

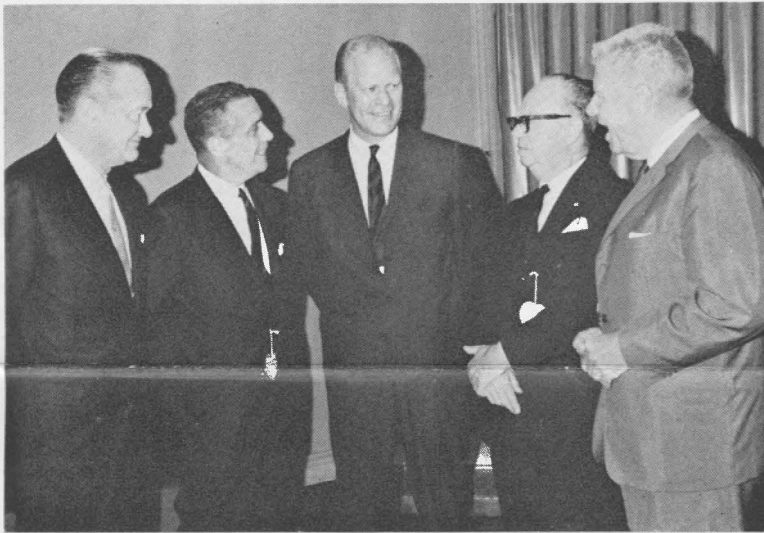
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House Minority Leader Speaks to Capacity Crowd at Club's 55th Year Opener.



PARTY SPOKESMAN

Welcoming the distinguished Congressman from Michigan are (L-R) John Dreiske, Political Editor, Chicago Sun-Times; Donald J. Erickson, President of the Club; Congressman Gerald R. Ford, Jr., Guest Speaker; Leo Burnett, Chairman of the Board, Leo Burnett Company and Ragnar Benson, Chairman of the Board, Ragnar Benson Incorporated.

PRESIDENT ERICKSON: "What is a minority? The chosen heroes of this earth have been in a minority. It is the minority that has achieved all that is noble in the history of the world."

As leader of one of the major minorities in the United States today, this quote from John B. Gough might well have been written with Gerald R. Ford in mind.

In Congress for 15 years, Representative Ford was elected minority leader of the House the day after his sixteenth anniversary as a member of that body. Since then, our guest has continued to wage his own war on the subject of balance in Government. His idea of a great society is considerably different from the current one, and he does not hesitate to speak out for himself and those with similar persuasion.

A member of several Congressional committees, including that of appropriations,

our guest has received many awards acknowledging his leadership abilities. He was voted one of America's ten outstanding young men by the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1949; placed high in a Newsweek poll to determine the ablest member of Congress; received the Distinguished Congressional Service Award from the American Political Science Association, and in 1959 was selected by Sports Illustrated to receive its Silver Anniversary All-American Award as one of twenty-five

Rep. Ford (R-Mich.) declared that in "ramming through" the bill to knock out right-to-work laws, the White House virtually ordered second-class citizenship for millions of workers.

players of 25 years past who had contributed the most to their fellow citizens.

Minority Leader Ford was raised in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and graduated with high honors from the University of Michigan in 1935.

He was a member of the undefeated National Championship Football Teams of 1932 and 1933; named Michigan's most valuable player in 1934 and played against the Chicago Bears in the All-Star Game of 1935. And my question to him was, "What was the score?" He promised to answer that in his remarks. (Laughter)

He received his law degree from Yale in 1941 and was admitted to the Michigan State Bar that year. After nearly four years of naval service, he was discharged in 1946 with the rank of lieutenant commander.

Returning to the practice of law, our speaker became active with the Young Republicans in a campaign to clean up corruption in local Government. His political work led, in the summer of 1948, to the Republican nomination for Congress; and in November to his election by a substantial margin.

Our Next Program

MICHAEL G. O'NEIL

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September 24, 1965

Grand Ballroom, Sherman House



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EXECUTIVES' CLUB NEWS

Published weekly from the second Friday after Labor Day to the first week in June.

THE EXECUTIVES' CLUB OF CHICAGO
111 West Washington Street, Chicago 2
ANdover 3-3500

Annual Subscription

Members \$3.00 Non-Members \$10.00

Extra Copies 15 cents

"Entered as second class matter October 5 1948 at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

A few weeks before his victory, he married Elizabeth Bloomer of Grand Rapids, who has become something of a minority leader herself, of three sons and one daughter.

It is my great honor and pleasure to present the distinguished Member of Congress, Representative Gerald R. Ford. (The audience arose and applauded)

THE HONORABLE GERALD R. FORD: President Don, so many of my good friends I have had an opportunity to see again, members of the Executives' Club of Chicago: It really is a great privilege and a great honor to have the opportunity of being here this afternoon. Don, I do want to tell you what the score of that ball game was. It is hard to believe it in this day and age, but the score was five to nothing. And I might add that in training for the game in those days, and I guess now, the college all-stars spent three weeks on the campus of Northwestern University.

