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Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford
to the National Federation of Republican Women

April 1,
~~1964~~, 1965

Republicans in Congress who are faced with overwhelming opposition party voting power and an awesome strength in the executive branch have at least five major duties and responsibilities.

First--- we must exert our influence in a positive manner to help guide our Nation toward freedom, security, peace and well-being within the framework of fiscal responsibility *and the Constitution.*

Secondly, we should support the Administration when it is right, oppose it when it is wrong, at the same time presenting constructive alternative proposals for legislation.

Our third duty is to expose any failures of the present Administration to keep promises made during the 1964 election campaign.

The fourth responsibility is to work toward a strong two-party system, which would overcome the imbalance of power in the legislative, executive and judicial branches.

Finally, we must work with dedication and zeal to maintain and to strengthen unity in the Republican ranks.

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How do we accomplish these goals? What has been done so far?

What are the guidelines for action in the future?

Work is well under way to exert our influence in a positive manner in Congress. It started with the establishment of a planning and research group of Republicans headed by Rep. Charles E. Goodell of New York.

Currently seven task forces are researching in depth, seeking facts, figures and a wide range of data in six areas: agriculture, economic opportunity, voting rights, Congressional reform and Minority staffing, education and NATO-Western Europe problems.

On a broader ~~level~~^{level,} The Republican Coordinating Committee has

embarked on a three-goal mission to:

1. Broaden the advisory base on national party policy.
2. Set up task forces to study and make recommendations for dealing with the problems confronting the people of our Nation.
3. Stimulate communication among members of the party and others in developing a common approach to the nation's problems.



The Coordinating Committee consists of eleven members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, the five living Republican nominees for President, and five representatives of the Republican Governors Association.

Our second responsibility as members of Congress is a three-pronged one, as I see it.

You know that Republican joint leadership supported the Administration in stepping up strikes against Communist supply lines and bases in Viet Nam.. We have publicly stated that we favor measured, meaningful military steps in that troubled area of Southeast Asia.

~~You~~ We cannot accept the statement that the duty of the party out of power is to merely oppose. This outlook is too narrow and too negative.

It is difficult to oppose---with any real meaning--when we are outnumbered 2 to 1 in Congress. We will, however, point out mistakes made by the Administration, ~~which are~~.

For example, we believe there are some mistakes---and perhaps honest ones-- ~~in~~ in the proposed bill on voting rights, which followed in the



wake of the President's message to a joint session of Congress.

The Administration bill would violate the Constitution by blocking the rights of ~~States~~ ^{certain} States to decide the qualifications of voters in both Federal and state elections.

The first article of the Constitution gives states the authority to decide the qualifications of voters.

Under a somewhat complex formula in the Administration's proposed bill, Federal authorities would have the right to abolish voter qualifications and to supervise voter registration.

In actual practice, the formula would apply only to Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, ~~Florida~~, South Carolina and Virginia.

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Complicated formulas and percentages spawned at the federal ~~level~~ level and contained in the Administration's proposed voting rights law are unfair to some states and violate the Constitution.

Meanwhile, Republicans are working on constructive alternatives to the President's voting rights bill. It is a tough, demanding and complicated job. The Administration's bill also is undergoing extensive investigation by the Judiciary committee.

At this point, I can say that Republicans in the House will support legislation to achieve maximum registration and voting by the target date of 1966.

There may be bi-partisan support of a voting rights bill, which would be the result of both Republican and Democratic thinking. One thing is certain: Republicans in the House refuse to be stampeded into rubberstamping the Administration's ~~version~~ version of a bill.

The widely-publicized "medicare" scheme of the Administration is another example of ~~prompting~~ prompting not only opposition by Republicans, but an alternative measure.



The weaknesses in the Administration's medicare plan are obvious. They include insufficient coverage and skyrocketing payroll taxes for every worker.

The Administration's plan is based on an increase in the social security payroll tax on all employees, employers, and self-employed persons, which would place a greater burden on those less able to pay. It is a compulsory, regressive, tax plan.

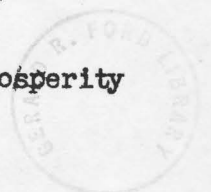
The Republican alternative proposal offers more liberal coverage and gives people a choice of participating. It is entirely voluntary.

