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ADDRESS OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
St. Olaf College: Political Emphasis Week
March 12, 1959

The United States of America is the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave." Minnesota is the "Land of a Thousand Lakes." Northfield I am told is the city of "colleges, cows, contentment, and coeds." What a delightful place to live and study. I was pleased of course, to accept the invitation which brought me to Northfield and St. Olaf College for the first time. I understand, however, that Jesse James preceeded me to Northfield and in shooting up the town left his indelible mark. I do not expect that my visit will be of such historic significance, but I do trust that it will be more constructive.

It isn't every day that an Episcopalian can address a group of Lutherans so close to St. Patrick's Day. But I understand that St. Olaf was a sort of St. Patrick for Norway and that this Norwegian Saint Christianized his country in the 11th Century. It is altogether fitting that this college should bear his name.

While I had never visited your city and campus before, I was, of course, familiar with your nationally known choir which has toured Michigan and brought its inspiring music to thousands of our people. We know of "Giants in the Earth" and of the great literary, scholastic, and Christian heritage which is yours here at St. Olaf.

My good friend and the able Congressman from this district, Al Quie, graduated from St. Olaf in 1950. He is now doing an outstanding job in the House of Representatives and is a real credit to his alma mater.



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A Republican Views His Party

I am glad to see that here at St. Olaf you are calling this week of special activity, "Political Emphasis Week." Frankly, I am very pleased to note the emphasis on the "political." We hear a great deal about good citizenship, and we have speeches and conferences on governmental ideals and principles. Many people are satisfied when they concern themselves with public affairs, but when you mention the word "politics" these same people throw up their hands in some holy terror and act as if you are mentioning the unmentionable or using a dirty word.

Now all of us are dedicated to the great American constitutional ideals. We believe that every American citizen should interest himself in civic problems and public affairs. But the cold fact remains that these great principles of government are attained and these public affairs handled through the instrumentality that we know as "politics."

The only way in which our democratic system of government can operate is through a political system involving campaigns, elections, appointments, defeats, agreements, disagreements, compromises, and the factional disputes and the cooperative efforts of a good many people in the political arena. It is politics and the politicians which give life and blood and breath to the still bones of a constitutional system. Again let me congratulate you for stressing "politics" during this week.

You are college men and women. Sad to say, too often in the past our college trained people have been satisfied to recline impotently in the wings and merely observe the political scene or at the most, they have cheered their respective teams from the sidelines. Many of them have even become expert "Monday-morning quarterbacks" on practically every public issue. If I present any challenge to you this evening, it is the challenge to get ~~down~~ out of the bleachers onto the playing field. I sincerely hope that every one of you will become an active member of the political party of your choice. That is the most practical way I know to have an effective voice in government. Join the team, play ball, follow the rules and you will not only have a good time, but will be making a concrete contribution to good government, to your community and to your country.

A few years ago a national survey organization asked parents how many of them wanted their children to go into political life. 70% of all of those questioned insisted that they did not want their boys and girls to get into politics. Only three out of ten wanted their children to have anything to do with the practical



aspects of government under our constitutional system. This to me was as tragic as it is revealing. It is a clear indication that we have a call to action in this area of our thinking on government service. There is no better way of answering this call than to plunge in as early as practical and become an active, hard-working, responsible member of the party of your choice.

To you at St. Olaf I recommend active party membership and support of the party ticket as one of the major marks of a good American citizen. Just in passing let me say that I think for too long we in this country have glorified the independent voter. He is usually a fine citizen and a competent, discerning voter. But one of the things we need badly in this country, I believe, are strong, ^{Truly national} united political parties who may be held responsible for the action or inaction of all public officials elected through those parties.

I know, of course, what you hear so often: "There is no difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. I simply vote for the best man." Now I hope you always vote for the best man, and of course, I trust the best man will be a member of your party; and he will be if you, and others like you, are active in that party to see that constructive and competent candidates are chosen in the first instance. But, I do believe there are differences in our two major parties today. This evening I speak only as a member of the Republican Party. I understand that my good friend and colleague, Representative Coffin of Maine will be with you tomorrow night. I trust that after hearing the two of us, some fundamental differences will become apparent.

Let me list for you quickly, five points which I believe summarize the basic principles and philosophy of the Republican Party today:

(1) GOVERNMENT IS ORGANIZED TO PROVIDE AN EQUAL PROTECTION FOR, AND TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE OF, ALL THE PEOPLE. As the preamble to the U. S. Constitution states, we have organized government primarily to protect ourselves against enemies both within and without, and to promote the general welfare. It is elementary that we have the armed forces with all their military hardware to protect this nation and its people from foreign aggression. We also have a well-organized system of internal law-enforcement to protect our people against the criminal element. But in any situation in which you find more than one person involved, there are bound to come disagreements and conflicts of one type or another. You find it in families, you find it in churches, schools, communities, states, nations, the world. In this country of 175 million people of varying backgrounds, interests, and aspirations, living in 49 states and under varying economic and social conditions, there will of necessity be an

endless struggle for power, for domination, or for a simple place in the sun. I am sure that we can agree that there must be some impartial arbitrator, (that is, as impartial as it is humanly possible to be) whose task it is to conciliate and arbitrate the differences which arise in this vast population. That arbitrator must represent the best interest of all the people. He may not be dominated by any special social, or economic group which is dedicated to promote the interest of that group. He must be the umpire to see that the laws are obeyed for the good of all the people.

Not only must we have an impartial arbitrator or the umpire to make certain that the laws are obeyed, but it is imperative that the institution we know as government see that the laws are fair, just, and for the equal benefit for all segments of the population. The Republican Party is a party of no specific group. It is dedicated to the promotion of the general welfare; it is the party of all the people.

(2) IN EXPRESSING AN ACCEPTABLE NATIONAL POLICY, WE CAN AND SHOULD BE LIBERAL IN HUMAN RELATIONS AND CONSERVATIVE IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. This you will recognize, of course, as a paraphrase of President Eisenhower's well known statement. ~~I don't think there is anything contradictory in this whatsoever.~~ *It is not contradictory & some have implied.* The Republican Party believes that we must improve the lot of every individual living under this government. With ~~a~~ *our* ~~Jude-Christian~~ heritage, the American people believe in the inherent dignity and worth of every individual. When it is, therefore, liberal and progressive to advance the happiness and comfort of an individual and the community, the Republican Party ^{Today} ~~is~~ *is* for it.

But, President Eisenhower went on to say that we were conservative in economic affairs. In other words, we are not going to be liberal with other people's money and property. Thomas Jefferson wrote that among the inalienable rights of men were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. You know, I am sure, that when he used the phrase "the pursuit of happiness," he was referring to the right of owning property. This is one of the inalienable rights along with life and liberty, and the Republican Party means to protect your right to own that portion of this world's goods which you are able to accumulate by proper and legitimate means. Of course, every single individual has an obligation to use these goods for the benefit of all. But that is not to say that we may indiscriminately take from those who have to give to those who have not. This leads me to my third basic principle.

(3) A SOUND AND RESPONSIBLE FISCAL POLICY IS IMPERATIVE TO GOOD GOVERNMENT. I do not apologize for saying that the Republican Party believes in a balanced

budget. We do not insist upon a balanced budget simply because of economic and social theory or because it has been traditional to pay one's bills. We believe in a balanced budget because it is the only responsible and honest thing to do in a time when we are not faced with a great national emergency. Deficit financing on the part of the federal government fans the flames of inflation which insidiously burn larger holes in everyone's pocket book. Deficit financing passes on to generations yet unborn, a burden which we who are reaping the benefits ought to be willing to shoulder. Deficit financing adds to the federal budget enormous interest payments, and I am convinced, serves as a very bad example for many of our people who are encouraged to live beyond their means on the assumption that deficit financing is a good and proper way to live.

(4) OUR WAY OF LIFE IS FOSTERED BEST BY KEEPING PUBLIC AFFAIRS AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE CONCERNED. The Republican Party trusts the good sense of all the people. The Republican Party believes that our democratic way of life is best insured by having the elected officials of the people close at hand where the people themselves can maintain a proper scrutiny of all their public acts. I have often told some of my friends who hold local offices that really they have a much tougher job than I. Any disgruntled or dissatisfied taxpayer can easily get them on the telephone or corner them on the street and they must have the answers for him at that moment. In contrast, a member of Congress while the House and Senate are in session is miles away from his constituents and less accessible to any irate voter.

