

**The original documents are located in Box D22, folder “Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, April 9, 1967” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

AN ADDRESS BY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., AT COLGATE UNIVERSITY

8 P.M., SUNDAY, APRIL 9, 1967 --

Ladies and gentlemen: I come to you tonight as the leader of the opposition in one House of the Congress. My task, as I see it, is to sketch for you an outline of the Opposition Role. What should the role of the opposition be and how should we go about fulfilling it?

Many Americans don't realize it, but the present two-party system in American politics goes back 112 years. Tonight I am going to concern myself primarily with the current situation because there is so much to be said about the problems now facing this Nation.

Bluntly put and viewed in purely political terms, the mission of the minority party is to become the majority. That is, the Outs are constantly striving to become the Ins. That's what Republicans are working for right now-- to become the In-Group.

*Not because we simply want power - the Democrats now have but rather because we believe our philosophy is better for America & our capacity to lead is superior*  
There is far more to the role of the opposition than a simple drive for power, of course. We in the opposition must seek to serve the American people; we must offer them a better course than that of the other party. We must offer them a New Direction in government and persuade the voters that this New Direction will lead the Nation in the paths of peace and prosperity.

If I did not <sup>sincerely</sup> believe that the Republican Party had sounder solutions to offer the American people I would not be standing before you at this moment.

The role of the opposition in Congress is critical at this time. The Nation is at a crossroads in economic affairs and the Vietnam War.

The record the Republican Party makes in the 90th Congress is extremely important in terms of the 1968 election. It will be the record that the next Republican presidential candidate will run on.

Some Americans believe the role of the opposition should be solely to oppose. In my view, it goes far beyond that. Certainly we should oppose when we believe that the majority party is mistaken in its programs and concepts. But we also must propose. We must offer the people a choice, tell them how we would run the Nation's affairs if given the opportunity.

*Let me put it this way - Where the Administration is clearly wrong - No  
On other hand - admit problems  
Constructive Alternative*



It is only some 15 months before the two major political parties meet in convention to name their presidential candidates. Already the issues of the 1968 campaign are taking shape. It will be an historic campaign--a campaign which will shape the destiny of America far into the future.

In recent years, national elections in the United States have been decided on the basis of two broad issues--peace and prosperity.

I submit that in the 1968 election the issue of peace will involve far more than the Vietnam War, other possible wars of liberation, the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and a possible detente with the Communist bloc nations of Europe.

That issue will transcend the usual concerns of foreign conflict and alliances to enwrap itself in an overriding issue of national morality.

This morality issue has a number of offshoots or related issues.

One of these is the Ethics in Congress Issue, as exemplified by the Powell and Dodd cases. The one case involves alleged misuse of public funds; the other, alleged misuse of campaign funds. They are different cases, yet related.

The thrust of both the Powell and the Dodd cases is that they point up the need for a Code of Official Conduct in Congress.

Let me say at this point that the House of Representatives is well on its way toward establishing a Select Committee on Official Conduct--and it was primarily Republican pressure that brought it about. We called for establishment of an ethics watchdog committee in our Republican State of the Union Message on January 19, and the House Republican Policy Committee promptly endorsed it. This relates to the Powell case.

Republicans have been pressing since last year for an Election Reform Law. At this point, I am forced to say that our insistence on Election Law Reform has been vocal and persistent, unlike that of President Johnson. We are determined to clean up campaign fund-raising and destroy all the evils that spring from such organizations as the Thousand-Dollar President's Club.



It is interesting to recall that President Johnson took Senator Dodd with him when he flew to the Democratic convention in 1964--to mislead the press into thinking he had tapped Dodd and not Hubert Humphrey as his running mate.

Republicans are determined to close the Ethics Gap. We are also bent on winning the war against crime.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for law and order. We are reaping the whirlwind-- the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline in the public schools, a shortage of dedicated teachers, evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey those laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence and rebellion.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called atmosphere.

It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime. I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a multitude of weapons. We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best as we can the pattern of the criminal repeater.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. Let us examine court decisions on questioning of suspects and permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and draw a line which helps our law enforcement officials without interfering with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens



but make this tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime. The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against professional criminals. Law enforcement agencies must have more power if they are to deal effectively with organized crime.

