAGT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in November 1967, the Washington chapters of the American Statistical Association held a conference on data needs for local and regional decisionmaking. The opening address by Mr. Paul I. Ahmed, chairman of the conference, emphasized the need for new and improved statistical data to provide the means to identify and help solve problems of our cities. We need to discover not only whether the goals of our cities conform to the desires of their inhabitants, but also the specific problems that need to be solved to make our cities more enjoyable places in which to live.

Mr. Ahmed pointed up the need for additional data in the areas of mobility patterns, employment and income, institutional demography and the impacts of governmental programs. We cannot work toward solving the problems of our urban areas until we have identified these problems, and it is here the Government and its statisticians can provide most valuable assistance. Because of the urgency of the problems facing our cities and the positive approach Mr. Ahmed takes to solving them, I include his speech in the RECORD at this point:

**DATA NEEDS FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL DECISIONMAKING**

(Address by Mr. Paul I. Ahmed, National Center for Health Statistics, as chairman of the conference sponsored by the Washington chapters of the American Statistical Association, and the American Marketing Association, held on November 15, 1967, at the Interdepartmental Auditorium, Washington, D.C.)<sup>1</sup>

Deputy Under Secretary Ross, Commissioner Clague, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is only fitting that I call this conference an important gathering as the topic is timely and it has such a distinguished list of participants. It is my privilege to be its chairman. This conference meets in the midst of short and long term urban crises—riots in the cities, high unemployment rates, substandard housing, antiquated medical facilities, inadequate educational institutions, polluted air and streams, death and injury with more high powered cars on the highways. What are the goals of the urban society? How can the statistician, economist, and sociologist provide the tools to assist the program planner in tackling the urban problems in both the short and long run? What kinds of data are currently available? What are the additional needs to define and measure the goals of urban society?

It is the statistician's task to provide data on which decisions could be based to alleviate some of the problems of our cities; data that could tell us whether an attempt should be made to maintain the decentralization process of our cities or go back to their concentrated core; data which could provide guidelines as to whether new cities should be built, and if so, how far apart such cities should be built; data that could provide the decision to use 10 or 20 billion dollars if such money was available. How can we accomplish this goal? Four dimensions must be examined. First, we should re-examine the framework of data, especially economic data, because of the continuously changing framework of economic theory. Secondly, we may have to collect the same data we now collect in a different way. Thirdly, additional data needs to be collected; and fourth, new ways of treating the data may have to be found. For the purpose of brevity, the latter three are classified into one category of "Need for additional data."

**I. GOALS OF URBAN SOCIETY**

No test of social success has such nearly unanimous acceptance as the annual increase in Gross National Product. Given the goal it is no wonder that the economic policies of the federal government over the past two generations have been based on continental or aggregative data to the neglect or exclusion of specific circumstances. Thus, the United States has the best unemployment data in the world, but there is no city that knows its unemployment rates by sections. We are the richest nation with some of the worst slums; the most educated with some of the most marginal school children; the

<sup>1</sup> The views presented here are those of the author and not of the National Center for Health Statistics.

most oriented towards "life saving," with the greatest number of deaths on the highways; the most mobile, with some of the most rigid caste confinements. Thus, one needs to examine not only the micro or specific situation, but also whether the goals of the society in terms of increased industrial production is a proper goal for the America of the seventies. Whether the state policies vital to the accommodation of these goals—regulation of aggregate demand, maintenance of the large public and technical sectors on which this regulation depends, underwriting of advanced technology, such as the provision of an increasing volume of trained and educated manpower—should not include policies—such as the care of the ill, aged, provision of parks and recreation, removal of waste, provision of agreeable public structures. Thus, the society has to go beyond the needs of the industrial system, into the social needs of the cities and counties. The national economic solution to "national problems" needs to include economic as well as social solutions both at the national and the local level.

Other areas we need to measure are intangibles such as discomfort, happiness, social distinction, prestige, satisfaction with life, etc. The society affords a sense of high social urgency to increased output. In order to reach this increased production goal, however, a management of demand takes place. It works not on the body but on the mind. It first wins acquiescence or belief; action is in response to this mental conditioning and thus devoid of any sense of compulsion. Thus it is not that we are required to have a newly configured automobile; it is because we believe that we must have them. If society's goals are to be examined for reallocation of resources, the legitimacy of beliefs and how they are arrived at will have to be examined. For example, we ask people not to smoke, not to eat certain foods, to keep the city clean and to use safety belts, etc. Motivation will most likely be guided by the existing beliefs people have about the severity of a given disease or injury, their own reaction to it, and the benefits they might derive from taking some kind of action. These motivations must be measured in order to have a baseline to know what beliefs we need to change for a particular desired result.