I am glad to have noticed in the paper today that the Congressman who represents that area, Don Rumsfeld has been nominated as one of Chicago's outstanding young men. I can say without hesitation or qualification that in my judgment Don Rumsfeld is one of the most able, the most dedicated, one of the finest members of either the House or the Senate and I applaud his nomination. (Applause)

I might start my remarks by telling you of the letter that I received from Art Stewart inviting me to participate in the program today. It went something like this:

"Dear Congressman Ford:

"The Executives' Club of Chicago has a tradition of having outstanding speakers. We have had in the past Mr. Harry Truman (laughter), Mr. Bob Taft—" and it went on with a long list of people who have spoken before it. And it said:

"I hope you will accept. Up until now we have had good programs." (Laughter)

Actually, this is my first opportunity to attend an Executives' Club meeting since the late fall of 1945 when I came as the guest of one of the Club's then most active members, Mr. Harold MacLean who, at that time, lived on the North Shore. Harold and his wife had befriended me as a young Navy lieutenant who toward the end of the war, was stationed at Glenview Naval Air Station.

I attended the Executives' Club luncheon on that occasion as his guest and he was the speaker. Those of you who knew Harold MacLean, of course, knew of his tremendous oratorical ability. The substance of his remarks on that occasion made an indelible impression on me. As a matter of fact, there were two quotes from that speech which I

still recall, and for the past 20 years they have been some guidelines to me and in my thinking.

The first quote from Harold's speech is as follows:

"A Government big enough to give you everything you want is a Government big enough to take from you everything you have." (Applause)

This sound comment has affected my views politically and on many legislative matters in the past sixteen and a half years. Particularly it has affected my views on some of the so-called Great Society legislation that we have seen in the Congress since January of 1965.

Another quote from Harold's speech went as follows: "You can't make footprints on the sands of time by sitting down." I think this is good advice for me or for anybody else.

ON THE AIR

Programs of The Executives' Club of Chicago are broadcast over FM station WKFM (103.5) every Friday evening (with few exceptions) at 9:00 P.M. of the day of our meeting. All Friday broadcasts of the club luncheons are sponsored by Bell Savings and Loan Association.

Station WTAQ (1300 KC) in La Grange broadcasts the entire Executive Club programs at 8:30 P.M. on the Monday following our Friday meeting.

I must say, however, that back on January 4, when I became the Minority Leader by the landslide vote of 74 to 67, (laughter) I had no idea there would be so many extra non-legislative responsibilities. I have actually lost count of the number of speeches that I have made, but I do know that I have been in 27 states since January 4, and I am expected to be in 17 additional states before the end of the year. Now if traveling is broadening, Mr. Olson, I should be 10 feet wide. (Laughter)

Your toastmaster's overly generous remarks remind me that oftentimes introductions are far more memorable than the speeches that they precede. For example, I have been told that the Governor of the Virgin Islands was once introduced to a dinner audience in these unforgettable words: "Now ladies and gentlemen, I present the Virgin of the Governor's Islands." (Laughter)

Designed Balance in Government

For my substantive remarks today I would like to talk about "Balance in Government." I think that the history of the United States will clearly indicate that whenever we have had an imbalance in Government, whenever we have had the scales tilted far too much, there has been a loss of liberty and a failure of progress. On the other hand, when the scales are balanced nearly evenly, we have maintained our freedom and have made progress in America.

There are three cornerstones in my judgment that are important in our American political society. Two of these cornerstones are constitutionally ordained. The first, the relationship between the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial branches of our Federal Government. The drafters of the Constitution very wisely decided that they would give certain specific powers to the Executive branch of the Government; they would establish a strong executive. On the other hand, they determined that there would be a strong Legislative branch of the Government; that the Congress would play a vital role in the workings of our governmental operations. They also provided that we should have a strong judicial system under the Supreme Court. In each case, those that drafted the Constitution in Philadelphia almost 200 years ago, gave specific responsibilities to each of the three coordinate branches of the Federal Government. But, I always hasten to add a postscript: Those who put together this historic document gave no superiority to any one of the three branches of the Federal Government.

Another cornerstone of our political society was the establishment of the Federal, State and Local Government relationships. Our Constitution provides that each state shall be sovereign and that the Federal Government is a Government of limited powers with specifically delegated responsibilities, and under our Constitution our local governing units were given responsibilities to carry on for the people back home.

I think it was understandable that the wise men who drafted the Constitution would want a separation of powers and a division of responsibilities. Either they or their forefathers had fled from the autocracy and tyranny of mainly Western Europe, and the Constitution was drafted to be a lasting bulwark against the concentration of power in the hands of one man or one segment of our society.