We have talked of the two major parties in their approaches to the Ethics Gap in Congress and the Morality Gap that divides the Nation. Let us speak now of Vietnam.

What is the role of the opposition on Vietnam? With few exceptions, Republicans support the President in his present course--his view that only unrelenting military pressure will cause the enemy to talk peace. Meantime, Republicans are deeply disturbed about the split in the Democratic Party over the bombing of North Vietnam, the proposals that there be a unilateral halt in the bombing. I cannot see how any member of Congress who has seen photos of men and supplies moving from North to South Vietnam during the Tet New Year's truce can possibly favor an unconditional unilateral halt in the bombing. I am convinced that those New Year's reinforcements resulted in hundreds of American and South Vietnamese ~~casualties~~ <sup>casualties</sup>.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But, I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this nation effectively in war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism of the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President but only to push for an early end to the war with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism, but we have not ~~sought~~ <sup>championed total</sup> military victory or unconditional surrender. *of the enemy.*

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as



easy to see as deBergerac's nose that the enemy has more time to build up strength and to plan courtermoves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to a settlement in Vietnam is to maintain steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while a government with a popular support emerges in South Vietnam. The solution in Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or a semblance of peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at the creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

In foreign and domestic policy, the role of the opposition in Congress is essentially that of watchdog. We owe it to the American people to keep tabs on the other party and to blow the whistle on mistakes or malfeasance.

The best vehicle for political watchdog activity is present in the British system--an investigative committee run by the minority. Republicans have urged such a committee be established in the U.S. House of Representatives but we are not holding our breaths while it happens.

How many Americans think about the fact that the Federal government is deeply in deficit and has been for six full fiscal years? How many know that interest on the Federal debt now runs \$14 billion a year, the second largest single item in the Federal budget? How many Americans realize that the deficit in the fiscal 1968 budget probably will run to \$15 billion or more and that if the present economic downturn deepens into a recession the deficit will be even more mountainous?

The huge deficits we now are facing point up the choice the opposition



party offers the voters as we approach 1968.

Republicans believe in progress <sup>at home</sup> at a pace the people can afford. We believe that if Federal spending runs wild, this weakens the foundations of our economy. The President is asking for higher taxes. We believe non-essential Federal spending should be cut.

A basic difference between the two parties is that the Democratic Party prescribes a Federal pill for every ill. <sup>A shot by mmp.</sup> The Republican Party would shift more problem-solving responsibility to state and local governments and to the private sector.

The Republican Party is concerned that the other party's philosophy of "tax and tax, spend and spend" destroys individual incentive by siphoning off too much of the people's income in higher taxes.

While the Democratic Party advances proposals that rely primarily on Federal money, Federal power and Federal control, the Republican Party proposes Federal tax-sharing to aid the cities and states, tax credits as incentives for a massive nationwide cleanup of our air and water, tax credits for tuition and other colleges expenses to /make this a nation of college students, tax credits to industry to launch a nationwide on-the-job training program as an assault on hard-core unemployment.

Incentives, not red tape and excessive Federal power. That's the way of the opposition party. We believe there should be large-scale business involvement in the solving of our social ills.

At the outset I spoke of a morality issue that will transcend all else in 1968.

In the final analysis, this translates itself into a question of confidence in the present Administration. Noted news commentator, Walter Lippmann, is among those who point to a credibility gap in the country today. Lippmann says it is "the result of a deliberate policy of artificial manipulation of official news." As a consequence, Lippmann says the public simply refuses to accept at face value what the Federal government says and does.

Is it any wonder that our young people today ask...Who and what can we believe?



This--the Credibility Gap--poses an intolerable situation, whatever its cause. I believe it springs from this Administration's search for consensus, its abhorrence of dissent, its attempt to foist a kind of absolutism on the American people...a kind of benevolent despotism.

At a recent press conference, President Johnson spoke of the Republican opposition in the same breath with his adversaries overseas. <sup>Naturally</sup> I ~~really~~ do not believe the Loyal Opposition is ~~that formidable~~ <sup>in the category</sup>.

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing--and then act on the evidence.

As Edmund Burke said: "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, who told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

This I ask--that the voters of this Nation be attentive to their first and foremost task--to see that government in America is the servant and not the master of the people.