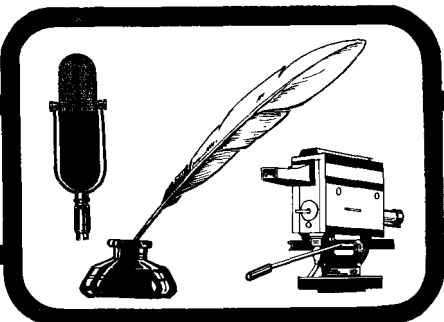
**II. NEED FOR ADDITIONAL DATA**

*Mobility patterns*

Many of the city problems are caused by events far from its borders. Technological change, a change in the economic climate and social changes in other parts of the country lead to vast shifts of population posing human problems of poverty, unemployment, etc. Additional facts need to be known about movement from city to city and within metropolitan areas in terms of outflow to the suburbs and the reverse flows. The people who are leaving need to know which area can offer more opportunity. The receiving cities need to know about the composition of the probable shifts of population. A great deal more could be usefully known about the middle age couples whose children have established a household of their own. Certainly knowledge about the increasing number of younger persons who move out is of critical importance to the urban planners. In the public health field, mobility itself is the prime public health variable. We have to know not simply births and deaths within areas but movement within areas.

*Employment and income*

There is a well-known assumption of current policy that there is a mismatch between the pool of available skills and available jobs in the inner city. It is conceivable, however, that some of the problems of unemployment in a metropolitan area are caused by the combination of physical separation in distance and separation of infor-



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



--FOR RELEASE AT 9 P.M. TUESDAY--  
January 14, 1969

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

Lyndon Johnson's sixth State of the Union Message is a most gracious and fitting farewell address.

To me the most significant statement was his plea that Democrats in the Congress cooperate with Richard Nixon when he assumes the heavy responsibilities of the President on Jan. 20. I was most pleased that Mr. Johnson urged members of his party not to seek "narrow personal or partisan advantage." I feel sure the American people join with Mr. Johnson in that wish.

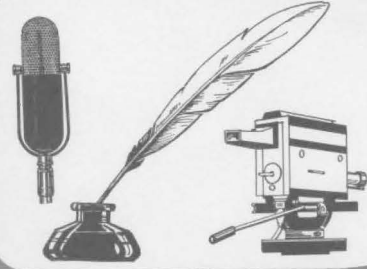
Mr. Johnson's valedictory was moderate and restrained in tone. He could have delivered a partisan message but chose not to do so. I am sure he made his various recommendations in a spirit of hopefulness although he will not be in a position to seek to implement them. In all candor, we must look to the new Administration to set a course for the years ahead.

I am pleased that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Nixon found it possible to agree on a surtax recommendation. It seems inescapable to me that under current conditions -- extreme inflationary pressures and the continuing high cost of the war in Vietnam -- the 10 per cent surcharge would have to be extended. However, the final decision will not be made now but in May or June. And it is important to note that Mr. Nixon properly reserves for himself the right to make the decision he deems wise at the time a definitive judgment must be made and in the light of conditions existing at that time.

The smoothness of the transition from one administration to the other gives reason to hope that the cooperative spirit of Lyndon Johnson will become the spirit of the 91st Congress.

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

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January 14, 1969

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

Lyndon Johnson's sixth State of the Union Message is a most gracious and fitting farewell address.

To me the most significant statement was his plea that Democrats in the Congress cooperate with Richard Nixon when he assumes the heavy responsibilities of the President on Jan. 20. I was most pleased that Mr. Johnson urged members of his party not to seek "narrow personal or partisan advantage." I feel sure the American people join with Mr. Johnson in that wish.

Mr. Johnson's valedictory was moderate and restrained in tone. He could have delivered a partisan message but chose not to do so. I am sure he made his various recommendations in a spirit of hopefulness although he will not be in a position to seek to implement them. In all candor, we must look to the new Administration to set a course for the years ahead.