It is my honest opinion and judgment that today we find an erosion in each of these two instances. It is my judgment that today the judicial system is to some extent elbowing its way into areas that were not intended at the time the Constitution was drafted.

I happen to subscribe to the views of the late Justice Felix Frankfurter who, as the lawyers here well know, espoused the philosophy of judicial restraint. It seems to me that this was sound judgment and that his recommendations were wise.

On the other hand, the Executive branch of Government is increasing its power and strength. I often wonder whether or not our citizens as a whole really understand the size of the Federal Government. Today we have 2,500,000 civilian employees whose annual payroll is over 14 billion dollars. And when the President makes a recommendation for a 4% increase in compensation for civilian employees of the Federal Government, it is not a small, inconsequential amount.

The Executive branch of the Government also has under its control and jurisdiction, 2,700,000 military personnel. Now, I can see they are in a little different category than civilian employees, but they are a part of the Executive branch and their annual payroll is something over 14 billion dollars per year. So in effect, you have in the Executive branch of Government today: about five million, two or three hundred thousand, with a total annual payroll of about 28 to 29 billion dollars a year and the right to

spend out of the Federal Treasury approximately 127 billion dollars every twelve months.

In addition, you will note that in the Executive branch of the Government we find a veritable army of experts, researchers, propagandists, public relationists and the rest. The net result is that we find a tremendous concentration of power and authority in the hands of one branch of the Federal Government.

Legislative Branch Squeezed

In contrast, I think you will find that the Legislative branch, represented by the Congress, is being squeezed down. Let me give you some figures that I think will be interesting to show the comparative strength of the Legislative branch vis-a-vis the Executive branch. The Congress has 535 elected officials and about 9000 employees. We have a rather small budget compared to that of the Executive branch of the Government. We are shorthanded in the kind of people that can give the tools to the Legislative branch that they need to meet the challenge of the Executive branch of the Government.

One thing that bothers me particularly about the situation legislative vis-a-vis the executive, is that of the multitude of people that work for the Executive branch, in effect only one person out of the two and a half million civilians and 2.7 million military—only one person every four years—puts his record on the line. This vast group of employees who work for our Federal Government in effect are never challenged by the voters of this country. And I think there is a growing apprehension in the minds of many people about this octopus.

Let me tell you a story that I think best exemplifies it. My wife, family and I live in Alexandria, Virginia, just outside the District of Columbia. One of our next door neighbors is a very high ranking official of the Internal Revenue Service. The other day he was cutting his lawn and I was cutting mine and we stopped on this hot Sunday



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STATISTICAL MARK OF EXCELLENCE



Guests and members seated at the Speaker's Table Friday, September 10, 1965, to hear Congressman Gerald R. Ford, Jr. were, (top left to right) Norton Kay, Richard W. Huthert, Hayes Robertson, Thomas J. Houser, John Dreiske, Clinton E. Frank, Ward L. Quaal, A. Thomas Etcheson, Leo Burnett, Wyatt Jacobs, Cong. Gerald R. Ford, Donald J. Erickson, President of the Club. Shown below (left to right) Harvey S. Olson, Kenneth S. Kamm, Justice Robert E. English, Timothy P. Sheehan, Ragnar Benson, Charles H. Percy, James P. Gorter, Edward J. Hekman, Martin J. Kaldyke, Francis T. Delaney, Carl E. Atwood.

in Washington and chatted for a few minutes. He is a very sound and honest guy. He said, "Gerry, look, you might be interested. Have you ever noticed that on one of the income tax forms, up in the upper right-hand corner—" maybe Don has—"it says, 'Please do not write here?'"

And this man from the Internal Revenue Service said, "You would be surprised at the number of people who put on their Internal Revenue Tax Form, 'I'll write any damn place I feel'." (Laughter and applause)

State and Local Government Bypassed

I also feel that the traditional relationship between the Federal, State and Local Governments is being eroded, even though this has been a bulwark of strength over the years. The states, in effect, are no longer sovereign. The states are being bypassed day after day by the Federal Government. We have a good illustration today in the poverty program. Substantial contracts, substantial arrangements, substantial funds go directly from the Federal Government to the local governing unit bypassing entirely the fifty states. I was glad and pleased to see that thirty-seven of our fifty Governors in this country have joined together to object and to fight this bypassing of the State Governments.

We also have another illustration: The Congress passed a few months ago a Federal Aid to Education Bill and one of the key provisions in the bill as it passed the House and the Senate was again the by-



passing by the Federal Government of the state education agencies, with the Federal Government making contracts directly with the local boards of education. It seems to me that if this trend continues, you will continue to find that the states will lose their potency and in effect become a mere adjunct to the Federal Government.