You will read and hear of other Republican proposals in the weeks and months ahead. They will come from research, analysis and some of the finest minds in the country representing many facets of our economic, social, financial and other areas.

Earlier, I ~~mentioned~~ listed among our duties that of exposing failures of the Administration to keep campaign promises.

You will recall that the President virtually pledged to provide

America with historical bounty----- ~~prosperity~~ golden prosperity



with two chickens in every pot and three cars in every garage. He insisted that we would have more of everything without paying more taxes.

~~_____~~

~~_____~~

It was with bright and brassy fanfare that the President unveiled his proposed 1966 budget, trumpeting to the nation that it is less than \$100 billion.

The truth is the budget totals more than \$126 billion, when the cash budget and new obligational authority to spend government money ~~is~~ ^{are} lumped together.

It follows that the national debt has increased by \$10 billion in just two years to an all-time high of \$318 billion.

The President promised to help ease the burden in pockets of poverty. His Appalachia bill ignored many parts of the Nation faced with economic distress. Omitted from the bill, which ~~was~~ sailed through Congress with a strong wind blowing from the White House, were such areas as the upper Great Lakes Region, the Ozark Mountain country.

A Republican proposed bill would have helped depressed areas all over the Nation.

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Our ~~fourth~~ fourth responsibility is to work toward a strong two-party system, which is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their role in the society of free nations.

Hand-in-hand with a strong two-party system is a balance in the three branches of government.

I see disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of towering strength in the executive arm, and a change from the intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

When the balance of power in Congress is steeply tilted by an over-whelming majority in one political party, the system of checks and balances is endangered. This becomes even more serious when the executive branch is dominated by the same party.

It can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret the Constitution and the laws.

There is evidence that the Judicial Branch is arbitrarily flailing and pushing its way with courtly dignity to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.



When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one-vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of an assumption by the Court of "destructively novel judicial power."

Justice Frankfurter said "in this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong here. Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The National Federation of Republican Women can do much to nurture an aroused public conscience involving more issues than the change ~~in~~ from intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

I urge you to spread the word of a need to strengthen the two-party system, to be aware of a growing imbalance of power in the three branches of government. You have the organization to help do the job for the good of all America.

We have a lot of homework in maintaining and strengthening unity in the Republican ranks.



There has been a lot of talk about a split in our ~~columns~~ ranks.

I will answer this by saying reunification is already under way. The division is less sharp in our party than among Democrats.

I question whether the differences in philosophies among Republicans are so ~~markedly defined~~ defined now that the Party can be described as having three, four or any number of strong factions.

If I were to describe the majority of Republicans, I would say that most believe in the high ~~road~~ middle road of moderation.

Former President Eisenhower is to be applauded for his statement that Republicans become again just Republicans. Therein lies our hope.

By organizing our strength, rallying our forces, creating new ideas, showing that Republicans care about the people, and earning the respect of America, we can expect victories in 1966 and a resurgence of ~~strength~~ strength.

These are jobs for each of us to tackle. The time to start is right now.

#



Analysis of Responsibilities of

The Republican Party

David S. Broder *

What should Republicans be thinking about? The simplest answer is a negative one -- not Lyndon Johnson. The normal instinct in any partisan is to whack the opposition -- and that has value, to be sure. Republicans in Congress and the country have a responsibility to scrutinize, debate, criticize, amend or oppose every Johnson initiative and program; the functioning of democracy demands no less from an opposition party. But that path is not the path to future victory. To the extent that Republicans focus their thought primarily or exclusively on Lyndon Johnson and his programs, they neglect their greater opportunity. The pace of history -- of social change -- will outrun any President. If the Republicans slow their pace to match that of a Lyndon Johnson hobbled by the day-to-day burdens of office, they will forfeit their greatest political advantage. Already, the issues and personalities of the last election are slipping into irrelevancy. Nor is this surprising. The personalities and issues that elected Dwight Eisenhower as President in 1952 did not dominate the choice of his successor in 1960. No more will Johnson or Johnson's issues determine the choice of his successor.