#####



5 copies

Ladies and gentlemen: I come to you ~~tonight~~ tonight as the leader of the opposition in one House of the Congress. My task, as I see it, is to sketch for you an outline of the ~~the~~ Opposition Role. What should the role of the opposition be and how should we go <sup>fulfilling</sup> about it?

Many Americans don't realize it, but the <sup>present</sup> ~~the~~ two-party system in American politics goes back 112 years. <sup>Tonight</sup> ~~I~~ I am going to concern myself <sup>primarily</sup> ~~with~~ with the ~~present~~ current situation because there is so much to be said about the problems now facing this Nation.

Bluntly put and viewed in purely political terms, the mission of the minority party is to become the majority. That is, the Outs are constantly striving to become the Ins. That's what Republicans are working ~~hard~~ for right now--to become the In-group.

There is far more to the role of the opposition than a simple ~~motivation~~ drive for power, of course. We in the opposition must seek to serve the American people; we must offer them a <sup>better</sup> ~~course~~ course than that of the other party. We must offer them a New Direction in government and persuade the voters that this New Direction will lead the Nation in the paths of peace and prosperity. <sup>VP</sup> If I did not believe that the Republican Party had sounder solutions to offer the American people I would not be standing before you at this moment.

The role of the opposition <sup>in Congress</sup> is critical ~~in the Congress~~ at this time. The Nation is at a crossroads in ~~economic~~ economic affairs and the ~~current~~ Vietnam War.

The record the Republican Party makes in the 90th Congress ~~is extremely important~~ is extremely important in terms of the 1968 election. It will be the record that the next Republican presidential ~~candidate~~ candidate will run on.

~~Expectations~~ Some Americans believe the role of the opposition should be <sup>solely</sup> to oppose. In my view, it goes far beyond that. Certainly we should oppose when we believe that the majority party is mistaken in its programs and concepts. But we also must ~~propose~~ propose. We must offer the people a choice, tell them how we ~~we~~ would run the Nation's affairs if given the opportunity.

It is only some 15 months before the two major political parties <sup>in convention</sup> meet ~~to name~~ their presidential candidates. Already the issues of the 1968 campaign are taking shape. It will be an historic campaign--a campaign which will <sup>shape the fate</sup> ~~decide the future~~ of America far into the future.



In recent years, national elections in the United States have been decided on the basis of two broad issues--peace and prosperity.

I submit that ~~the major issue of the~~ in the 1968 election the issue of peace will involve far more than the Vietnam War, other possible wars of liberation, the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and a possible detente with the Communist bloc nations of Europe.

That issue ~~will become the major issue~~ will transcend the ~~usual~~ usual concerns of foreign conflict and alliances to enwrap itself in an overriding issue of national morality.

This morality issue ~~will~~ has a number of offshoots or ~~other~~ related issues.

One of these is the Ethics in Congress Issue, as exemplified by the Powell and Dodd cases. The one case ~~is~~ involves ~~the~~ <sup>alleged</sup> misuse of public funds; the other, ~~the~~ <sup>alleged</sup> misuse of campaign funds. They are different cases, ~~and yet~~ <sup>and yet</sup> ~~they~~ related.

The thrust of both the Powell and the Dodd cases is that they point up the need for a Code of Official Conduct in Congress.

Let me say ~~at~~ at this point that the House of Representatives is well on its way toward establishing a Select Committee on Official Conduct--and it was <sup>primarily</sup> ~~it was~~ Republican pressure that brought ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> about. We called for ~~the~~ establishment of ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> committee in our Republican State of the Union Message on Jan. 19, and the House Republican Policy Committee promptly endorsed it. This relates to the Powell ~~is~~ case. ~~We must have a watchdog committee in the House on Standards of Official Conduct.~~

*ethics watchdog*

Republicans have been pressing since last year for an Election Reform Law. ~~And~~

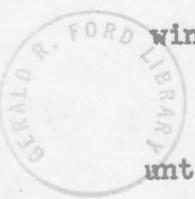
At this point I am forced to say that our insistence on Election Law Reform has been ~~so~~ vocal and persistent <sup>unlike</sup> that ~~is~~ of ~~the~~ President Johnson. We are determined to ~~eradicate~~ clean up campaign fund-raising and destroy all the evils ~~abundant~~ that

spring from such organizations as the ~~President's~~ Thousand-Dollar President's Club. ~~It is interesting to recall~~ ~~that~~ President Johnson <sup>took</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with him</sup> Sen. Dodd ~~when~~ when he flew to the Democratic convention in 1964--to ~~lead~~ <sup>mistaken</sup> the press into thinking ~~that~~ he had ~~been~~ tapped Dodd and not ~~Humphrey~~ Hubert Humphrey as his running mate.