I sincerely believe that we have better schools when the rules and regulations are made by the local school board, chosen by the patrons of the school and accountable to them.

When our city streets are not properly maintained, the citizens of the town can get hold of the Mayor and Council and demand improvement, or find out how much it is going to cost them to have the improvement. When law enforcement is in the hands of the local police and sheriff, the people affected by any malfeasance or nonfeasance can get at the officer pretty quickly.

The more we move governmental activity to Washington, the more difficult it becomes for the individuals in the community to make their voice felt in those things which affect them most closely. Of course, such matters as national defense, coinage of money, regulations of interstate and foreign commerce must by the very nature of their operation be on the national level. Republicans believe that in order to protect your interests and the interests of all the people, as much governmental activity as is practical should be kept as close as possible to the people through the local

and state political units.

(5) OFFICIALS OF GOVERNMENT MUST EXHIBIT THE HIGHEST MORAL AND ETHICAL STANDARDS IN BOTH THEIR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIVES. I do not make this as a pious platitude, nor do I contend that the Republican officeholders have a monopoly on the highest moral and ethical standard. But I do say to you that as a principle of the Republican Party, conduct of the highest moral and ethical character is demanded, and that we will not defend nor protect those who fail to adhere to these standards. They must and should be removed from government. President Grover Cleveland said some years ago, "A public office is a public trust," and that is still so true.

Having listed the five basic principles of the Republican Party, I would now like to touch upon a number of the specific national issues which I understand you will be discussing and debating in your own Congressional sessions.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: One of the major issues before the present Congress in which we are all interested and which I understand will be debated in your sessions is the question of federal aid to education. As you know, last year the Congress adopted the National Defense Education Act. Among other things this legislation provides for loans and other assistance to capable students who need financial aid. It also establishes certain other programs to assist the development of the many resources and technical skills of our young people. I think it is a sound approach to those aspects to the problem of education that especially concerned the Congress last year.

In that legislation we supplied financial assistance to capable individuals who need help to complete their college training. The taxpayers' money is to be repaid over a period of years under easy terms. In order to encourage the preparation of teachers, the act provides for the cancellation of up to 50% of those loans made to college students who go into teaching for at least five years. I supported this legislation and can find no serious fault with its operation thus far.

This year, however, we are confronted with a new and different approach in the form of HR 22, the Metcalf bill, which would authorize federal aid for school construction and teachers' salaries. The House Committee on Education and Labor is presently holding hearings on this bill, although a number of other proposals have been made and the Administration had its own plan introduced.

Some recent history may be helpful in discussing this issue. In the first session of the 85th Congress I opposed the parliamentary maneuver by which the Kelley



School Construction Bill (HR 1) was defeated in the House on July 25, 1957. I voted against the motion to strike the enacting clause of HR 1 and thus kill the bill. (The vote was 209-203 to strike.)

While I did not agree with all the provisions of the Kelley Bill, I did want to have the opportunity to vote in favor of a substitute proposal which was to have been presented. The Kelley Bill called for the distribution of federal funds to the states on the basis of school population. The substitute proposal would have taken into consideration the needs of the various states and the extent to which they have demonstrated their own efforts to meet these needs. In August, 1957 I said that a "good argument can be made that Uncle Sam should offer temporary assistance to alleviate the shortage of classrooms in those specific communities where there is a need and where local citizens have conscientiously tried to solve their classroom deficiencies."

The Metcalf bill as proposed in 1959 will allocate federal funds to the states solely on the basis of school population. Within each state, however, priority for school construction is to be given to those local districts where the need is greatest.

The bill authorizes a state to use the federal money for either school construction or teachers' salaries or both. However, there is nothing in the bill to assure that any teacher will receive an increase in salary because of the enactment of this legislation nor is there any assurance that a single classroom will be constructed in a given state. More important, however, there is nothing to guarantee that the sum total of all monies, local, state, and federal, spent on education will be increased by the passage of HR 22.

It is estimated that the first year's cost ~~to~~ the federal Treasury will be over a billion dollars with this figure rising to \$4.7 billion on 1962-63 and increasing annually thereafter with population growth.

Unfortunately the Education and Labor Committee seems to be practically ignoring the recommendations by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming and President Eisenhower. Those who oppose the President's proposal and support the Metcalf approach believe that we must hand out additional federal funds for school construction or operation without any strings attached whatsoever and regardless of the needs in the states for this assistance, and regardless of whether the individual states have demonstrated a willingness to carry out their educational obligations.

I was a little surprised recently to read in a speech delivered on the floor of the House condemning the Administration's proposals that a major objection



was the legal impediment which would limit the number of school districts which could participate in the Administration's program. The Administration's five-year program provides among other things that the U. S. Government will undertake to advance half the debt service on school construction bonds issued by needy school districts provided the State advances the other half. The local school district would be required to maintain a reasonable tax effort. The funds under the Administration's plan would be distributed among the states on the basis of need for school buildings and the relative degree of effort which the state school districts are making to meet the classroom shortage. In condemning this plan, the speaker introduced a tabulation showing the percentage of districts by states which have reached legal indebtedness or millage limits as of April, 1958. In Minnesota only 12% of the districts had reached the legal limit. In my own state of Michigan there is no legal maximum but it was stated that 15% are at a practical limit. In North Dakota it was 2% of the total, in South Dakota 20%, in Iowa less than 10%, in Wisconsin less than 1% and Nebraska has no districts at a maximum.

But even more amazing, this same speaker went on to show that in order for the states to avail themselves of the provisions of the Administration's bill to borrow funds, constitutional amendments would have to be accepted or a referendum held, or the legislators would have to take action. In other words, he acknowledged that if the people of the states involved wish to take action to increase state and local support of education, it could be done by legislative action or a vote of the people. For instance, here in Minnesota he reported a constitutional amendment would be necessary, as would be the case in Wisconsin and most other states. The point is this: It is yet to be shown that we are not able in most states to meet our education needs without further burdening the federal taxpayer. In those states where there is a real need and where a demonstrated effort has been made to solve the problem, I see, in light of the principles which I have mentioned above, a justifiable basis for certain federal aid to education with emphasis on school construction.

LABOR LEGISLATION: Another major issue before the present Congress lies in the area of labor-management relations. The revelations of the McClellan Committee have well demonstrated that remedial legislation in this area is most essential. A number of helpful and constructive bills have been introduced in both houses of Congress to pave the way for an effective legislative proposal. Senator Kennedy has made his recommendations. Senator McClellan has introduced bills. President Eisenhower has sent up a program listing 20 points for consideration by the Congress,

and Chairman Barden of the House Committee on Education and Labor has introduced two specific bills. We who are not members of the Committee on Education and Labor are awaiting the report from the Committee on its recommendations. Senator Kennedy's bill has merit; the 1959 version is better than that before the House last year. The President's proposals are stronger, especially in reference to secondary boycotts and the so-called black-mail picketing which Mr. Kennedy avoids completely. I hope the Congress will take constructive action to curb the abuses in the labor organizations which have been demonstrated before the McClellan Committee.

Our purpose in legislating should not be to destroy labor unions, nor even to hinder any of their legitimate objectives and activity. We are not talking about anti-labor legislation. Unions are here to stay. They serve a good and worthwhile purpose. But one of the main objectives of proposed legislation is to make the leadership in every union more responsive to the needs and wishes of the rank and file membership. This legislation is to protect the interest of all union members, and the employers, and particularly the public at large. We hope to see legislation in this area which will carry out the first basic principle which I enumerated, that it is the responsibility of the government to protect the best interest of all the people.

This brings us of course, to the consideration of the so-called right-to-work issue. In any consideration of this problem, I personally prefer to discuss "mandatory membership" rather than "right-to-work." The question involved is that of "compulsion" rather than "right." But, the common terminology is "right-to-work," so let's use that.

