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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

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?

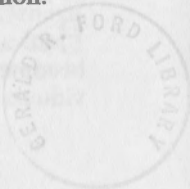
How else do we redeem our word?

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.

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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

How 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

The 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

We 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

Our 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

Changes 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

Making 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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THE STATE OF THE UNION - A REPUBLICAN APPRAISAL

Box: D 19

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 15 minutes to discuss the State of the Union. That is about the way a typical day goes.

Folder: The State of the Union - A Republican Appraisal
January 17, 1966

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Document ID: Response by Sen. Everett Dirksen

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Date: January 17, 1966

Pages: 4

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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.

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 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 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.

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.

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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.

THE STATE OF THE UNION

WE ARE ASSEMBLED TONIGHT IN THIS 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."

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 NOW TO ITS PART IN
THE ALWAYS UNFINISHED JOB OF MAKING
AMERICA UNITED, STRONG, AND FREE.

THESE GOALS IN THEIR PRESENT SETTING
POINT TO THREE 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 GOVERN-
MENT 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.

WE BELIEVE EVERY YOUTH MUST BE ENCOURAGED
TO PURSUE HIS EDUCATION AS FAR AS HIS
TALENTS WILL TAKE HIM.

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 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. THE POVERTY FIGHTERS
MUST STOP 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
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
WE 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.

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.

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

THE EISENHOWER DOLLAR IS NOW WORTH ONLY

90 CENTS.

THE COST OF LIVING IS 2 PERCENT HIGHER THAN IT WAS A YEAR AGO. AT THE CURRENT LEVEL OF CONSUMER SPENDING, THIS 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 THOSE PRESSURES. THE 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. 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 SPENDING 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. WE NEED TRUTH IN BUDGETING BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

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 PROPOSES FOR NON-
MILITARY SPENDING CAN BE AND MUST BE
REDUCED.

TAXES

HOW MANY AMERICANS KNOW THAT LAWS PASSED
LAST YEAR, SUPPOSEDLY REDUCING TAXES,
ACTUALLY IMPOSE A NET INCREASE IN FEDERAL
TAXES FOR 1966 OF \$3-1/2 BILLION? THE
PRESIDENT NOW ADVOCATES ADDITIONAL TAX

BURDENS. WITH PRUDENT RESTRAINT ON SPENDING, WE BELIEVE NO NEW TAXES ARE NOW NEEDED.

AGRICULTURE

AT HOME WE SEEK A FREE AND PROSPEROUS AGRICULTURE. REPUBLICANS WILL CONTINUE TO RESIST ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO ARTIFICIALLY DEPRESS THE MARKET PRICES OF FARM COMMODITIES AND CONTROL AMERICAN FARMERS. THE EISENHOWER PUBLIC LAW 480 MUST BE EXTENDED. WE URGE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "U.S. - WORLDFOOD STUDY COMMISSION" TO MEET THE GROWING "FOOD GAP" ON OUR PLANET.

POLITICAL REFORMS

WE 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 RIGHT TO VOTE.
[REPUBLICANS WILL PROPOSE SUCH MEASURES.]

STATES OF THE UNION:

OUR NATION HAS THRIVED ON THE DIVERSITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS SO WISELY EMBEDDED IN THE CONSTITUTION. THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES IN CENTRALIZED AUTHORITY, IGNORING, 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.

WE SALUTE THE GALLANT FIGHT OF SENATOR
DIRKSEN AGAINST THE REPEAL OF SECTION 14B
AND FOR A 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 THE PERSONAL INCOME TAX WITHOUT FEDERAL
CONTROLS. FUNDS FROM THIS SOURCE WILL
LIGHTEN THE LOAD OF LOCAL TAXATION,
SPUR SOLUTION OF VEXING URBAN PROBLEMS,
AND REVITALIZE PROGRAMS IN EDUCATION,
HEALTH, AND WELFARE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

CIVIL RIGHTS

MAKING 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. HESITANT ADMINISTRATION OF EXISTING LAWS HAS MADE THEM LESS EFFECTIVE THAN THEY SHOULD BE. 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.

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 TONIGHT
BY 190 THOUSAND AMERICANS IN VIETNAM.

AND WHAT OF THE SACRIFICES OF THEIR
FAMILIES AT HOME, WHO SHARE UNEQUALLY
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 FOR 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~~ 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

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.

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 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)

'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.

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 two per cent higher than it was a year ago. At the current level of consumer spending, this price rise is the equivalent of a secret sales tax that silently steals some \$8 million 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 these pressures. 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 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.

Taxes

How 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

THE 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 vital task of closing the growing "food gap" on our planet.

We were surprised and pleased that the Presi-

dent 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

OUR 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.

We 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 the personal income tax without Federal controls. Funds from this source will lighten the load of local taxation, spur solution of vexing urban problems, and revitalize programs in education, health, and welfare at the local level.

Civil Rights

Making 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

(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 JOINT SENATE-HOUSE
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

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ADDRESS
January 17, 1966

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FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*

Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*

Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee

Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference

Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

ADDRESS

January 17, 1966

The Minority Leader of the House of Representatives,
Congressman Gerald R. Ford, Republican of Michigan

"The State of the Union - A Republican Appraisal"

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader

Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*

Melvin R. Laird,

Chr. of the Conference

John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee

H. Allen Smith,

Ranking Member

Rules Committee

Bob Wilson,

Chr. Republican

Congressional Committee

Charles E. Goodell,

Chr. Committee on

Planning and Research

FOR RELEASE
9:00 PM E. S. T.

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."

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.

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

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 program, 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, this 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

How many Americans know that the laws passed last year, supposedly reducing taxes, actually impose a net increase in Federal taxes for 1966 of \$3-1/2 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

The 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 vital task of closing the growing "food gap" on our planet.

Political Reforms

We 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

Our 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 the personal income tax without Federal controls. Funds from this source will lighten the load of local taxation, spur solution of vexing urban problems, and revitalize programs in education, health, and welfare at the local level.

Unemployment Compensation

Changes 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

Making 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 thousand 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.