*# It is interesting to recall*

Republicans are determined to close the Ethics Gap. We are also ~~set~~ bent on winning the war against crime.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that ~~is~~ <sup>swells</sup> ~~rising~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~rising~~ until a complete ~~law~~ breakdown of law ~~and~~ and order is threatened?



I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for law and order. ~~Therefore~~ We are reaping the whirlwind-- the ~~fruit~~ <sup>fruit</sup> of years of permissiveness in the family, ~~permissiveness in the schools~~ <sup>inadequate discipline in the public schools,</sup> a shortage of dedicated teachers, ~~in the schools~~ the evolution of the attitude that ~~we~~ <sup>an American</sup> need only obey ~~the~~ <sup>those</sup> laws ~~we~~ <sup>he</sup> deems morally justified, and the glorification of ~~violence~~ <sup>and</sup> rebellion ~~and nonconformity.~~

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the ~~country's~~ moral fabric of the country, that intangible ~~and~~ called atmosphere.

It enters into the ~~difference~~ difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime. I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to ~~emphasize~~ emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with ~~new~~ a multitude of weapons. We in the ~~federal government~~ <sup>Congress</sup> must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection ~~tactics~~ tactics and techniques available to them. We must also strengthen our ~~probationary~~ probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of ~~repeated crimes.~~ <sup>the criminal repeater.</sup>

Beyond that ~~let us~~ let us discard the idea that it is ~~subversive~~ subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. Let ~~us~~ <sup>us</sup> examine court ~~decisions~~ decisions on questioning of suspects and permissibility of ~~confessions~~ <sup>voluntary as courtroom evidence</sup> and draw a line which helps our law enforcement officials without interfering with the ~~constitutional~~ constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us ~~outlaw~~ outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this ~~tool~~ tool available <sup>to</sup> law ~~enforcement~~ <sup>enforcers</sup> under court order ~~as they~~ as they make war on organized crime. Their constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of ~~an~~ an American citizen to be protected <sup>professionally</sup> against criminals. Law enforcement agencies must have more power if they are to deal <sup>effectively</sup> with organized crime.

We have talked of the two major parties in their approaches to the Ethics Gap in Congress and the Morality Gap that divides the Nation. Let us speak now of Vietnam.

What is the role of ~~the~~ the opposition on Vietnam? With few exceptions, Republicans support the President in his present course--his view that only ~~unrelenting~~ <sup>unrelenting</sup>



military pressure will cause the enemy to talk peace. Meantime, Republicans are deeply disturbed about the split in the Democratic Party over the bombing of North Vietnam, the proposals that there be a unilateral halt in the bombing. ~~I~~ I cannot see how any member of Congress who has seen photos of men and supplies moving from North to South <sup>Vietnam</sup> during the Tet New Year's truce can possibly favor an ~~unconditional~~ <sup>unilateral</sup> halt in the bombing. I am convinced that those New Year's reinforcements resulted in hundreds of American and South Vietnamese deaths.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided ~~not~~ against itself cannot lead this nation effectively in ~~the~~ war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that ~~the doves~~ <sup>of the doves in his own party</sup> criticism encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

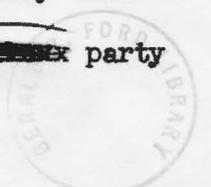
~~Amid~~ <sup>has maintained a responsible position.</sup> all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party ~~is~~ We have criticized the President <sup>but</sup> only ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. ~~We~~ We have chafed at gradualism, but we have not sought military victory or ~~an~~ unconditional surrender. There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. ~~It~~ It is as easy to see as deBergerac's nose that the enemy has more time to ~~build up steadily increasing strength~~ <sup>build up</sup> and to plan countermoves when his adversary turns up the screws only a ~~fraction~~ <sup>fraction</sup> at a time. No major power has ever <sup>before</sup> fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to a settlement in Vietnam is to maintain steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while a government with popular support emerges in South Vietnam. The solution in Vietnam must be essentially political. No ~~military~~ rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or a semblance of peace in Vietnam.