The Taft-Hartley Bill as you know outlaws the closed shop, but authorizes the union shop unless a given state by legislative action or by referendum of the people decides to adopt the right-to-work provision. The right-to-work issue should be settled on an individual state basis, preferably by a state-wide referendum where all our voters have an opportunity to participate. Because I believe the federal government should not continue unnecessarily to expand its power and because I favor an increased emphasis on keeping government close to the people, I insist that the right-to-work issue is fundamentally a problem for the people of each state. With the varying social, economic, and political difference among our people and our states, it is more democratic in my judgment to let the people who are affected decide the issue in their own states.

May I add, however, that if I were an employee of an organization which had a union, I would not only join that union, but I would be an active member of it.

Furthermore, if I were an employer, I would not oppose the unionization of my workers, but would foster among them and their leaders a high sense of responsibility to the company and its products.

FARM POLICY: Let us now look at another issue which will be considered in your deliberations, that of a sound and effective farm policy. That we want the farmers of our country to share in every economic advancement goes without saying. That we must have a strong and virile agriculture is self-evident. The question is simply whether the present farm policy as reflected in federal law is best for our farmers, consumers and the country as a whole.

President Eisenhower pointed out in his special message to the Congress on January 29th that while there are some 250 farm commodities produced in the United States, present law has required that prices on only twelve of these be supported at prescribed minimum levels. It is this requirement together with the level of required support that has created our farm surplus problems. He also pointed out that three of the twelve mandatory products (wheat, corn, and cotton) account for about 85% of the federal inventory of price supported commodities though they produce only 20% of the total farm cash income.

The President presented three indictments against the price support and production-control program and demonstrated that it has not worked. First he showed that most of the dollars are spent on the production of a relatively few large producers. Second, that the control program doesn't control; and third, that the program is excessively expensive. On July 1, 1959 total government investment in farm commodities will total \$9.1 billion. During the present fiscal year the net budgetary outlay for programs of the stabilization of farm prices and farm income will be \$5.4 billion.

I am not here to recommend the complete and immediate abolition of all price supports. I know that any basic revision will have to be done gradually. The Recommendations of Secretary Benson consistently have been aimed at sounder and more constructive programs. Rigid price supports have proved ineffective. At the very least, there must be more discretion given to the Secretary of Agriculture in this whole area. Some progress was made when the growers of corn chose by a referendum vote, program changes which include supports based on a new formula with no production limitations.

Many of you have read, I am sure, of the case of Stanley Yankus of Dowagiac, Michigan. Mr. Yankus' experience dramatically points up the difficulty we get into when we attempt to control every aspect of life from Washington. It is another illustration of the fact that the small family-type farmer whom we want to preserve

and protect, does not profit by governmental control over his production.

Mr. Yankus' attitude, actions, and predicament although dramatic, must be more completely analyzed to be understood. It is apparent that he has not used the available means for presenting his case to the proper authorities. He has placed himself over against the Supreme Court of the United States as the final authority on the constitutionality of a federal law. But, the case of Mr. Yankus is a graphic illustration of the extent to which our legislative acts departed from those principles and ideals which made America a haven for oppressed peoples from all over the world. If we had followed the recommendations of Secretary Benson and the President during the past five or six years we wouldn't find ourselves with the contradictory, incongruous and unworkable policies which now afflict us in the area of American agriculture.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND POWERS OF THE COURTS: I have been told that your session of the House of Representatives will also debate Civil Rights and the question of the limitation of the powers of the Supreme Court. I am confident that there isn't a person here this evening who is not absolutely convinced that no American citizen may be denied the rights and privileges of American citizenship simply because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. I am certain that no one here would demand that an American citizen be restricted in his use of public transportation or public eating places, in the selection of a job or a home site, or in the school to which he is to send his children, or in exercising of the elective franchise, simply and solely because of his race, color, religion, or national origin.

In light of the five Republican Principles which I have enumerated, and consistent with our Christian heritage and constitutional principles, we can not believe otherwise, nor act in any other manner. The Republican Party is united in its determination to protect and promote the general welfare of all American citizens. Consequently, it has consistently supported sound and constructive legislation to insure to all our people their inalienable rights, the achievement of which formed the basis of the organization of this nation and government.

This means that we endorse the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. We recognize that the implementation of this decision requires the re-thinking of a social philosophy in every state of the union. We recognize that progress may come slowly, but progress must be made. It is not a question of whether you or I like the decision. Here we come face to face with the practical application not only of American constitutional principles, but also our Christian heritage.



Closely allied with the current debate on Civil Rights is the periodic suggestion that the powers of the Supreme Court should be curtailed. Under our federal system we have three equal and coordinate branches of government. There is the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. We admire and defend this system not necessarily because it is the most efficient, but primarily because it is the safest for all our people. It is the best system developed anywhere for the protection of the individual's rights and privileges and the best insurance against the rise of a dictatorial system.

In any consideration on the limitations of the power of the courts, I think it is important to point out first that no one branch of the government is infallible nor should it completely dominate the other two. In the enactment of legislation, the Congress always takes into consideration the constitutionality of the proposal. If it is evident to a majority of the members of the Congress that a given bill is unconstitutional, that bill has very little chance of being enacted. Likewise, the President in passing upon the legislation sent him by the House and the Senate, must pass upon its constitutionality. Presidents have repeatedly vetoed acts of the Congress on the basis of a questionable constitutionality.

Assuming, however, that the act becomes law and some citizen alleges that his rights and privileges are being infringed, it becomes the duty of the court to pass specifically upon the constitutionality. I don't think that any of us will insist that the court is any more infallible than the President or a majority of the members of the Congress. You know as well as I that the Supreme Court has reversed itself in a good many instances and has modified its decision in many cases. But the court's responsibility is clear; it shares in the guardianship of our liberties, and its decisions must be respected.

While the court in its own sphere is free to exercise its legitimate powers, it may become necessary for the Congress as an equal branch in the government to enact remedial legislation or to propose constitutional amendments because of court decisions. For example, the 16th Amendment to the Constitution was necessitated by a court ruling that a federal graduated income tax was unconstitutional. Last year the Congress considered but did not enact, legislation stemming from the well-known Mallory case involving the proper procedure in arraignment of a suspect who confessed to a crime. Without passing upon the merits of this case or the Supreme Court's decision, I am sure that you will acknowledge that reasonable and honest men can disagree on what constitutes proper procedure.

Likewise the Congress considered legislation to override the Supreme Court's decision in the Nelson case when the court freed a person convicted as a Communist under Pennsylvania law on the theory that the Congress had preempted the entire field of legislation in reference to subversion. Here we are in an area where the Congress should make known to the court that it had no intention of preempting the field and that the court's decision declaring the Pennsylvania Seditious Act in so far as it would apply to subversive activities against the United States ought to be modified.

You will note, my friends, that I am not recommending that the Supreme Court's power be limited in any respect. I believe that the courts have been and are one of the bulwarks guarding the individual's liberties. I want no restriction on the powers of the judiciary to protect any and all rights of American Citizens. This is consistent with the principles of the Republican Party. On the other hand, if and when the court takes action which a majority of the members of the Congress feel is improper and uncalled for, the Congress must exercise its power to remedy the situation through proper legislative action.

We had a good example of this just a week ago Monday when a bill was considered and passed on the consent calendar to define the term "organized" as used in the Smith Act. In June of 1957 the Supreme Court in the case of Yates vs. U. S. freed 14 known Communists who had been convicted of conspiring to overthrow the U. S. Government by force and violence and of organizing groups for the same purpose. One of the bases upon which the court reversed the conviction was its interpretation of the term "organized." The court said that this term did not include such activities as recruiting of members, organizing groups within the framework of the Communist Party, etc., and that it was not the intention of the Congress to have the word include such activities. Here the court was interpreting the intention of the Congress. The bill as passed a week ago Monday specifically stating that it is the intention of the Congress to include in the term "organize" such activities as recruiting of members, organization of groups within the framework of the Communist Party. If this bill becomes law, the Congress is not limiting the powers of the court, but simply explaining its own intention and clarifying the meaning of a term for the benefit of our law enforcement officers and the court.

The Republican Party will not destroy or weaken our judicial system. It does, however, want the judiciary to know that its specific decisions will be analyzed by the Congress and will be subject to remedial legislation when that appears essential. This is consistent with well-established practice.

MUTUAL SECURITY: Another issue which I believe will confront your deliberations this evening and tomorrow is that of foreign aid or our Mutual Security Program. Let me say right at the outset that when we get into the area of foreign affairs, we should drop any partisanship or party consideration. Our Mutual Security Program is not an issue on which Democrats and Republicans as such disagree.