New needs will have arisen -- new names come to the fore -- and the country will be waiting for the party best prepared to answer the questions on its mind then. To succeed, therefore, Republicans must set about now to think constructively about those problems the Johnson Administration is least likely to settle satisfactorily or remove from the area of debate. What are they? Let me mention five that seem to me to be candidates for serious attention. Each of them is rooted in a fundamental trend that appears to me to be irreversible.

1. The first is the problem of a biracial society, established on the fatal basis of master and slave, and now moving rapidly and inevitably toward a condition of substantial -- not just legal -- equality. This is a problem beyond just civil rights. This is a problem of overcoming, or at least ameliorating, in a generation the accumulated injustices of a dozen generations. The most difficult aspects of this problem -- in education, and housing and employment -- have barely been touched. Ten days ago, the distinguished Republican Attorney General of Massachusetts, Edward Brooke, said here that he hoped to see some Republican proposals on balanced schools, on open housing, on the roots of urban crime, and on other aspects of our revolution in race relations. I say amen.

* Presented by Mr. Broder, Political Analyst and Columnist, in address to the League of Republican Women of D.C. at the Mayflower Hotel, March 1, 1965.

2. Second, there is the much discussed population boom -- the increase in numbers and in the concentration of population in urban areas. Now, you may be alarmed or complacent about the so-called population explosion. I personally am not concerned about our capacity to cope with our increasing numbers; that is the position a father of four boys has to take on this issue. But I think it is plain even now that when people are packed in as densely as they are in our area, the limits on their freedom are going to be greater than they were in my youth or yours. I live in Arlington County, and I spend a good deal of my leisure time arguing with government officials who want to build bridges or highways or interchanges over my house. The bridge-builders and highway-builders are not going to cease and desist; nor are the school-improvers, the planners and the dozens of other government men who are intruding on my life; most of them are engaged in meeting legitimate needs. But if our notion of freedom is going to maintain any significance under this increasing web of government regulation, I have got to feel that I am not just a pawn in the bureaucrats' hands. This is essentially a problem in Federalism, in the distribution of responsibility and power among the levels of government, to keep as many decisions at the closest possible level to the citizens. It is a terribly complex problem. Many of our existing units of government are outmoded; others badly need to be refurbished if they are to be made useful. But it is the sort of problem Republicans traditionally have interested themselves in. Republicans of all stripes have a commitment to make Federalism work, to find significant roles for state and county and local government. Now, in their leisure, they have an opportunity to undertake the major rethinking of the New Federalism that is badly needed.

3 and 4. Next, I would mention a pair of problems related to a less well-known trend in our population. America's postwar population boom had two principal causes. One was the baby boom. The other was the elongation of life or decrease in the death rate, attributable to medical advances. These two factors not only pushed up the population curve; they changed its shape. In the past decade, for the first time since we became a nation, there were more Americans under 21 and over 65 than there were between 21 and 65. In technical jargon, this is called the dependency ratio. What this means is that there are more unproductive persons -- youngsters and oldsters -- than working-age people.

That fact -- and not some diabolical design -- is why we hear endlessly in Congress about the problems of youth, chiefly education, and of old age, chiefly medical care. These problems are going to endure. They will not be wished away. They are, quite literally, built into our population curve. Today, their solutions are not in sight. Despite the sloganeering on all sides of the aid-to-education and medicare debates, the problems involved are extremely difficult. We face a major national policy decision in the area of broadened aid to private and parochial schools. We face an equally significant decision on the best way to finance and administer social services -- including medical services -- for the elderly. These problems demand constructive solutions. I know of no one who believes the current proposals before Congress in these two areas are more than a first effort.

5. Fifth and finally, I would mention the changing nature of our world relations. Obviously, they are far beyond the scope of any discussion we could launch today. But if men far more expert and informed than I am do not wholly misread the signs, what we face is a world we can no longer dominate in every detail by our might, but one from which we cannot withdraw, either. If this is so, Americans confront the task of deciding what sort of a world we can abide -- how far our real interests extend, what we can do to secure them, and how much leeway we can grant those others who are claiming insistently that they, too, will have a voice in the future of the planet.