<sup>best</sup> The ~~best~~ hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building.

<sup>aimed at</sup> Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures, the creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

In foreign and domestic policy, the role of the opposition <sup>in Congress</sup> is essentially that of watchdog. We owe it to the American people to keep tabs on the other ~~party~~ party and to blow the whistle on mistakes or malfeasance.



The best vehicle for ~~such~~ political watchdog activity is ~~present~~ <sup>present</sup> in the British system--an ~~investigative~~ <sup>investigative</sup> committee ~~run~~ run by the minority. Republicans have urged such a committee be established ~~in~~ in the U.S. House of Representatives but ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> are not holding our breaths while it happens.

Consequently, we can only point to ~~the~~ majority party blunders or omissions as we ~~try to~~ uncover them with the meager investigative ~~resources~~ and research resources we possess.

We raise questions and hope that the American people will answer them with an affirmative vote for the Republican Party in 1968.

Why ~~are American high school students~~ are American high school students lagging behind Japan and ~~four other nations~~ four other nations in their knowledge of mathematics? What are we doing to improve our schools besides pumping billions of ~~federal~~ federal dollars into them--in many cases, for projects of dubious or marginal value? Why are educators ~~in large numbers~~ in large numbers protesting to ~~the~~ Congress about federal ~~red tape~~ red tape in connection with dollar grants and about federal interference in operation of local schools?

Why should this become a Quota Society? Does anybody really believe that the University of Michigan ~~discriminates~~ discriminates against Negroes as a matter of official policy? Why then should the federal government tell the university ~~that~~ that its federal research contracts will be withdrawn unless the university hires more Negroes for campus jobs and recruits more Negro faculty members and students? Is ours to become a Coerced Society?

How serious is the ~~Johnson Administration~~ <sup>Johnson Administration</sup> about air pollution? How many Americans realize that the city of Washington is the fourth dirtiest ~~city~~ city in the Nation and that one third of the pollution emanates from Federal Government heating plants? Is it not a full and ~~complete~~ complete partnership of government and business that we need to lick water and air pollution and not just government swinging a big stick at industry?

How many Americans realize that the United States ~~is leaving~~ in pulling its NATO installations out of France ~~is leaving~~ <sup>left</sup> behind almost ~~a~~ \$1 billion worth of facilities for which the ~~French~~ French probably won't pay us a cent? Did you know that these facilities include entire towns--with hospitals, schools, libraries, housing, swimming pools and bowling alleys, to be taken over by the French?

How many Americans think about the fact that the Federal Government is deeply in deficit and has been for six full fiscal years? How many know ~~that~~ <sup>interest on</sup> the federal debt now ~~runs~~ runs \$14 billion a year, the second largest single item in the

federal budget? How many Americans realize that the <sup>deficit in the</sup> fiscal 1968 budget probably will run to \$15 billion or more and that if the present economic downturn deepens into a recession the deficit will be even more mountainous?

The huge deficits we now are facing point up the choice the opposition party offers the voters as we approach 1968.

Republicans believe in progress at a pace the people can ~~not~~ afford. We believe that if federal spending runs wild, this weakens the foundations of our non-essential economy. The President is ~~not~~ asking for higher taxes. We believe federal spending should be cut.

A basic difference ~~is~~ between the two parties is that the ~~Republican Party~~ Democratic Party ~~prescribes~~ problem-solving a federal pill for every ill. The Republican ~~Party~~ ~~Party~~ would shift more responsibility to ~~the~~ state and local governments and to the private sector.

*R* The Republican Party ~~is~~ is concerned that the other party's philosophy of tax and tax, spend and spend ~~destroys~~ destroys individual incentive by siphoning off too much of the people's income in higher taxes.

While the Democratic Party ~~advances~~ advances proposals that rely primarily on federal money, ~~and~~ excessive federal power and federal control, the Republican Party proposes federal tax-sharing to aid the cities and states, tax credits as incentives for tuition and other college expenses for a massive nationwide cleanup of our air and water, tax credits to make this a nation of college students, tax credits to industry to launch a nationwide on-the-job training program as an assault on hard-core ~~unemployment~~ unemployment.