The first principle of the Republican Party which I listed calls for the adequate protection of all the American people. Unless we can defend ourselves against the Communist conspiracy and maintain our own sovereignty and the existence of a free world, we won't have to worry much about anything else we may talk about tonight. Our Mutual Security Program is first, directly and indirectly, a national security measure.

The Mutual Security Program is basically sound and necessary because:

1. It enables the United States to have over 250 military bases on foreign territory.
2. It cuts the costs of our own direct expenditures for defense and reduces the draft calls by Selective Service.
3. It helps protect the sources of our supply of many strategic materials.
4. It helps U. S. farms, business, and labor when nearly 80¢ of every dollar of mutual security funds are spent in the first instance in the United States.
5. It is a major United States weapon in the cold war against Communist imperialism.
6. It strengthens our allies and friends, militarily and economically.
7. It is our best insurance against Communist penetration of the neutral nations.

You have heard this program described from time to time as a giveaway program. A year ago Secretary of State Dulles made a masterful presentation in support of our Mutual Security Program before my subcommittee on Appropriations for Foreign Operations. I would like to quote two paragraphs from his testimony:

"The 'giveaway' so often complained of would have occurred if we had not had this program or if we should slacked it now. Without a Mutual Security Program we would indeed have 'givenaway' half of Europe to chaos or Communism. We would have 'givenaway' Greece and Turkey and the Eastern Mediterranean to Soviet control. We would have 'givenaway' Iran, and Russian access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean -- and the economic strength of Europe which depends heavily on Middle Eastern oil. We would have 'givenaway' Korea; and the Republic of China and Vietnam -- and in all likelihood the rest of Southeast Asia. The 'giveaway' would reach or come dangerously close to Pakistan and India -- the great Asian subcontinent with a fifth

of the entire human race.

"If we now weaken in our determination and slacken in our pace, we will indeed 'give away' to Communism in the next few years the control of a dozen or more nations with enough people and resources to change the balance of power irretrievably against us. We would indeed 'give away' bases and allied forces essential to our own strategic defense system. We would indeed 'give away' the access which we and other free nations have to resources essential to our own industry and to trade essential to our own welfare and prosperity."

We sometimes forget to what extent the U. S. is dependant on other parts of the world for essential raw materials. Of 39 strategic materials that are necessary for production in the U. S., we are self-sufficient in only 9. For example, we import 96% of our nickel, 86% of our manganese; 91% of our chrome, 100% of our tin, industrial diamonds, and natural rubber; 98% of our platinum, and 80% of the cobalt we use in industry and defense.

It is also significant, I think, although this should not be used as the first argument for the Mutual Security Program, that 78% of the funds appropriated for this program are spent right in the U. S. in the very first instance. The jobs of over 600 thousand American farmers and industrial workers can be directly attributed to these expenditures. And, finally, I want to reiterate that this Mutual Security Program enables us to have over 250 military bases on foreign territory. Without this program, we would have to pull back our military defense pretty close to our natural boundaries. Under the Mutual Security Program, we are able to bind a ring of steel around the Iron Curtain, and right up close.

DEFENSE: In conclusion, I want to say just a few words about matters that may or may not come up in your deliberations, but which are being debated vigorously in the Congress, on the air, and through the press. This is the question of the adequacy of our national defense and how we stand in relation to Russia.

As one who has been close to the Department of Defense for seven years as a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Defense, I would like to make a few pertinent comments.

Annually our committee hears and interrogates the civilian and military leaders of the country. All of these, Democrats, Republicans, or independents, are able, conscientious, responsible, and patriotic men.

While it is the responsibility of the Executive Branch to initiate and administer the defense programs, the Congress must double-check the plans and

administrative action, and make certain that the taxpayers' dollars are well spent. Neither branch of the government has a monopoly on information or wisdom but both must and can work together for a stronger and better America.

The people of the United States can afford whatever amount is really required for our national defense. In fact, we cannot afford anything less. I can assure you that the President had this in mind when he submitted his defense budget. The Congress should be guided by the same principle when it makes the appropriations.

Another significant fact to consider is that the security of the United States is not dependent upon one military service nor upon one weapon system. Missiles of all types are most important but they are but one element in the great arsenal of defense. Intercontinental ballistic missiles occupy a prominent position among modern weapons but they are but one of many necessary instruments for our national security.

The United States at the moment has tremendous retaliatory power, defensively and offensively. We have over 500 B-52s (long-range jet bombers) which can carry an atomic payload to the heart of Russia and return without refueling. We have over a thousand B-47s (medium-range jet bombers) which can do the same with in-flight refueling operations.

But more important, because of our overseas bases the heart of Russia is right next door. The heart of the United States is 5,000 miles from Russia. Short and medium-range missiles capable of more accurate control mean much more to us than to the USSR. From our bases in Great Britain and other allied countries our 1,500-mile missile can be devastatingly effective. By June, 1959 the 5,500-mile Atlas weapon system will be in operation and the initial squadrons will be augmented on schedule.

Moreover, a strong U. S. Naval carrier force can provide planes to move into enemy nations from many directions if this becomes necessary. We have a submarine fleet with missile capability. During early 1960 the first POLARIS ballistic-missile equipped submarines will join the fleet and other will follow.

I am convinced that we have a well-rounded and fully adequate defense system, ready and able to protect this country in any crisis whether a general or limited war. Your government, through the President, our military leaders, and the Congress, will continue to improve and modify this system to meet changing conditions and keep in step with technological advancements.

* * * * *

This day at St. Olaf has been a most pleasant one. I enjoyed the sessions this noon and afternoon and you have been a kind and courteous audience this

evening. As I indicated at the beginning, I hope my appearance in Northfield has been constructive. I realize, however, there will be disagreements with some of the things I have said during your deliberations to follow, but this is inherent in our system. I trust, however, that your thinking will be stimulated and that your discussions will be profitable.

ADDRESS OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
St. Olaf College: Political Emphasis Week
March 12, 1959

I am glad to see that here at St. Olaf you are calling this week of special activity, "Political Emphasis Week." Frankly, I am very pleased to note the emphasis on the "political." We hear a great deal about good citizenship, and we have speeches and conferences on governmental ideals and principles. Many people are satisfied when they concern themselves with public affairs, but when you mention the word "politics" these same people throw up their hands in some holy terror and act as if you are mentioning the unmentionable or using a dirty word.

Now all of us are dedicated to the great American constitutional ideals. We believe that every American citizen should interest himself in civic problems and public affairs. But the cold fact remains that these great principles of government are attained and these public affairs handled through the instrumentality that we know as "politics."

The only way in which our Democratic system of government can operate is through a political system involving campaigns, elections, appointments, defeats, agreements, disagreements, compromises, and the factional disputes and the cooperative efforts of a good many people in the political arena. It is politics and the politicians which give life and blood and breath to the still bones of a constitutional system. Again let me congratulate you for stressing "politics" during this week.

You are college men and women. Sad to say, too often in the past our college trained people have been satisfied to recline impotently in the wings and merely observe the political scene or at the most, they have cheered their respective teams from the sidelines. Many of them have even become expert "Monday-morning quarterbacks" on practically every public issue. If I present any challenge to you this evening, it is the challenge to get down out of the bleachers onto the playing field. I sincerely hope that every one of you will become an active member of the political party of your choice. That is the most practical way I know to have an effective voice in government. Join the team, play ball, follow the rules and you will not only have a good time, but will be making a concrete contribution to good government, to your community and to your country.

A few years ago a national survey organization asked parents how many of them wanted their children to go into political life. 70% of all of those questioned insisted that they did not want their boys and girls to get into politics. Only three out of ten wanted their children to have anything to do with the practical



aspects of government under our constitutional system. This to me was as tragic as it is revealing. It is a clear indication that we have a call to action in this area of our thinking on government service. There is no better way of answering this call than to plunge in as early as practical and become an active, hard-working, responsible member of the party of your choice.

To you at St. Olaf I recommend active party membership and support of the party ticket as one of the major marks of a good American citizen. Just in passing let me say that I think for too long we in this country have glorified the independent voter. He is usually a fine citizen and a competent, discerning voter. But one of the things we need badly in this country, I believe, are strong, united political parties who may be held responsible for the action or inaction of all public officials elected through those parties.