Value of Two-Party System

There is another cornerstone I would like to talk about in our American political system and here I refer to what is called the "two-party system." Our two-party system is not constitutionally ordained American, but early in America's history our forefathers decided that a two-party system was for the best interest of all our people. As a result, we have avoided the loss of freedom that exists in one-party governments throughout the world. We have also avoided the chaos and confusion that results from

multi-party governments throughout the world. Yes, I think a strong two-party system is an equally important cornerstone in the American political system.

Today, I am sorry to say for more reasons than one, we don't have a strong two-party system in America, and particularly we don't have a strong two-party system in the Congress of the United States. The net result is that many of the safeguards which have been traditional, for the benefit of all segments of our society, are gone.

I must say as I sit on our side of the aisle in the House of Representatives with the small band of 141 members, and look at that mass of humanity across the aisle, that I am a little jealous and at times have been discouraged. Particularly am I discouraged when I see these messages come down from the White House and I see many, many, too many of my Democratic friends, not know-

ing whether to clap their hands or click their heels. (Laughter and applause)

When you have this awesome power that I have described in an Executive branch of the Government, and when you have the complete imbalance that exists in the House and the Senate today, I think that some of the things we believe to be important are in jeopardy. A question to be answered under the current circumstances is: does the Congress operate merely as a limp arm of Government, bending like a wet noodle to the will of the President who has a two to one majority in the House and in the Senate.

What is a practical application of this situation today? Let me give you two specific examples. I won't necessarily comment on the merits or lack of merits of the legislative proposals, but I think you ought to be interested in what actually happens in these two vital areas.

First, the problem of Federal Aid to Education. Early in this session the President sent to the Congress a rather substantial Federal Aid to Education Bill. The word was passed from the White House to the Congress that this measure should have perfunctory hearings; that this measure should not be changed significantly in committee. Such hearings were held. The bill as submitted by the White House was barely changed. It came to the House of Representatives, a proposal that had a billion three hundred million dollars as the Federal contribution in the first instance—a bill that had wide ramifications concerning our local educational systems.

The word was also passed from the White House that when the bill came to the floor of the House, it should not be changed there. What happened? With the overwhelming numerical superiority this bill

was rammed through the House of Representatives in a very cavalier way.

Silent Treatment

For example, the House Republicans prepared in good conscience 29 amendments, each aimed at making the proposed legislation more sensible, more meaningful and more within the guidelines of the Constitution. Of these 29 amendments, four were debated for five minutes, 14 were given no opportunity to even be debated. They imposed time limitations so severe on the membership of the House that 14 of these amendments could be read and voted upon without one word spoken in defense or opposition.

And let me enumerate the silent treatment that was given. The silent treatment was given to several amendments that would have concentrated 200 million dollars in Federal funds on the educational needs of economically deprived children.

The silent treatment was ordered for another amendment requiring state approval of supplementary educational centers to assure coordination of Federal activities with state plans and policies.

The silent treatment was given an amendment demanding that Federally financed local education centers be conducted in accordance with state law.

The silent treatment was given to an amendment to remove the Federal Government from involvement in buying textbooks.

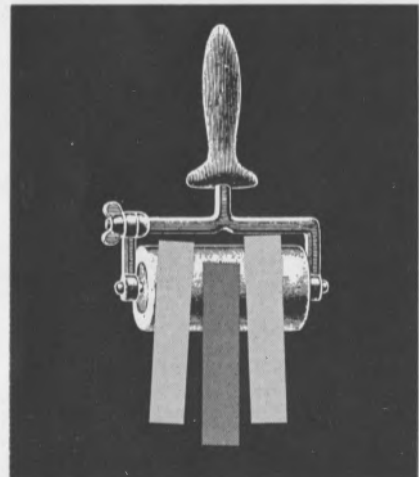
The silent treatment was given to an amendment that would remove Federal standards of approval for local educational centers.

The silent treatment prevented exhaustive debate on at least three vital and controversial issues involved in the education bill.

Silenced, in effect, was the issue of state and church.

Silenced was the vital issue of the expenditure of one billion three hundred million dollars in the first year and five billion dollars annually beginning in the third.

Silenced for all intent and purpose was debate on the fundamental issue of Federal Aid itself.



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In my judgment these were issues that should have been given complete and exhaustive debate. The muting of open debate on vital and controversial issues falls far short of serving the best interests of the American people. (Applause)

Examples of Gag Rule

One of the most brazen examples of gag rule was the restriction clamped on the debate in the House of Representatives on the controversial issue to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. In this case, I will say I voted against it. I believe the Taft-Hartley Act should not have been emasculated by the President's request for the repeal of Section 14-B. (Applause)

But what I object to most was the parliamentary technique that was used to give the members of the House of Representatives, Democrats and Republicans alike, an opportunity to perfect, to change this request that came from the White House. As you all know, Section 14-B is just one section of the Taft-Hartley Act. The bill came from the Committee on Education and Labor, a very simple one-page proposal to repeal Section 14 B. Under the parliamentary procedure which was used, no amendments to this proposal could be offered. The net effect was that any one who tried to offer an amendment was ruled out of order.