*R* Incentives, not red tape and excessive federal power. That's the way of the opposition party. We ~~are~~ believe there should be largescale business involvement in the solving of our social ills.

~~At the outset I spoke of a~~ morality issue that ~~will~~ transcend all else in 1968.

*S* In the final analysis, this translates itself into ~~the~~ a question of confidence in the present Administration ~~the Federal Government under present administration~~. Noted news commentator Walter Lippmann is among those who point to a credibility gap in ~~Washington today~~ the country today, "the result of a deliberate policy of artificial manipulation of official news." Lippmann says it is As a consequence, the public ~~simply~~ refuses to accept at face value what the Federal Government says and does.

Is it any wonder that our young people today ask...Who and what can we believe?

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
 This--the Credibility Gap--<sup>poses</sup> an intolerable situation, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ whatever its cause. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ I believe it springs from this Administration's search for consensus, its abhorrence of dissent, its attempt to foist a kind of absolutism on the American people... a kind of benevolent ~~dictatorship~~ despotism.

(At a recent press conference, President Johnson spoke of the Republican opposition in the same breath with his adversaries overseas. I really do not believe the Loyal Opposition is that formidable.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ I ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing--and then act on the evidence.

As Edmund Burke said: "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."

If, as the figures indicate, a ~~majority~~ majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ told the ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

This I ask--that <sup>the voters of this Nation</sup> ~~the people~~ be attentive to their first and foremost ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ to see ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ task--that government in America ~~is~~ the servant and not the master of the people.

#####



8 P.M., SUNDAY, APRIL 9, 1967 --

Ladies and gentlemen: I come to you tonight as the leader of the opposition in one House of the Congress. My task, as I see it, is to sketch for you an outline of the Opposition Role. What should the role of the opposition be and how should we go about fulfilling it?

Many Americans don't realize it, but the present two-party system in American politics goes back 112 years. Tonight I am going to concern myself primarily with the current situation because there is so much to be said about the problems now facing this Nation.

Bluntly put and viewed in purely political terms, the mission of the minority party is to become the majority. That is, the Outs are constantly striving to become the Ins. That's what Republicans are working for right now-- to become the In-Group.

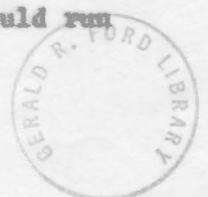
There is far more to the role of the opposition than a simple drive for power, of course. We in the opposition must seek to serve the American people; we must offer them a better course than that of the other party. We must offer them a New Direction in government and persuade the voters that this New Direction will lead the Nation in the paths of peace and prosperity.

If I did not believe that the Republican Party had sounder solutions to offer the American people I would not be standing before you at this moment.

The role of the opposition in Congress is critical at this time. The Nation is at a crossroads in economic affairs and the Vietnam War.

The record the Republican Party makes in the 90th Congress is extremely important in terms of the 1968 election. It will be the record that the next Republican presidential candidate will run on.

Some Americans believe the role of the opposition should be solely to oppose. In my view, it goes far beyond that. Certainly we should oppose when we believe that the majority party is mistaken in its programs and concepts. But we also must propose. We must offer the people a choice, tell them how we would run the Nation's affairs if given the opportunity.



It is only some 15 months before the two major political parties meet in convention to name their presidential candidates. Already the issues of the 1968 campaign are taking shape. It will be an historic campaign--a campaign which will shape the destiny of America far into the future.

In recent years, national elections in the United States have been decided on the basis of two broad issues--peace and prosperity.

I submit that in the 1968 election the issue of peace will involve far more than the Vietnam War, other possible wars of liberation, the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and a possible detente with the Communist bloc nations of Europe.

That issue will transcend the usual concerns of foreign conflict and alliances to envelop itself in an overriding issue of national morality.

This morality issue has a number of offshoots or related issues.

One of these is the Ethics in Congress Issue, as exemplified by the Powell and Dodd cases. The one case involves alleged misuse of public funds; the other, alleged misuse of campaign funds. They are different cases, yet related.