I know, of course, what you hear so often: "There is no difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. I simply vote for the best man." Now I hope you always vote for the best man, and of course, I trust the best man will be a member of your party; and he will be if you, and others like you, are active in that party to see that constructive and competent candidates are chosen in the first instance. But, I do believe there are differences in our two major parties today. This evening I speak only as a member of the Republican Party. I understand that my good friend and colleague, Representative Coffin of Maine will be with you tomorrow night. I trust that after hearing the two of us, some fundamental differences will become apparent.

Let me list for you quickly, five points which I believe summarize the basic principles and philosophy of the Republican Party today:

(1) GOVERNMENT IS ORGANIZED TO PROVIDE AN EQUAL PROTECTION FOR, AND TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE OF, ALL THE PEOPLE. As the preamble to the U. S. Constitution states, we have organized government primarily to protect ourselves against enemies both within and without, and to promote the general welfare. It is elementary that we have the armed forces with all their military hardware to protect this nation and its people from foreign aggression. We also have a well-organized system of internal law-enforcement to protect our people against the criminal element. But in any situation in which you find more than one person involved, there are bound to come disagreements and conflicts of one type or another. You find it in families, you find it in churches, schools, communities, states, nations, the world. In this country of 175 million people of varying backgrounds, interests, and aspirations, living in 49 states and under varying economic and social conditions, there will of necessity be an



endless struggle for power, for domination, or for a simple place in the sun. I am sure that we can agree that there must be some impartial arbitrator, (that is, as impartial as it is humanly possible to be) whose task it is to conciliate and arbitrate the differences which arise in this vast population. That arbitrator must represent the best interest of all the people. He may not be dominated by any special social, or economic group which is dedicated to promote the interest of that group. He must be the umpire to see that the laws are obeyed for the good of all the people.

Not only must we have an impartial arbitrator or the umpire to make certain that the laws are obeyed, but it is imperative that the institution we know as government see that the laws are fair, just, and for the equal benefit for all segments of the population. The Republican Party is a party of no specific group. It is dedicated to the promotion of the general welfare; it is the party of all the people.

(2) IN EXPRESSING AN ACCEPTABLE NATIONAL POLICY, WE CAN AND SHOULD BE LIBERAL IN HUMAN RELATIONS AND CONSERVATIVE IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. This you will recognize, of course, as a paraphrase of President Eisenhower's well known statement. I don't think there is anything contradictory in this whatsoever. The Republican Party believes that we must improve the lot of every individual living under this government. With a Jude-Christian heritage, the American people believe in the inherent dignity and worth of every individual. When it is, therefore, liberal and progressive to advance the happiness and comfort of an individual and the community, the Republican Party is for it.

But, President Eisenhower went on to say that we were conservative in economic affairs. In other words, we are not going to be liberal with other people's money and property. Thomas Jefferson wrote that among the inalienable rights of men were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. You know, I am sure, that when he used the phrase "the pursuit of happiness," he was referring to the right of owning property. This is one of the inalienable rights along with life and liberty, and the Republican Party means to protect your right to own that portion of this world's goods which you are able to accumulate by proper and legitimate means. Of course, every single individual has an obligation to use these goods for the benefit of all. But that is not to say that we may indiscriminately take from those who have to give to those who have not. This leads me to my third basic principle.

(3) A SOUND AND RESPONSIBLE FISCAL POLICY IS IMPERATIVE TO GOOD GOVERNMENT. I do not apologize for saying that the Republican Party believes in a balanced



budget. We do not insist upon a balanced budget simply because of economic and social theory or because it has been traditional to pay one's bills. We believe in a balanced budget because it is the only responsible and honest thing to do in a time when we are not faced with a great national emergency. Deficit financing on the part of the federal government fans the flames of inflation which insidiously burn larger holes in everyone's pocket book. Deficit financing passes on to generations yet unborn, a burden which we who are reaping the benefits ought to be willing to shoulder. Deficit financing adds to the federal budget enormous interest payments, and I am convinced, serves as a very bad example for many of our people who are encouraged to live beyond their means on the assumption that deficit financing is a good and proper way to live.

(A) OUR WAY OF LIFE IS FOSTERED BEST BY KEEPING PUBLIC AFFAIRS AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE CONCERNED. The Republican Party trusts the good sense of all the people. The Republican Party believes that our democratic way of life is best insured by having the elected officials of the people close at hand where the people themselves can maintain a proper scrutiny of all their public acts. I have often told some of my friends who hold local offices that really they have a much tougher job than I. Any disgruntled or dissatisfied taxpayer can easily get them on the telephone or corner them on the street and they must have the answers for him at that moment. In contrast, a member of Congress while the House and Senate are in session is miles away from his constituents and less accessible to any irate voter.

I sincerely believe that we have better schools when the rules and regulations are made by the local school board, chosen by the patrons of the school and accountable to them.

When our city streets are not properly maintained, the citizens of the town can get hold of the Mayor and Council and demand improvement, or find out how much it is going to cost them to have the improvement. When law enforcement is in the hands of the local police and sheriff, the people affected by any malfeasance or nonfeasance can get at the officer pretty quickly.

The more we move governmental activity to Washington, the more difficult it becomes for the individuals in the community to make their voice felt in those things which affect them most closely. Of course, such matters as national defense, coinage of money, regulations of interstate and foreign commerce must by the very nature of their operation be on the national level. Republicans believe that in order to protect your interests and the interests of all the people, as much governmental activity as is practical should be kept as close as possible to the people through the local



and state political units.

(5) OFFICIALS OF GOVERNMENT MUST EXHIBIT THE HIGHEST MORAL AND ETHICAL STANDARDS IN BOTH THEIR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIVES. I do not make this as a pious platitude, nor do I contend that the Republican officeholders have a monopoly on the highest moral and ethical standard. But I do say to you that as a principle of the Republican Party, conduct of the highest moral and ethical character is demanded, and that we will not defend nor protect those who fail to adhere to these standards. They must and should be removed from government. President Grover Cleveland said some years ago, "A public office is a public trust," and that is still so true.

Having listed the five basic principles of the Republican Party, I would now like to touch upon a number of the specific national issues which I understand you will be discussing and debating in your own Congressional sessions.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: One of the major issues before the present Congress in which we are all interested and which I understand will be debated in your sessions is the question of federal aid to education. As you know, last year the Congress adopted the National Defense Education Act. Among other things this legislation provides for loans and other assistance to capable students who need financial aid. It also establishes certain other programs to assist the development of the many resources and technical skills of our young people. I think it is a sound approach to those aspects to the problem of education that especially concerned the Congress last year.

In that legislation we supplied financial assistance to capable individuals who need help to complete their college training. The taxpayers' money is to be repaid over a period of years under easy terms. In order to encourage the preparation of teachers, the act provides for the cancellation of up to 50% of those loans made to college students who go into teaching for at least five years. I supported this legislation and can find no serious fault with its operation thus far.

This year, however, we are confronted with a new and different approach in the form of HR 22, the Metcalf bill, which would authorize federal aid for school construction and teachers' salaries. The House Committee on Education and Labor is presently holding hearings on this bill, although a number of other proposals have been made and the Administration had its own plan introduced.

Some recent history may be helpful in discussing this issue. In the first session of the 85th Congress I opposed the parliamentary maneuver by which the Kelley



School Construction Bill (HR 1) was defeated in the House on July 25, 1957. I voted against the motion to strike the enacting clause of HR 1 and thus kill the bill. (The vote was 209-203 to strike.)

While I did not agree with all the provisions of the Kelley Bill, I did want to have the opportunity to vote in favor of a substitute proposal which was to have been presented. The Kelley Bill called for the distribution of federal funds to the states on the basis of school population. The substitute proposal would have taken into consideration the needs of the various states and the extent to which they have demonstrated their own efforts to meet these needs. In August, 1957 I said that a "good argument can be made that Uncle Sam should offer temporary assistance to alleviate the shortage of classrooms in those specific communities where there is a need and where local citizens have conscientiously tried to solve their classroom deficiencies."