I do not say, as some do, that America's position in the world is worse today than ever before; I do not believe that is true. But I do say that I have never known a time when America was involved in as many situations -- from the United Nations to the Congo to Viet Nam and on around the globe -- where the true interests of our country were as badly explained and as badly understood as they are today. We need a great debate on foreign policy. There has been none, really, since the late Senator Taft argued the issue when NATO was created 16 years ago. Republicans should take the lead in provoking a new one.

Here, then, are five things Republicans would be well-advised to think about: A path through the final, difficult stages of our transition to a genuinely equal, biracial society; a redefinition of federalism and a revitalization of state and local government; long-term programs -- not temporary expedients -- for the education of our youth and the care of our elderly; and a reexamination of American foreign policy in the light of the dramatic changes that have occurred since Republicans last held national responsibility.

For better or worse, the Republicans are now the party at leisure. They have the opportunity to examine these problems dispassionately. It would be well for the country if the Republicans seized the opportunity. And, unless I miss my guess, there is a reward, beyond Lyndon Johnson's power to deny, waiting the party that does come up with answers to these questions.



Speech outline for: National Federation of Republican Women, March 29, 1965

Theme: "We Must Earn Our Way."

Describe position of the GOP today: Outnumbered 2 to 1 in Congress...

Not just loyal opposition..... constructive alternatives.

What must be done:

- A. Organize our strength: Ray Bliss brings strong leadership to National Committee.... discuss GOP Coordinating Committee and its goals: 1. To broaden the advisory base on national party policy.
 2. Set up task forces to study problems.
 3. Stimulate communication among members of party.
- B. Rally our forces.... discuss need for women to continue good work and to get others to join.... work hard during off-election year.. tell the Republican story everywhere.
- C. Come forth with new ideas.... need proposals that are salable in political market place..... discuss the GOP task forces.
- D. Need for two-party system.... talk of over-balance of power
- E. Show that Republicans care about people... Discuss GOP health care plan... education proposal... alternative Appalachia bill.
- F. Must earn respect and trust of America.... build up a record of doing something, not just fighting Dem Administration,...

.... fight growing centralization of power in Washington... make people aware that "government big enough to give us everything we want is big enough to take from us everything we have!!..... convince voters that Republican Party "is the political vehicle by which they can exhibit their independence."

Conclusion:

Repeat --- We must organize our strength

We must rally our forces

We must come forth with new ideas

We must restore the strong two-party system

We must show that Republicans care about people

We must earn the respect and trust of America

"The political climate in the past has turned rapidly. If we follow the guidelines I have discussed today, we can expect victories in 1966 and a resurgence of strength."

#



1965
muddy files

In my remarks during the Republican State of the Union appraisal, I referred to a deeply held conviction that education is the answer to many of our social and economic problems. This, of course, is a national conviction as old as our Republic and shared by a substantial majority of citizens of both major political parties.

As a Nation we have led the world in progress toward universal educational opportunities. Our progress has continued and accelerated in recent years, even without taking into account the activities ~~of~~ of the Federal Government. In ~~1958~~¹⁹⁵⁸ our Gross National Product was \$445 billion of which we spent 3.6 percent on education. By 1962 the GNP had increased to \$555 billion, and we were spending well over 5 percent on education. Using stable 1961-62 dollars as a measure, in the decade between the Fall of 1953 and the Fall of 1963, our national investment in all levels of education, school and college, public and private, more than doubled to a total of nearly \$33 billion.

In 1964, this Nation spent almost \$40 billion on education, representing 6.3 percent of our Gross National Product. Such an investment, viewed from a mere decade before, was a wild dream. It has been a miracle wrought by the free will of the American people, expressed in every State and community. And there is not a single index of education, whether it is school housing, pupil-teacher ratios, curriculum innovations, teacher and faculty salaries, educational attainment of the population, and so forth, that fails to reflect this massive financial commitment.

During these years much attention has been focussed upon contributions of the Federal Government. This is extraordinary in a sense, because in the course of all this vast growth, and with proliferating Federal programs, the Federal share of educational expenditures has never risen above five percent. Clearly, and without in any way diminishing the importance of Federal programs, the miracle I have described was not wrought in Washington.