I am pleased that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Nixon found it possible to agree on a surtax recommendation. It seems inescapable to me that under current conditions -- extreme inflationary pressures and the continuing high cost of the war in Vietnam -- the 10 per cent surcharge would have to be extended. However, the final decision will not be made now but in May or June. And it is important to note that Mr. Nixon properly reserves for himself the right to make the decision he deems wise at the time a definitive judgment must be made and in the light of conditions existing at that time.

The smoothness of the transition from one administration to the other gives reason to hope that the cooperative spirit of Lyndon Johnson will become the spirit of the 91st Congress.

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## PRINCIPAL LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

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### M E S S A G E

FROM

## THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

A REPORT RELATIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CERTAIN ADMINISTRATION PLANS AND PRIORITIES AND CERTAIN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

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APRIL 14, 1969.—Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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*To the Congress of the United States:*

As the Members of Congress know, I have had under consideration the question of whether to send to the Congress this year a message on the state of the Union. I have decided against doing so. However, to assist Congress in formulating its plans, I would like to indicate at this time some of the principal legislative proposals that I will be sending in the weeks immediately ahead, and to report on the development of administration plans and priorities as they relate to domestic programs.

The first 12 weeks of the new administration have been devoted intensively to the pursuit of peace abroad, and to the development of new structures and new programs for the pursuit of progress at home.

Peace has been the first priority. It concerns the future of civilization; and even in terms of our domestic needs themselves, what we are able to do will depend in large measure on the prospects for an early end to the war in Vietnam.

At the same time, the first days of this administration have afforded us a unique opportunity to study the Nation's domestic problems in depth, and to overhaul and retool the complex machinery of the Executive Office.

A systematic review of domestic programs and policies has led to a series of recommendations which I will begin sending to Congress this week. Among those recommendations will be—

- An increase in social security benefits, to take account of the rise in living costs.
- New measures to combat organized crime, and to crack down on racketeers, narcotics traffickers, and peddlers of obscenity.
- A program of tax credits, designed to provide new incentives for the enlistment of additional private resources in meeting our urgent social needs.
- A program to increase the effectiveness of our national drive for equal employment opportunity.
- A comprehensive reorganization of the Post Office Department.
- A program for the District of Columbia, including home rule and congressional representation.
- A start on sharing the revenues of the Federal Government, so that other levels of government where revenue increases lag behind will not be caught in a constant fiscal crisis.
- A far-reaching new program for development of our airways and airports, and our mass transit systems.
- A comprehensive labor and manpower program, including job training and placement, improvements in unemployment insurance, and proposals to help guarantee the health and safety of workers.
- Reform of the tax structure. The burden of taxation is great enough without permitting the continuance of unfairness in the tax system. New legislation will be proposed to prevent several specific abuses this year, and plans will be set in motion for a comprehensive revision of our tax structure by 1970, the first since 1954.

The legislative proposals of the next few weeks are a beginning. They form part of a responsible approach to our goal of managing constructive change in America.

This is not law we seek in order to have it “on the books,” but law that we need in action. It is designed, not to look appealing in the record, but to take effect in our lives.

It will be the goal of this administration to propose only legislation that we know we can execute once it becomes law. We have deliberated long and hard on each of these measures, in order to be sure we could make it work. Merely making proposals takes only a typewriter; making workable proposals takes time. We have taken this time.

In other areas, where more time is needed, we will take more time. I urge the Congress to join with this administration in this careful approach to the most fundamental issues confronting our country. Hasty action or a seeking after partisan advantage either by the Congress or executive branch can only be self-defeating and aggravate the very ills we seek to remedy.

For example, one area of deep concern to this administration has to do with the most dependent constituency of all: the child under five. I have announced a commitment to the first 5 years of life as one of the basic pledges of this administration. Headstart was one promising idea for bettering the environment and nutrition of young children; there also are many others. We have already begun enlarging

the scope of our commitment in this vital field, including the establishment of an Office of Child Development within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. We hope that this enlarging commitment will be accompanied by an enlarging of the base of knowledge on which we act. We are not beginning with “massive” programs that risk tripping over their own unreadiness. Rather, our proposals will include step-by-step plans, including careful projections of funding requirements. Equally important, though federally supported, they will embrace a network of local programs that will enlist voluntary participation.