The Metcalf bill as proposed in 1959 will allocate federal funds to the states solely on the basis of school population. Within each state, however, priority for school construction is to be given to those local districts where the need is greatest.

The bill authorizes a state to use the federal money for either school construction or teachers' salaries or both. However, there is nothing in the bill to assure that any teacher will receive an increase in salary because of the enactment of this legislation nor is there any assurance that a single classroom will be constructed in a given state. More important, however, there is nothing to guarantee that the sum total of all monies, local, state, and federal, spent on education will be increased by the passage of HR 22.

It is estimated that the first year's cost of the federal Treasury will be over a billion dollars with this figure rising to \$4.7 billion on 1962-63 and increasing annually thereafter with population growth.

Unfortunately the Education and Labor Committee seems to be practically ignoring the recommendations by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Fleming and President Eisenhower. Those who oppose the President's proposal and support the Metcalf approach believe that we must hand out additional federal funds for school construction or operation without any strings attached whatsoever and regardless of the needs in the states for this assistance, and regardless of whether the individual states have demonstrated a willingness to carry out their educational obligations.

I was a little surprised recently to read in a speech delivered on the floor of the House condemning the Administration's proposals that a major objection



was the legal impediment which would limit the number of school districts which could participate in the Administration's program. The Administration's five-year program provides among other things that the U. S. Government will undertake to advance half the debt service on school construction bonds issued by needy school districts provided the State advances the other half. The local school district would be required to maintain a reasonable tax effort. The funds under the Administration's plan would be distributed among the states on the basis of need for school buildings and the relative degree of effort which the state school districts are making to meet the classroom shortage. In condemning this plan, the speaker introduced a tabulation showing the percentage of districts by states which have reached legal indebtedness or millage limits as of April, 1958. In Minnesota only 12% of the district had reached the legal limit. In my own state of Michigan there is no legal maximum but it was stated that 15% are at a practical limit. In North Dakota it was 2% of the total, in South Dakota 20%, in Iowa less than 10%, in Wisconsin less than 1% and Nebraska has no districts at a maximum.

But even more amazing, this same speaker went on to show that in order for the states to avail themselves of the provisions of the Administration's bill to borrow funds, constitutional amendments would have to be accepted or a referendum held, or the legislators would have to take action. In other words, he acknowledged that if the people of the states involved wish to take action to increase state and local support of education, it could be done by legislative action or a vote of the people. For instance, here in Minnesota he reported a constitutional amendment would be necessary, as would be the case in Wisconsin and most other states. The point is this: It is yet to be shown that we are not able in most states to meet our education needs without further burdening the federal taxpayer. In those states where there is a real need and where a demonstrated effort has been made to solve the problem, I see, in light of the principles which I have mentioned above, a justifiable basis for certain federal aid to education with emphasis on school construction.

LABOR LEGISLATION: Another major issue before the present Congress lies in the area of labor-management relations. The revelations of the McClellan Committee have well demonstrated that remedial legislation in this area is most essential. A number of helpful and constructive bills have been introduced in both houses of Congress to pave the way for an effective legislative proposal. Senator Kennedy has made his recommendations. Senator McClellan has introduced bills. President Eisenhower has sent up a program listing 20 points for consideration by the Congress,



and Chairman Barden of the House Committee on Education and Labor has introduced two specific bills. We who are not members of the Committee on Education and Labor are awaiting the report from the Committee on its recommendations. Senator Kennedy's bill has merit; the 1959 version is better than that before the House last year. The President's proposals are stronger, especially in reference to secondary boycotts and the so-called black-mail picketing which Mr. Kennedy avoids completely. I hope the Congress will take constructive action to curb the abuses in the labor organizations which have been demonstrated before the McClellan Committee.

Our purpose in legislating should not be to destroy labor unions, nor even to hinder any of their legitimate objectives and activity. We are not talking about anti-labor legislation. Unions are here to stay. They serve a good and worthwhile purpose. But one of the main objectives of proposed legislation is to make the leadership in every union more responsive to the needs and wishes of the rank and file membership. This legislation is to protect the interest of all union members, and the employers, and particularly the public at large. We hope to see legislation in this area which will carry out the first basic principle which I enumerated, that it is the responsibility of the government to protect the best interest of all the people.

This brings us of course, to the consideration of the so-called right-to-work issue. In any consideration of this problem, I personally prefer to discuss "mandatory membership" rather than "right-to-work." The question involved is that of "compulsion" rather than "right." But, the common terminology is "right-to-work," so let's use that.

The Taft-Hartley Bill as you know outlaws the closed shop, but authorizes the union shop unless a given state by legislative action or by referendum of the people decides to adopt the right-to-work provision. The right-to-work issue should be settled on an individual state basis, preferably by a state-wide referendum where all our voters have an opportunity to participate. Because I believe the federal government should not continue unnecessarily to expand its power and because I favor an increased emphasis on keeping government close to the people, I insist that the right-to-work issue is fundamentally a problem for the people of each state. With the varying social, economic, and political difference among our people and our states, it is more democratic in my judgment to let the people who are affected decide the issue in their own states.

May I add, however, that if I were an employee of an organization which had a union, I would not only join that union, but I would be an active member of



Furthermore, if I were an employer, I would not oppose the unionization of my workers, but would foster among them and their leaders a high sense of responsibility to the company and its products.

FARM POLICY: Let us now look at another issue which will be considered in your deliberations, that of a sound and effective farm policy. That we want the farmers of our country to share in every economic advancement goes without saying. That we must have a strong and virile agriculture is self-evident. The question is simply whether the present farm policy as reflected in federal law is best for our farmers, consumers and the country as a whole.

President Eisenhower pointed out in his special message to the Congress on January 29th that while there are some 250 farm commodities produced in the United States, present law has required that prices on only twelve of these be supported at prescribed minimum levels. It is this requirement together with the level of required support that has created our farm surplus problems. He also pointed out that three of the twelve mandatory products (wheat, corn, and cotton) account for about 85% of the federal inventory of price supported commodities though they produce only 20% of the total farm cash income.

The President presented three indictments against the price support and production-control program and demonstrated that it has not worked. First he showed that most of the dollars are spent on the production of a relatively few large producers. Second, that the control program doesn't control; and third, that the program is excessively expensive. On July 1, 1959 total government investment in farm commodities will total \$9.1 billion. During the present fiscal year the net budgetary outlay for programs of the stabilization of farm prices and farm income will be \$5.4 billion.

I am not here to recommend the complete and immediate abolition of all price supports. I know that any basic revision will have to be done gradually. The Recommendations of Secretary Benson consistently have been aimed at sounder and more constructive programs. Rigid price supports have proved ineffective. At the very least, there must be more discretion given to the Secretary of Agriculture in this whole area. Some progress was made when the growers of corn chose by a referendum vote, program changes which include supports based on a new formula with no production limitations.

Many of you have read, I am sure, of the case of Stanley Yankus of Dowagiac, Michigan. Mr. Yankus' experience dramatically points up the difficulty we get into when we attempt to control every aspect of life from Washington. It is another illustration of the fact that the small family-type farmer whom we want to preserve



and protect, does not profit by governmental control over his production.

Mr. Yankus' attitude, actions, and predicament although dramatic, must be more completely analyzed to be understood. It is apparent that he has not used the available means for presenting his case to the proper authorities. He has placed himself over against the Supreme Court of the United States as the final authority on the constitutionality of a federal law. But, the case of Mr. Yankus is a graphic illustration of the extent to which our legislative acts departed from those principles and ideals which made America a haven for oppressed peoples from all over the world. If we had followed the recommendations of Secretary Benson and the President during the past five or six years we wouldn't find ourselves with the contradictory, incongruous and unworkable policies which now afflict us in the area of American agriculture.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND POWERS OF THE COURTS: I have been told that your session of the House of Representatives will also debate Civil Rights and the question of the limitation of the powers of the Supreme Court. I am confident that there isn't a person here this evening who is not absolutely convinced that no American citizen may be denied the rights and privileges of American citizenship simply because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. I am certain that no one here would demand that an American citizen be restricted in his use of public transportation or public eating places, in the selection of a job or a home site, or in the school to which he is to send his children, or in exercising of the elective franchise, simply and solely because of his race, color, religion, or national origin.