The Federal Government has in fact played an important role in educational development throughout our history, beginning with the Northwest Ordinances of 1789 (?)

During the administration of Abraham Lincoln the first of the historic Land Grant College Acts became law and the establishment of our system of State universities was commenced. This was expanded in 1890. In 1917 we commended a national effort to encourage vocational education in the public schools, and this was enlarged in 1946. Then came the G.I. Bill and a surge of college enrollments that is still growing.

These were all historic actions, but in a sense the most comprehensive Federal interest in education at all levels ~~came~~ was expressed by President Eisenhower in his 1958 recommendations which were the basis for the National Defense Education Act. The Eisenhower measure struck at critical deficiencies ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ key areas at almost every level of education. While often described as an effort to improve the teaching of science and mathematics, it was far more comprehensive. It includes funds for upgrading counselling and guidance work in the schools, for large-scale ~~test~~ testing programs, for increasing the number of fully-prepared college faculty, for vastly improving our studies of ~~languages~~ so-called "rare" languages (meaning they were rarely ^{in the U.S.} taught, although spoken by by hundreds of millions of people in critical areas of the world), and for similar purposes.

It was in 1958 also that we accelerated all of the educational programs of the National Science Foundation, with particular emphasis upon those designed to improve the skills of elementary and high school teachers. In 1959 President Eisenhower also recommended and urged the approval of a bill to provide Federal funds for the construction of college classrooms. Unfortunately, this was not acted upon until 1963, but it is now of crucial importance in meeting the explosion in college enrollments. It was also in

In this Congress we have enacted

1963, with strong bi-partisan support, that the National Vocational Education Acts were modernized and expanded in funding authorizations. Together with the ~~In~~ Manpower Training and Development Act of 1962 -- another completely bi-partisan measure -- this formed a very strong Federal effort to help prepare people for available jobs in the economy of the 1960's.



3.

Through 1963, marking the First Session of the 88th Congress, the Federal interest in education had been expressed through carefully conceived legislation involving a bi-partisan effort. Even then however, it was becoming evident that the Federal role in education was somewhat ill defined and bogged down in overlapping responsibilities and duplication of effort.

in June of 1963

In a report issued/by Congresswoman Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, and Chairman of a special subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee, it was pointed out that 42 separate Federal agencies were involved in administering education programs. The number today is probably 45. There are multiple duplications of effort in such fields as teacher education, educational research, undergraduate assistance, graduate education, education of handicapped and disadvantaged students, programs for school dropouts, and manpower training, to cite but a few key areas.

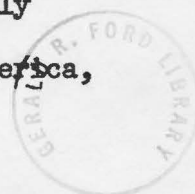
Recent legislation has added vastly to the confusion, with the multiplicity of poverty programs introducing an almost chaotic note. Carefully drawn Federal programs, which recognize State and local responsibilities and work within them, and which strike directly at crucial problems, can make a constructive contribution to all that we are doing in our schools and colleges. But confused and hastily drawn Federal acts that strike out in all directions at once can seriously undermine the work of educational institutions, and can complicate or defeat constructive efforts to solve educational problems.

I think that the task of making sense out of recent legislation in this field is one of the major tasks confronting the Congress.

School Assistance

The Elementary and Secondary/Act of 1965, quite candidly, is a mish-mash of programs and purposes. It has serious defects which were recognized on all sides at the time of enactment, but which the Administration stubbornly insisted upon including. Let me be specific on this point.

Title I of that bill authorizes grants to local school districts
school
to be used in/ programs designed for students handicapped by poverty. But these funds do not go just to school districts that are inadequately financed. They go to school districts in the wealthiest counties in America,



4,
where the schools and their programs, ~~for~~ including those for culturally deprived children, are generally the best that money can buy. If the Federal funds were unlimited, this might be defended, but the practical result is that the effort is spread thinly, and probably so thin as to have little genuine impact on the problem. What cannot be defended is that the formula for distributing the funds is so arranged that the ten wealthiest counties in the Nation -- having about 32,000 impoverished children -- receive twice as much money as the ten poorest counties having an equal number of impoverished children. Moreover, the wealthy counties are large ones where poor children represent a very small part of the school population. The poor counties are small ones in which the poor children often represent a majority of the children in school.