These legislative proposals are, of course, being prepared within the context of other administration actions which bear on domestic program development.

On taking office, I could see that whether measured in terms of its ability to respond, to decide, or to implement, the executive branch simply was not structured to meet the emerging needs of the 1970's. Therefore my first moves were organizational.

The National Security Council was revitalized. The Urban Affairs Council was created, so that the problems of our cities could be approached in the broader perspective they now require. A Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy was established, to bring greater coherence to the management of our Nation's economic prosperity. The system of Federal regional offices was reorganized so that for the first time, related agencies will have common regional headquarters and common regional boundaries. An Office of Intergovernmental Relations was set up to smooth the coordination of Federal, State, and local efforts.

In specific operational areas, we removed postmasterships from politics, started an overhaul of the Office of Economic Opportunity and its programs, and streamlined the administration of the various manpower programs.

One purpose of this early emphasis on organizational activity was to get the decisionmaking process in order before moving to the major decisions.

At the same time, I sent more than 100 directives to the heads of the various departments and agencies, asking their carefully considered recommendations on a wide range of domestic policy issues. The budget was submitted to an intensive review, and throughout the administration we addressed ourselves to the critical question of priorities.

One priority that has emerged clearly and compellingly is that we must put a halt, swiftly, to the ruinous rise of inflationary pressures. The present inflationary surge, already in its fourth year, represents a national self-indulgence we cannot afford any longer. Unless we save the dollar, we will have nothing left with which to save our cities—or anything else. I have already outlined certain steps that will be required:

- Continuation of the monetary policies the Federal Reserve authorities are now pursuing.
- A reduction of fiscal year 1970 expenditures by \$4 billion below the best current estimate of the budget expenditures recommended by the last administration.
- Continuation of the income tax surcharge for another year.
- Postponing of the scheduled reductions in telephone and passenger car excise taxes.

—Enactment of user charges equal in revenue to those now in the budget.

—An increase in postal charges.

These steps are not pleasant medicine. Medicine to combat inflation is never pleasant. But we can no longer delay taking it.

Another priority is the control of crime. On January 31, I announced a detailed plan for combating crime in the District of Columbia, recognizing that the Federal City should be made a model of law observance and law enforcement. The crime-control package soon to be submitted to Congress will make clear the Federal Government's commitment, nationwide, to assisting local authorities in protecting the lives, rights, and property of their citizens.

An equally pressing priority is the entire complex of needs that we commonly group under the heading, "the problems of the cities"—but which in fact reach beyond the cities, and include the distresses of rural America as well.

Our policy review has strengthened my conviction that in approaching these problems, America needs a new direction—not a turning away from past goals, but a clear and determined turn toward new means of achieving those goals.

One example is hunger and malnutrition. The failure of past efforts to combat these problems has been made shockingly clear. Our new programs will be both vigorous and innovative.

Another example is welfare. Our studies have demonstrated that tinkering with the present welfare system is not enough. We need a complete reappraisal and redirection of programs which have aggravated the troubles they were meant to cure, perpetuating a dismal cycle of dependency from one generation to the next. Therefore, I will be submitting to Congress a program providing for the reform of the welfare system.

In the field of social legislation, we now have a hodgepodge of programs piled on programs, in which too often the pressure to perpetuate ill-conceived but established ones has denied needed resources to those that are new and more promising.

We have learned that too often Government's delivery systems have failed: though Congress may pass a law, or the President may issue an order, the intended services never reach the intended recipients. Last week, for example, in announcing a \$200 million program for rebuilding riot-torn areas, I noted that after 2, 3, and even 4 years nothing had been done, and cited this as evidence of the growing impotence of Government. The crucial point here is that whereas in the past, "leave it to the States" was sometimes a signal for inaction by design, now "leave it to Washington" has become too often a signal for inaction by default. We have to design systems that go beyond "commitment," and guarantee performance.

If there is one thing we know, it is that the Federal Government cannot solve all the Nation's problems by itself; yet there has been an over-shift of jurisdiction and responsibility to the Federal Government. We must kindle a new partnership between Government and people, and among the various levels of government.

Too often, Federal funds have been wasted or used unwisely—for example, by pouring them into direct grants, when more money could

have been made available at less cost by the use of incentives to attract private funds.