For example, some of us felt that if Section 14-B was to be repealed, at least certain particular safeguards ought to be written into the law for the protection of the individual working man who was forced to join a union. Under the procedure which was used, amendments of this nature were ruled out of order. No amendment was permitted that would have prevented a union from discriminating against a member on account of race, color or creed.

Under the parliamentary procedure, an amendment which was offered that would have prevented unions from collecting dues and using them for political purposes was

GUESTS AND MEMBERS SEATED AT THE SPEAKER'S TABLE SEPTEMBER 10, 1965

Mr. Norton Kay, *Political Editor*, Chicago's American.
Mr. Richard W. Huchert, *President*, Liquid Fuels Company.
Mr. Hayes Robertson, *Chairman of the Board*, Chicago Fittings Corporation.
Mr. Thomas J. Houser, *Attorney*, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.
Mr. John Dreiske, *Political Editor*, Chicago Sun-Times.
Mr. Clinton E. Frank, *Chairman of the Executive Committee*, Clinton E. Frank Inc.
Mr. Ward L. Quaal, *President & General Manager*, WGN, Inc.
Mr. A. Thomas Etcheson, *President*, Lake Shore National Bank.
Mr. Leo Burnett, *Chairman of the Board*, Leo Burnett Company.
Mr. Wyatt Jacobs, *Partner*, Jacobs & McKenna.
Mr. Gerald R. Ford, Jr., *Congressman*, Minority Leader, House of Representatives (Guest Speaker).
Mr. Donald J. Erickson, *Partner*, Arthur Andersen & Company, (President, The Executives' Club).

Mr. Harvey S. Olson, *President*, Olson Travel Organization, (Director & Immediate Past President of The Club).
Mr. Kenneth S. Kamm, *Former Scholarship Winner* Awarded by The Executives' Club.
Mr. Robert E. English, *Justice*, Appellate Court of Illinois.
Mr. Timothy P. Sheehan, *Chairman*, Republican Central Committee.
Mr. Ragnar Benson, *Chairman of the Board*, Ragnar Benson Incorporated.
Mr. Charles H. Percy, *Chairman*, Bell & Howell Company, (Member, Executive Committee of the Club).
Mr. James P. Gorter, *Partner*, Goldman, Sachs & Company.
Mr. Edward J. Hekman, *President*, United Biscuit Co. of America.
Mr. Martin J. Koldyke, *Manager*, Corporate Finance Dep't., Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis.
Mr. Francis T. Delaney, *Attorney*.
Mr. Carl E. Atwood, *President*, Forest Atwood Paper Company.

prevented from coming to the floor of the House.

Under the parliamentary procedure which was used, no amendment could be offered to protect those who for religious reasons, conscientious objectors, the people who had religious or conscientious reasons for not wanting to join a union, could be forced to join a union. An amendment that would have protected these rights was precluded from being offered and considered by the membership as a whole.

It seems to me that the wrong use of power in this case was as objectionable as the wrong use of power in the case of the Federal Aid to Education Bill. I might add a footnote at this point—I applaud what I understand will be the effort made by Senator Dirksen and others to prevent this proposal from the White House from going through the Senate without an adequate debate and full consideration by that body. (Applause)

Minority Party and Foreign Policy

The question might be asked, "Does a strong two-party system have any current

relevance in foreign policy matters?" My answer is, "Yes." A strong minority party today, numerically and otherwise, would be of tremendous help to President Johnson. I say this for two reasons. In the first place, in the problems we are currently having in Viet Nam, it is the Republican leadership and the Republicans in the House and Senate who have given the strongest support to a firmness against Communist aggression. (Applause)

The principal opposition that the President has to his current policies in Viet Nam come from a small group of Democratic Senators and they are the ones who are putting the burrs under the President. They are the ones who in effect are saying, "We should retreat to Pearl Harbor."

So a stronger minority party today would be of help to the President in the critical issues we face in South Viet Nam.

I also think a strong two-party system and informed policy would be helpful in meeting the challenge of a small minority of professors and students on the campuses of our country. Now we have seen these signs of students which read, "Why die for Viet Nam?" We have seen some of these bearded

characters, somewhat disheveled, holding mass meetings on campuses throughout the country. They are a small minority of the academic world. I am not as worried about their personal hygiene as I am about what they and others who are undermining our policy might do as far as the enemy is concerned. Their knowing far outweighs their influence and it is conceivable that those who make the laws could lead to the enemy miscalculating the high degree of unity we have in America in meeting the challenge of Communist aggression. Therefore, it seems to me that the President, in order to unify America and drown out these limited voices, ought to come to the Congress and report on the state of the emergency, enlisting the help and assistance of Democrats, Republicans and Independents throughout the country, calling upon those of us in the minority party to help and assist as we face these problems that could well affect our future.