In light of the five Republican Principles which I have enumerated, and consistent with our Christian heritage and constitutional principles, we can not believe otherwise, nor act in any other manner. The Republican Party is united in its determination to protect and promote the general welfare of all American citizens. Consequently, it has consistently supported sound and constructive legislation to insure to all our people their inalienable rights, the achievement of which formed the basis of the organization of this nation and government.

This means that we endorse the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. We recognize that the implementation of this decision requires the re-thinking of a social philosophy in every state of the union. We recognize that progress may come slowly, but progress must be made. It is not a question of whether you or I like the decision. Here we come face to face with the practical application not only of American constitutional principles, but also our Christian heritage.



Closely allied with the current debate on Civil Rights is the periodical suggestion that the powers of the Supreme Court should be curtailed. Under our federal system we have three equal and coordinate branches of government. There is the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. We admire and defend this system not necessarily because it is the most efficient, but primarily because it is the safest for all our people. It is the best system developed anywhere for the protection of the individual's rights and privileges and the best insurance against the rise of a dictatorial system.

In any consideration on the limitations of the power of the courts, I think it is important to point out first that no one branch of the government is infallible nor should it completely dominate the other two. In the enactment of legislation, the Congress always takes into consideration the constitutionality of the proposal. If it is evident to a majority of the members of the Congress that a given bill is unconstitutional, that bill has very little chance of being enacted. Likewise, the President in passing upon the legislation sent him by the House and the Senate, must pass upon its constitutionality. Presidents have repeatedly vetoed acts of the Congress on the basis of a questionable constitutionality.

Assuming, however, that the act becomes law and some citizen alleges that his rights and privileges are being infringed, it becomes the duty of the court to pass specifically upon the constitutionality. I don't think that any of us will insist that the court is any more infallible than the President or a majority of the members of the Congress. You know as well as I that the Supreme Court has reversed itself in a good many instances and has modified its decision in many cases. But the court's responsibility is clear; it shares in the guardianship of our liberties, and its decisions must be respected.

While the court in its own sphere is free to exercise its legitimate powers, it may become necessary for the Congress as an equal branch in the government to enact remedial legislation or to propose constitutional amendments because of court decisions. For example, the 16th Amendment to the Constitution was necessitated by a court ruling that a federal graduated income tax was unconstitutional. Last year the Congress considered but did not enact, legislation stemming from the well-known Mallory case involving the proper procedure in arraignment of a suspect who confessed to a crime. Without passing upon the merits of this case or the Supreme Court's decision, I am sure that you will acknowledge that reasonable and honest men can disagree on what constitutes proper procedure.



Likewise the Congress considered legislation to override the Supreme Court's decision in the Nelson case when the court freed a person convicted as a Communist under Pennsylvania law on the theory that the Congress had preempted the entire field of legislation in reference to subversion. Here we are in an area where the Congress should make known to the court that it had no intention of preempting the field and that the court's decision declaring the Pennsylvania Sedition Act in so far as it would apply to subversive activities against the United States ought to be modified.

You will note, my friends, that I am not recommending that the Supreme Court's power be limited in any respect. I believe that the courts have been and are one of the bulwarks guarding the individual's liberties. I want no restriction on the powers of the judiciary to protect any and all rights of American Citizens. This is consistent with the principles of the Republican Party. On the other hand, if and when the court takes action which a majority of the members of the Congress feel is improper and uncalled for, the Congress must exercise its power to remedy the situation through proper legislative action.

We had a good example of this just a week ago Monday when a bill was considered and passed on the consent calendar to define the term "organized" as used in the Smith Act. In June of 1957 the Supreme Court in the case of Yates vs. U. S. freed 14 known Communists who had been convicted of conspiring to overthrow the U. S. Government by force and violence and of organizing groups for the same purpose. One of the bases upon which the court reversed the conviction was its interpretation of the term "organized." The court said that this term did not include such activities as recruiting of members, organizing groups within the framework of the Communist Party, etc., and that it was not the intention of the Congress to have the word include such activities. Here the court was interpreting the intention of the Congress. The bill as passed a week ago Monday specifically stating that it is the intention of the Congress to include in the term "organize" such activities as recruiting of members, organization of groups within the framework of the Communist Party. If this bill becomes law, the Congress is not limiting the powers of the court, but simply explaining its own intention and clarifying the meaning of a term for the benefit of our law enforcement officers and the court.

The Republican Party will not destroy or weaken our judicial system. It does, however, want the judiciary to know that its specific decisions will be analyzed by the Congress and will be subject to remedial legislation when that appears essential. This is consistent with well-established practice.



MUTUAL SECURITY: Another issue which I believe will confront your deliberations this evening and tomorrow is that of foreign aid or our Mutual Security Program. Let me say right at the outset that when we get into the area of foreign affairs, we should drop any partisanship or party consideration. Our Mutual Security Program is not an issue on which Democrats and Republicans as such disagree.

The first principle of the Republican Party which I listed calls for the adequate protection of all the American people. Unless we can defend ourselves against the Communist conspiracy and maintain our own sovereignty and the existence of a free world, we won't have to worry much about anything else we may talk about tonight. Our Mutual Security Program is first, directly and indirectly, a national security measure.

The Mutual Security Program is basically sound and necessary because:

1. It enables the United States to have over 250 military bases on foreign territory.
2. It cuts the costs of our own direct expenditures for defense and reduces the draft calls by Selective Service.
3. It helps protect the sources of our supply of many strategic materials.
4. It helps U. S. farms, business, and labor when nearly 80% of every dollar of mutual security funds are spent in the first instance in the United States.
5. It is a major United States weapon in the cold war against Communist imperialism.
6. It strengthens our allies and friends, militarily and economically.
7. It is our best insurance against Communist penetration of the neutral nations.

You have heard this program described from time to time as a giveaway program. A year ago Secretary of State Dulles made a masterful presentation in support of our Mutual Security Program before my subcommittee on Appropriations for Foreign Operations. I would like to quote two paragraphs from his testimony:

"The 'giveaway' so often complained of would have occurred if we had not had this program or if we should slacked it now. Without a Mutual Security Program we would indeed have 'givenaway' half of Europe to chaos or Communism. We would have 'givenaway' Greece and Turkey and the Eastern Mediterranean to Soviet control. We would have 'givenaway' Iran, and Russian access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean -- and the economic strength of Europe which depends heavily on Middle Eastern oil. We would have 'givenaway' Korea; and the Republic of China and Vietnam -- and in all likelihood the rest of Southeast Asia. The 'giveaway' would reach or come dangerously close to Pakistan and India -- the great Asian subcontinent with a fifth



of the entire human race."

"If we now weaken in our determination and slacken in our pace, we will indeed 'give away' to Communism in the next few years the control of a dozen or more nations with enough people and resources to change the balance of power irretrievably against us. We would indeed 'give away' bases and allied forces essential to our own strategic defense system. We would indeed 'give away' the access which we and other free nations have to resources essential to our own industry and to trade essential to our own welfare and prosperity."

We sometimes forget to what extent the U. S. is dependant on other parts of the world for essential raw materials. Of 39 strategic materials that are necessary for production in the U. S., we are self-sufficient in only 9. For example, we import 96% of our nickel, 86% of our manganese; 91% of our chrome, 100% of our tin, industrial diamonds, and natural rubber; 98% of our platinum, and 80% of the cobalt we use in industry and defense.

It is also significant, I think, although this should not be used as the first argument for the Mutual Security Program, that 78% of the funds appropriated for this program are spent right in the U. S. in the very first instance. The jobs of over 600 thousand American farmers and industrial workers can be directly attributed to these expenditures. And, finally, I want to reiterate that this Mutual Security Program enables us to have over 250 military bases on foreign territory. Without this program, we would have to pull back our military defense pretty close to our natural boundaries. Under the Mutual Security Program, we are able to bind a ring of steel around the Iron Curtain, and right up close.

DEFENSE: In conclusion, I want to say just a few words about matters that may or may not come up in your deliberations, but which are being debated vigorously in the Congress, on the air, and through the press. This is the question of the adequacy of our national defense and how we stand in relation to Russia.

As one who has been close to the Department of Defense for seven years as a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Defense, I would like to make a few pertinent comments.

Annually our committee hears and interrogates the civilian and military leaders of the country. All of these, Democrats, Republicans, or independents, are able, conscientious, responsible, and patriotic men.