This could have been corrected by a simple amendment sponsored by Congresswoman Green and supported from our side of the aisle, but the amendment was opposed by the Administration and was defeated.

The remaining five titles of the bill are totally unrelated to the needs of economically and culturally deprived children. They extend the Federal arm deep into school program and curriculum planning, into the provision of textbooks, and into supplemental educational services at the local level. In the process, they virtually ignore State responsibilities in education.

The poverty program is in many areas chaotic, and this may be a charitable judgment. In the educational field it is very badly planned. Much of that attempted is desirable, such as "Operation Head Start" for pre-school youngsters who have no preparation normally received in the home environment. Yet this type of effort should be carried out in a systematic fashion by the U.S. Office of Education, working through the regular State and local school systems. It should be coordinated with the regular school program and subject to local determination and control. The Congress urgently needs to remedy this kind of confusion.

Similarly, ^{poverty} such programs as the neighborhood youth corps and the job corps need to be meshed with our national efforts in vocational education and manpower retraining. Unless there is close coordination, with a maximum use of our limited ~~training~~ job-training personnel, we are going to produce thousands of youth in these programs who are not



5.
equipped for available jobs, thus plunging them farther into a climate of defeat and despair. This would be a personal tragedy in every instance and a social tragedy of major proportions.

The Congress can correct shortcomings, abuses, and confusion in Federal programs if it will exercise its independent judgment in such matters. It has an inescapable responsibility to do so.

What is more, the Congress can propose imaginative and effective programs to mobilize all our resources to overcome educational problems. One such proposal, made by Republicans in both Houses, is the Human Investments Act. It would give tax credits to private business and industry to offset the costs of private training programs for the unskilled and unemployed. Right now, according to Mr. Sargent Shriver, the most effective job corps camps we have are those operated by private industry on a contract basis. This effort could be increased a thousand-fold with a very small Federal cost and with no direct Federal involvement.

Even Congressman Adam Claytoⁿ Powell, who ram-rodde^d the existing poverty program through the Congress just as the President required, has recognized its inadequacy. In a speech in Harlem of January 21, 1966, he charged that all these programs were uncoordinated and declared, "All we need are jobs ...we are going to change the legislative image of the War on Poverty this year^s to place the emphasis on job creation and on-the- job training. Many of these cultural and social frills are going to be cut out."

It remains to be seen whether such promises are kept.



April 2, 1965

~~Young GOP - Boston April 2~~

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Natl GOP Women

-2-

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more



Fourth responsibility--- work to establish a strong two-party system to overcome the imbalance of power in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

Fifth---we must work with dedication and zeal to maintain and to strengthen unity in the Republican ranks.



EXPAND ON--- supporting Administration, opposing it, and constructive alternatives.

Viet Nam

Voting rights

Medicare

EXPAND ON--- exposing failures of Administration:

1966 budget is \$216 billion, not less than \$100 billion

EXPAND ON--- Two-party system.....over-balance of power now.



Nat'l GOP Women

-6-

Conclude: High middle road of moderation

Earn respect to win victories in 1966

A handwritten star symbol, possibly a signature or mark, consisting of several overlapping lines forming a five-pointed star shape.

Address by Rep. ~~G~~erald R. Ford

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At this point, I can say that Republicans in the House will support legislation to achieve maximum registration and voting by the target date of 1966.

There may be bi-partisan support of a voting rights bill, which would be the result of both Republican and Democratic thinking. One thing is certain: Republicans in the House refuse to be stampeded into rubberstamping the Administration's version version of a bill.

The widely-publicized "medicare" scheme of the Administration is another example of ~~requiring~~ prompting not only opposition by Republicans, but an alternative measure.



The weaknesses in the Administration's medicare plan are obvious. They include insufficient coverage and skyrocketing payroll taxes for every worker.

The Administration's plan is based on an increase in the social security payroll tax on all employees, employers, and self-employed persons, which would place a greater burden on those less able to pay. It is a compulsory, regressive, tax plan.