Cause for Optimism

Now I have talked as though I had been fearful, apprehensive, and pessimistic. I am to a very limited extent. On the other hand, I am optimistic and let me tell you why. In the first place, I have a strong abiding faith in the good judgment of the people of America, and I have a strong abiding faith in those who are giving leadership to our country. I am convinced that Congress will take steps to improve its image, to improve its day to day workings. As a matter of fact, we have a joint House-Senate Committee working right now on proposals that I think will make us a better legislative body. I think most Americans are realizing today that they have to help the Congress become a stronger partner in the relationship of the judicial system and with the Executive branch of the Government.

I believe that our Governors in many states now realize that if their unit of government is to be a strong partner, they must modernize their Constitutions. They must improve their desire to assume responsibility

and not pass them off to the Federal Government.

Yes, I am convinced that those of us in the minority party are making headway. I can assure you that we believe in the Republican Party, and that we must first have a truly national party—a party in every state—candidates, good candidates, running for every elective office. We must have a better party organization and Ray Bliss is giving us just that. We must have a better program. We cannot concede that all of the ideas, all of the imagination exists only in the Democratic Party. We must be creative, we must be imaginative, and if we are, I am convinced we can have a program that will appeal to the American people.

Yes, I am an optimist for another reason. There is a growing apprehension by our citizens, there is a growing realization that our system is the finest in the history of mankind. We believe in our Constitution. Those wise men who put it together almost 200 years ago made an historic document. But, let me say, it is politics and politicians that have put the breath of life and the blood in the veins of the still bones of a constitutional system.

And so I conclude with these observations. Each of you in your own way must be a politician or in politics. For yourself, for your posterity, for your state, for your nation, you must participate, and I am sure you will. Thank you very much. (Applause)

PRESIDENT ERICKSON: Let me say, Mr. Congressman, that up to and including now, the Executives' Club has had outstanding programs. (Applause)

We have had quite a few questions answered by the remarks of our speaker, but there are some I think he might like to touch upon if for no other reason than for emphasis.

First of all:

"Why are so many Republicans giving the Administration the 'push' needed to put through many of these welfare bills?"

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: The answer is that the Republicans in both the House and the Senate, particularly in the House, have not been the crucial votes that have permitted the enactment of many of the so-called welfare programs. Just the other day, for example, I had a study made of the 25 issues in the House where the Republican House Policy Committee took a stand in opposition to the White House proposals and on those 25 issues, 94% of the Republicans had voted together in opposition to the White House demands for legislation. In contrast, I might say the Democratic Party had a split of 23% against the White House and 77% voting with the White House. It is particularly significant, I think, that the Democratic freshmen, those elected in 1964, almost unanimously supported the White House demands for various legislative proposals.

In contrast, almost all the Republican freshmen were in opposition. So it is a misstatement of fact to say that the Republicans have given strong support to the various White House proposals in many of these welfare areas.

QUESTION: This is kind of a hot one, Mr. Congressman. "What was the nature of your controversy with President Johnson?"

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: It is an interesting experience to stand eyeball-to-eyeball with the White House for about ten days, but the background is simply this.

There was a White House meeting with the legislative leaders, both Democrats and Republicans and the top ranking officials of the Executive branch of the Government. About five days later, one of my colleagues in the House Republican leadership and I had a luncheon for seven or eight very prominent and very responsible newspaper people. During the course of this luncheon, questions were asked of me as to what transpired at the White House meeting of a few days before.

I spoke in general terms and pointed out the truth to these newspaper people. It was

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the Republicans who were giving the strongest support to a firmness against Communist aggression in Southeast Asia. On the other hand, I pointed out that four or five Democratic Senators were those giving the President the most trouble.

This got into four or five newspapers throughout the country. The President saw it and was given certain misinformation as to what transpired at the luncheon Mel Laird of Wisconsin and I had. Without checking the facts, the President made these accusations.

Fortunately, one of the newspapermen or one of the men who writes for one of our national magazines was up for vacation in New Hampshire. He read these stories and completely on his own, unsolicited by me, wrote me a one-page letter saying, "The President is wrong, I was there. I asked the question which prompted the diatribe from the White House, and if you want to, you can send this to the White House and make it public."

At the news conference with Senator Dirksen later that day, I released the letter and sent it to the President, asking him for an opportunity to straighten out the record. I must say, thus far I have had no response from the White House. (Laughter)

QUESTION: "How do you feel about 'splinter groups' in the Party? Do they serve a purpose?"

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Naturally, splinter groups do create some problems. I happen to believe that a strong Party organization is the best way to use your manpower, your money and your ideas. But, it must be conceded that following the election of 1964, the Republican National Committee and many of our state organizations rather fell apart. The net result was that various splinter groups were organized to fill this void.