While it is the responsibility of the Executive Branch to initiate and administer the defense programs, the Congress must double-check the plans and



administrative action, and make certain that the taxpayers' dollars are well spent. Neither branch of the government has a monopoly on information or wisdom but both must and can work together for a stronger and better America.

The people of the United States can afford whatever amount is really required for our national defense. In fact, we cannot afford anything less. I can assure you that the President had this in mind when he submitted his defense budget. The Congress should be guided by the same principle when it makes the appropriations.

Another significant fact to consider is that the security of the United States is not dependent upon one military service nor upon one weapon system. Missiles of all types are most important but they are but one element in the great arsenal of defense. Intercontinental ballistic missiles occupy a prominent position among modern weapons but they are but one of many necessary instruments for our national security.

The United States at the moment has tremendous retaliatory power, defensively and offensively. We have over 500 B-52s (long-range jet bombers) which can carry an atomic payload to the heart of Russia and return without refueling. We have over a thousand B-47s (medium-range jet bombers) which can do the same with in-flight refueling operations.

But more important, because of our overseas bases the heart of Russia is right next door. The heart of the United States is 5,000 miles from Russia. Short and medium-range missiles capable of more accurate control mean much more to us than to the USSR. From our bases in Great Britain and other allied countries our 1,500-mile missile can be devastatingly effective. By June, 1959 the 5,500-mile Atlas weapon system will be in operation and the initial squadrons will be augmented on schedule.

Moreover, a strong U. S. Naval carrier force can provide planes to move into enemy nations from many directions if this becomes necessary. We have a submarine fleet with missile capability. During early 1960 the first POLARIS ballistic-missile equipped submarines will join the fleet and other will follow.

I am convinced that we have a well-rounded and fully adequate defense system, ready and able to protect this country in any crisis whether a general or limited war. Your government, through the President, our military leaders, and the Congress, will continue to improve and modify this system to meet changing conditions and keep in step with technological advancements.

This day at St. Olaf has been a most pleasant one. I enjoyed the sessions this noon and afternoon and you have been a kind and courteous audience this



evening. As I indicated at the beginning, I hope my appearance in Northfield has been constructive. I realize, however, there will be disagreements with some of the things I have said during your deliberations to follow, but this is inherent in our system. I trust, however, that your thinking will be stimulated and that your discussions will be profitable.



Political Emphasis Week

①

St. Olaf College - 3/12/59

Introduction - Stories

- 1) Texas Longhorn
- 2) Rotary speech -
- 3) Great, great man -

U.S. - Land of the Free & The Home of the Brave.

Minnesota - Land of a 1000 Lakes.

Northfield - City of colleges, cows, contentment & costs.

We live in a great country, Minnesota is a wonderful state, Northfield is a beautiful city & of course St. Olaf is a fine school. - ^{Chair} ^{great} ^{Chair}

Josee James preceded me here - left his indelible mark for pages of history. I can't compete for the history books but trust my remarks + efforts more constructive.



Introductory remarks (continued)

②

Just every day Episcopalian can address a group of Lutherans as close to St. Patrick Days.

I understand St. Olaf was a sort of St. Patrick for Norway & that this Norwegian saint Christianized his country in 11th century.

AL QUIE - graduated in 1950.



POLITICAL EMPHASIS WEEK. (3)

Pleased with emphasis on Political

All concerned with public affairs.

" dedicated to American constitutional ideals.

Only way democratic systems works - political system.

Polities + politicians give life, blood + breath to the
still bones of a constitutional system.

College graduates too prone to sit in bleachers or sidelines,
Monday-morning Q.B.s. GET IN THE GAME.

Survey - 70% of parents against children in politics
Michigan experience - voter registration
ignorance.



Independent Voters - glorified. Vote for best man. (4)

Can't build strong parties if predominate force is the
Independent Voter.

Hope you will always vote for best man but I
trust he will always be a Republican.

Must develop basic differences between the PARTIES.

Philosophical differences must & do exist.

Coffin + me.



I Government is organized to provide an equal protection 15
for, & to promote the General Welfare of, ALL the People

Preamble - we have organized government for:
to protect ourselves against enemies from
within & without.

1) Military

2) Law Enforcement.

However - when 175 million people - bound to be
disagreements.

Gov't must be the impartial arbitrator.

Can they promote the General Welfare

II In Expressing an Acceptable National Policy, We Can 16
→ should be Liberal in Human Relations & Conservative
in Economic Affairs.

G.O.P. believes the lot of all should be improved.

Believe in inherent dignity & worth of the individual.

When liberal & progressive to advance happiness &
comfort of an individual & community G.O.P. is for it.

G.O.P. believes in inalienable right to acquire property.

Jefferson - inalienable rights of man were life, liberty &
pursuit of happiness.

Person has right to acquire but must use property
Gov't has no right to take incompensately.

III A sound & Responsible Fiscal Policy is Imperative To Good Government 17

G.O.P. believes in, works for balanced budget.

No apologies.

Deficit financing fans flames of inflation.

Bad example for our citizens.



IV Our way of Life is Fostered Best By Keeping Public Affairs as Close as Possible to the People Concerned 18

G.O.P. Trusts good sense of all the people.

Fiscal Officers have tougher job.

Better schools, law enforcement etc.

Further got away from people less interest
by the People & less responsible results.



Officials of Government Must Exhibit the Highest Moral & Ethical Standards in Both their Public & Private Lives 19

Not a pious platitude - nor do Republicans have monopoly
 But G.O.P. demands this standard
 Will not protect or defend.

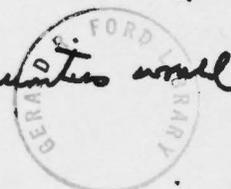


School Aid to Education 10

- 1) National Defense Education Act - { help needy students
teaching - 50%
science equipment
- 2) Metcalf Bill - H.R. 22 - { school population
construction & salaries
cost - \$1 billion to \$5 billion
no guarantee
- 3) Kelly Bill - H.R. 1
85th Congress
1957 - Parliamentary move.

LEGAL INDEBTEDNESS

4) Eisenhower Proposal
 86th Congress - payments based on need + demonstrated effort
 86th " - debt financing.
 N.O. - 2%
 15% bonded limit
 10%
 20%
 Wisconsin - 10%
 Vermont - 10%
 Vermont criticism - states or local communities would have to take action.



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"If we now weaken in our determination and slacken in our pace, we will indeed 'give away' to Communism in the next few years the control of a dozen or more nations with

(2)

enough people and resources to change the balance of power irretrievably against us. We would indeed 'give away' bases and allied forces essential to our own strategic defense system. We would indeed 'give away' the access which we and other free nations have to resources essential to our own industry and to trade essential to our own welfare and prosperity."



Labor Legislation

11

Obvious Need - Mc Clellan Committee

Kennedy
Mc Clellan

Barlow

Eisenhower

Purpose of Legislation - not to destroy but to make unions more responsive to members.

Right to Work - competition.
Taft-Hartley



Farm Policy

12

Objective - farmers must share in economic advancement
farm production must be adequate for our needs.

Eisenhower Message - 250 farm commodities
12 supported a minimum levels.
3 of the 12 account for 85% of federal
inventory or investment. Wheat,
Corn,
Cotton

Record shows - 1) Most dollars for large producers
2) Control program doesn't work.
3) Expensive - \$7.1 billion.

Change -

Yankees - Illustration of program failure



Civil Rights

In America - no denial of rights.

G.O.P. has been in the foreground in
real achievement in Civil Rights.

- 1). Legislation
- 2). Enforce Supreme Ct. decision

Supreme Ct - no branch of govt infallible

Three (3) equal branches.

Duty of Congress To review legislation

- 1) 16th amend.
- 2) Mallory bill
- 3) Preemption - Nelson case.



Mutual Security -

Benefits - \$250 Bases

- 2). selective service
- 3). Strategic raw materials - ^{support in} 9 of 39
- 4). 80% of way dollar spent in U.S.
- 5). Cold War weapon
- 6). Strengthens allies
- 2). Prevents penetration of neutrals

Import -

96%	- nickel
86"	- magnesium
91"	- chrome
100"	- tin + natural rubber

No "giveaway"



Defense

15