The programs I will submit have been drawn with those principles in mind. Among their aims are—

—To supplement Federal funds with private funds, through the use of "seed money" devices such as tax credits and loan guarantees.

—To enlist the great, vital voluntary sector more fully, using the energies of those millions of Americans who are able and eager to help in combating the Nation's ills.

—To help rebuild State and local institutions, so that they both merit and gain a greater measure of confidence on the part of their own citizens.

—To streamline the administration of Federal programs, not only for efficiency and economy, but to improve the certainty of delivery and to cut away the clouds of confusion that now surround not only their operation, but often their purposes.

—To make maximum use of the new knowledge constantly being gained, as, for example, in our commitment to the first 5 years of life.

These programs will not carry extravagant promises. The American people have seen too many promises, too many false hopes raised, too much substitution of the easy slogan for the hard performance.

Neither will they carry large price tags for the coming fiscal year. We must recognize, however, that in the long run progress will not come cheaply; and even though the urgency of controlling inflation dictates budget cuts in the short run, we must be prepared to increase substantially our dollar investment in America's future as soon as the resources become available.

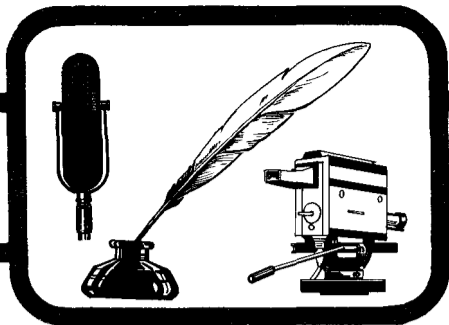
This administration will gladly trade the false excitement of fanfare for the abiding satisfaction of achievement. Consolidation, coordination, and efficiency are not ends in themselves; they are necessary means of making America's government responsive to the legitimate demands for new departures.

Quietly, thoughtfully, but urgently, the members of this administration have moved in these first few months to redirect the course of the Nation. I am confident of the direction, and convinced that the time to take it has come.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 14, 1969.*

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

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--  
April 14, 1969

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Republican Leader, U.S. House of Representatives, as placed in the Congressional Record.

MR. SPEAKER: I invite the attention of every member of this House to President Nixon's Message spelling out the recommendations which now will begin flowing from the White House to the Congress.

This presidential message is highly significant, for it points the Federal Government, and indeed the entire Nation, in New Directions. It calls for new approaches to deep and persistent problems. It opens the door to a new national effort to improve the quality of life for all Americans -- a partnership of the individual citizen, the local community, the private sector, business and industry, the states and the Federal Government -- all working together for the common good.

The new approaches will be laid out for the Congress to examine and dissect, Mr. Speaker -- a start on sharing Federal income tax revenue with the states and local units of government; a program of tax credits, using tax incentives to promote the achievement of social objectives.

The Nixon Administration is moving, too, to meet our most challenging and difficult problems head-on -- through a crackdown on narcotics traffickers; through a program to promote equal employment opportunity more effectively; through a top-to-bottom reorganization of the Post Office Department; through new programs in air and mass transit travel; through expansion and improvements in job training and placement; and through reform of our tax structure.

For our senior citizens, struggling to make ends meet in the face of rising prices, we pledge a substantial increase in Social Security benefits. Our pensioners have a great need for help. We must meet that need.

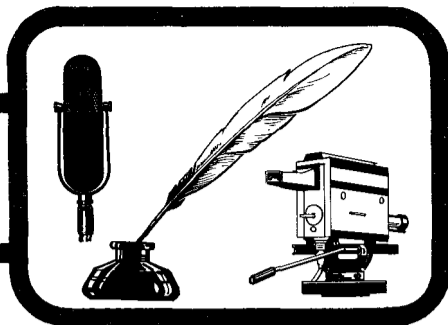
Mr. Speaker, it is not important that these proposals did not begin moving from the White House to the Congress until after the Easter Recess. The most urgent initial task of the new Administration was one of review, reappraisal and consolidation.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has outlined the initial scope of his legislative program. He has also moved to fight inflation with a new determination which I believe points toward success.

We have our work cut out for us, Mr. Speaker. It now is up to us to help move the Nation ahead.

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*Office Copy*



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