I think the National Committee is getting re-organized and you can't eliminate those splinter groups that have been organized, but you can try to bring them within the Party organization. I think as the Party organization gets stronger, these various organizations will become a part of the organization headed by Ray Bliss. You certainly can't help the cause any by condemning splinter groups. I think you have to persuade them that they can serve the cause better by being a part of the organization and this is what we are trying to do today. (Applause)

QUESTION: "A recent Forbes Magazine editorial entitled, 'Congress Go Home,' urged the House and Senate to take a month off in August, or two if possible, to rest and recharge the members. Do you agree?"

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Of course my appraisal of this Congress is that it is long on quantity and very short on quality. The sooner we adjourn, the better it will be for the United States. (Applause)

I do think it would be wholesome and helpful for the members of the House and the Senate, both Democrats and Republicans, to get back and get reacquainted with their constituents. You get a distorted view of the United States and the views of 195 million people by spending too much time on the banks of the Potomac. The quicker we get out, the less bad legislation will pass, the more opportunity the citizens of America will have to communicate with their Congressman and Senator. When they do, if my appraisal of the situation is correct, you will find a different atmosphere in the Congress during the next session. (Applause)

PRESIDENT ERICKSON: Thank you, Congressman Ford, for a very enlightening and interesting discussion. The meeting is adjourned.

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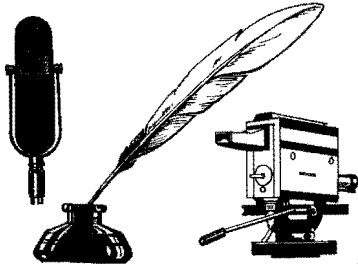
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CONGRESSMAN
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For the sake of comparison in establishing the slanted balance of power in government, it can be pointed out that the number of employes in the Congressional legislative branch total little more than 9,000 persons.

The question to be answered is whether the Congress operates merely as a limp arm of government, bending like a wet noodle to the will of a President armed with a 2 to 1 majority in the House and Senate or whether it is to be a strong, coordinate branch of government exercising fair but independent judgment.

Within the intent of the Constitution has the present Congress been effective? Has there been independent judgment? Has there been enough questioning and investigation of proposed legislation?

The documented record provides the answers.

The federal school aid bill, which will cost \$1.3 billion in the first year of operation, is a good example of the silence imposed on the elected representatives on Capitol Hill by the existence of political power and the brutal use of such power.

House Republicans prepared 29 amendments each aimed at making the proposed legislation more sensible, more meaningful and more within the guidelines of the Constitution.

Of these, four were debated only five minutes and 14 were allowed no debate. Authors of the latter amendments were given no opportunity to explain them to their colleagues.

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- * Silenced in effect was the issue of state and church.
- * Silenced was the vital issue of the expenditure of \$1.3 billion in just one year drawing from the federal treasury at a time when the Nation faces a growing need for more defense spending.
- * Silenced for all intent and purpose was debate on the fundamental issue of federal aid itself.

These were the issues which should have been given complete, exhaustive debate in public discussion. The muting of open debate on vital and controversial issues falls short of serving the American people.

One of the most brazen uses of gag rule was the restriction clamped on debate of the controversial proposal to repeal the right-to-work law---more formally known as Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

By the use of raw power--- 284 on one side of the House aisle versus 141 on the other--- debate was severely limited. At the same time and by the identical method any opportunity to offer meaningful amendments was blocked.

Action by the Administration-controlled House ignored public opinion. All the national polls, plus the results of numerous questionnaires sent out by Congressmen, consistently indicated most Americans favor the right of each state to outlaw compulsory unionism and are against repealing 14-B.

The House, in voting to repeal Section 14-B, failed to consider proposals based on effective safeguards aimed at protecting the basic rights of workers.

A proposal that came from the minority side of the House provided it would be unlawful for a union entering into an agreement requiring membership as a condition of employment,

1. To discriminate on account of race, color, or creed;
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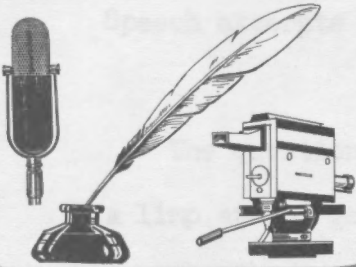
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The silent treatment was given to an amendment to remove the Federal government from involvement in buying textbooks.

The silent treatment was given to an amendment that would remove Federal standards of approval for local educational centers.

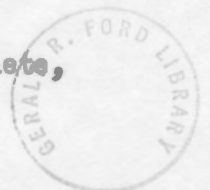
The silent treatment prevented exhaustive debate on at least three vital and controversial issues involved in the education bill.