The Republican alternative proposal offers more liberal coverage and gives people a choice of participating. It is entirely voluntary.

You will read and hear of other Republican proposals in the weeks and months ahead. They will come from research, analysis and some of the finest minds in the country representing many facets of our economic, social, financial and other areas.

Earlier, I mentioned listed among our duties that of exposing failures of the Administration to keep campaign promises.

You will recall that the President virtually pledged to provide

America with historical bounty ----- ----- golden prosperity



with two chickens in every pot and three cars in every garage. He insisted that we would have more of everything without paying more taxes.

~~Millions of Americans are taking part in the great~~
~~awakening that is taking place across the country.~~

It was with bright and brassy fanfare that the President unveiled his proposed 1966 budget, trumpeting to the nation that it is less than \$100 billion.

The truth is the budget totals more than \$126 billion, when the cash budget and new obligational authority to spend government money are lumped together.

It follows that the national debt has increased by \$10 billion in just two years to an all-time high of \$318 billion.

The President promised to help ease the burden in pockets of poverty. His Appalachia bill ignored many parts of the Nation faced with economic distress. Omitted from the bill, which sailed through Congress with a strong wind blowing from the White House, were such areas as the upper Great Lakes Region, the Ozark Mountain country.

A Republican proposed bill would have helped depressed areas



Our fourth fourth responsibility is to work toward a strong two-party system, which is bedrock assurance that our Democracy will survive, prosper, grow and help others in the world to accept their role in the society of free nations.

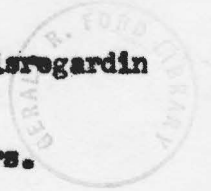
Hand-in-hand with a strong two-party system is a balance in the three branches of government.

I see disturbing signs of slow erosion in the power of the legislative branch, a build-up of towering strength in the executive arm, and a change from the intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

When the balance of power in Congress is steeply tilted by an over-whelming majority in one political party, the system of checks and balances is endangered. This becomes even more serious when the executive branch is dominated by the same party.

It can be said that the Federal Judiciary's function is to interpret the Constitution and the laws.

There is evidence that the Judicial Branch is arbitrarily flailing and pushing its way with courtly dignity to new positions of authority, disregarding the wise judicial restraint made by the late Justice Frankfurter and others.




When the Supreme Court ordered states to reapportion on the "one-man, one-vote" concept, Justice Frankfurter in a dissenting opinion was critical of an assumption by the Court of "destructively novel judicial power."

Justice Frankfurter said "in this situation, as in others of like nature, appeal for relief does not belong here. Appeal must be made to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused public conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The National Federation of Republican Women can do much to nurture an aroused public conscience involving more issues than the change ~~up~~ from intended direction in the Federal Judiciary.

I urge you to spread the word of a need to strengthen the two-party system, to be aware of a growing imbalance of power in the three branches of government. You have the organization to help do the job for the good of all America.

We have a lot of homework in maintaining and strengthening unity in the Republican ranks.



There has been a lot of talk about a split in our ~~rank~~ ranks.

I will answer this by saying reunification is already underway. The division is less sharp in our party than among Democrats.

I question whether the differences in philosophies among Republicans are so ~~unfathomably~~ defined now that the Party can be described as having three, four or any number of strong factions.

If I were to describe the majority of Republicans, I would say that most believe in the high ~~rank~~ middle road of moderation.

Former President Eisenhower is to be applauded for his statement that Republicans become again just Republicans. Therein lies our hope.

By organizing our strength, rallying our forces, creating new ideas, showing that Republicans care about the people, and earning the respect of America, we can expect victories in 1966 and a resurgence of ~~strength~~ strength.

These are jobs for each of us to tackle. The time to start is right now.

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TEXT

NAT'L FED. OF GOP
WOMEN

MAR. 29, 1965

Gerald R. Ford
M.C.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
OFFICE OF THE MINORITY LEADER
PUBLIC DOCUMENT
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Some speech
cards for
Young GOP
April 2

National GOP Women's Federation
April 1

Speech cards
Prepared text (to be checked by GRF
before use)