* Silenced in effect was the issue of state and church.

?
* Silenced was the vital issue of the expenditure of \$1.3 billion in just one year, drawing from the federal treasury at a time when the Nation faces a growing need for more defense spending.

* Silenced for all intent and purpose was debate on the fundamental issue of federal aid itself.

These were the issues which should have been given complete, exhaustive debate in public discussion.



The muting of open debate on vital and controversial issues falls short of serving the American people.

One of the most brazen examples of gag rule was the restriction clamped on debate of the controversial proposal to repeal the right-to-work law--more formally known as Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

By the use of raw power---284 on one side of the House aisle versus 141 on the other---debate was severely limited. At the same time and by the identical method any opportunity to offer meaningful amendments was blocked.

Action by the Administration-controlled House ignored public opinion. All the national polls, plus the results of numerous questionnaires sent out by Congressmen, consistently indicated most Americans favor the right-to-work provision and are against repealing ^{14b.} ~~it, in its present form.~~ *of each state to outlaw compulsory unionism*

The House, in voting to repeal Section 14-B, failed to consider proposals based on effective safeguards aimed at protecting the basic rights of workers.



proposal
A ~~bill~~ that came from the minority side of the House provided

it would be unlawful for a union entering into an agreement requiring union membership as a condition of employment,

1. To discriminate on account of race, color, or creed;
2. To use dues or assessments for political purposes or for any other purpose not related to the union's statutory function as collective bargaining agent; and
3. To fine or penalize a member for exercising any legal or civil

right guaranteed by the Constitution or the laws of the United States.

? The majority in the House

emphasize a vital portion of the Taft-Hartley Act

In voting to repeal ~~the~~ ~~right to work~~ provision, the ~~House~~ approved

federally-sanctioned compulsory unionism without safeguards for the individual worker.

Perhaps the most worthy amendment supported by the minority would have exempted from the effect of union shop agreements those persons with conscientious religious convictions against joining or financially supporting a labor organization.

The majority rejected this amendment even though these persons would pay an amount equal to union dues into the U.S. treasury or a recognized charity.



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Conflict of interest

The House virtually ordered second-class citizenship for millions of workers. And it went on record, favoring ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ forcing

~~thousands~~ of workers to choose between their jobs, bread for their families, and their religious convictions.

It is amazing that ~~that~~ the same government which will excuse ~~it is applying for~~ Congress that will ~~not~~ force a

conscientious religious objector ~~into~~ ^{from} military service ~~to fight~~

~~to~~ for his country, ~~to~~ ^{will} force him ~~into~~ ^{to join} a labor union in order

earn a living to work.

omit? If the bill to repeal the right-to-work act becomes law in flagrant disregard of the people's will, we can ask how long before the American people will rise up and demand the application of anti-trust laws to labor unions.

Turning to the vital area of national security, the Nation should question the absence of substantial dialogue in Congress on the topic of war in Southeast Asia.

A year ago, Congress gave the President somewhat broad powers for fighting Communist aggression. However, this did not mean a blank check in perpetuity.



Only a few voices have raised questions regarding the wisdom and soundness of some military steps. Few have chosen to publicly discuss the issue of foreign policy, including the involvement in a massive ground war on the enemy's terms.

In the national interest, Congress should adopt a bi-partisan approach to the free world's fight against Communist aggression and the defense of our country.

However, a bi-partisan approach does not rule out responsible dialogue and debate. Neither should it silence those who raise questions and make suggestions.

Aside from its silence on foreign issues, Congress this year has possibly set a record for spending on the domestic scene without adequate and in-depth debate. The record proves it.

Based on fact, example and Congressional performance, the imbalance in government becomes obvious.

What is the solution? Under our system there appears to be one---
to strengthen the two-party system.



I urge that all Americans be more aware of what is at stake on a day-to-day basis in Washington. This demands a careful, constant analysis.

Talk to members of Congress. Exchange views. Debate your points. And do this before elected officials are committed on issues and before they have made decisions.

More Americans should become active in a political party after carefully studying the philosophies of each.

For the preservation of our political and economic systems, each person must exercise the right to ^{vote---}not just every ~~four years, but in each election.~~ ~~petition, or to be elected~~ ~~repeatedly to office~~ four years, but in each election.

~~reawakening~~ reawakening
In asking for a ~~reawakening~~ of the American electorate, we can look to history. Almost from the start our nation chose to have our government operated through two great political parties.

By this wise decision, we avoided the chaos of multi-party ~~and~~ government, the loss of freedom under a single party system.

Among the great challenges of our time ~~is~~ ^{is} the strengthening of the two-party system to re-establish balance in government.



~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I am confident this challenge will be met by citizens with
patience, imagination, courage and willingness to sacrifice to
make the future better than the past ^{with government} ~~and~~ more representative
of all the people than ^{at} ~~the~~ present.

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