The thrust of both the Powell and the Dodd cases is that they point up the need for a Code of Official Conduct in Congress.

Let me say at this point that the House of Representatives is well on its way toward establishing a Select Committee on Official Conduct--and it was primarily Republican pressure that brought it about. We called for establishment of an ethics watchdog committee in our Republican State of the Union Message on January 19, and the House Republican Policy Committee promptly endorsed it. This relates to the Powell case.

Republicans have been pressing since last year for an Election Reform Law. At this point, I am forced to say that our insistence on Election Law Reform has been vocal and persistent, unlike that of President Johnson. We are determined to clean up campaign fund-raising and destroy all the evils that spring from such organizations as the Thousand-Dollar President's Club.



It is interesting to recall that President Johnson took Senator Dodd with him when he flew to the Democratic convention in 1964--to mislead the press into thinking he had tapped Dodd and not Hubert Humphrey as his running mate.

Republicans are determined to close the Ethics Gap. We are also bent on winning the war against crime.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for law and order. We are reaping the whirlwind--the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline in the public schools, a shortage of dedicated teachers, evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey those laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence and rebellion.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called atmosphere.

It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime. I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a multitude of weapons. We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best as we can the pattern of the criminal repeater.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. Let us examine court decisions on questioning of suspects and permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and draw a line which helps our law enforcement officials without interfering with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens



but make this tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime. The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against professional criminals. Law enforcement agencies must have more power if they are to deal effectively with organized crime.

We have talked of the two major parties in their approaches to the Ethics Gap in Congress and the Morality Gap that divides the Nation. Let us speak now of Vietnam.

What is the role of the opposition on Vietnam? With few exceptions, Republicans support the President in his present course—his view that only unrelenting military pressure will cause the enemy to talk peace. Meantime, Republicans are deeply disturbed about the split in the Democratic Party over the bombing of North Vietnam, the proposals that there be a unilateral halt in the bombing. I cannot see how any member of Congress who has seen photos of men and supplies moving from North to South Vietnam during the Tet New Year's truce can possibly favor an unconditional unilateral halt in the bombing. I am convinced that those New Year's reinforcements resulted in hundreds of American and South Vietnamese deaths.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But, I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this nation effectively in war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism of the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President but only to push for an early end to the war with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism, but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as



easy to see as deBergerac's nose that the enemy has more time to build up strength and to plan counter moves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to a settlement in Vietnam is to maintain steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while a government with a popular support emerges in South Vietnam. The solution in Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or a semblance of peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measure aimed at the creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

In foreign and domestic policy, the role of the opposition in Congress is essentially that of watchdog. We owe it to the American people to keep tabs on the other party and to blow the whistle on mistakes or malfeasance.

The best vehicle for political watchdog activity is present in the British system—an investigative committee run by the minority. Republicans have urged such a committee be established in the U.S. House of Representatives but we are not holding our breaths while it happens.

How many Americans think about the fact that the Federal government is deeply in deficit and has been for six full fiscal years? How many know that interest on the Federal debt now runs \$14 billion a year, the second largest single item in the Federal budget? How many Americans realize that the deficit in the fiscal 1968 budget probably will run to \$15 billion or more and that if the present economic downturn deepens into a recession the deficit will be even more mountainous?

The huge deficits we now are facing point up the choice the opposition



party offers the voters as we approach 1968.

Republicans believe in progress at a pace the people can afford. We believe that if Federal spending runs wild, this weakens the foundations of our economy. The President is asking for higher taxes. We believe non-essential Federal spending should be cut.

A basic difference between the two parties is that the Democratic Party prescribes a Federal pill for every ill. The Republican Party would shift more problem-solving responsibility to state and local governments and to the private sector.

The Republican Party is concerned that the other party's philosophy of "tax and tax, spend and spend" destroys individual incentive by siphoning off too much of the people's income in higher taxes.

While the Democratic Party advances proposals that rely primarily on Federal money, Federal power and Federal control, the Republican Party proposes Federal tax-sharing to aid the cities and states, tax credits as incentives for a massive nationwide cleanup of our air and water, tax credits for tuition and other colleges expenses to /make this a nation of college students, tax credits to industry to launch a nationwide on-the-job training program as an assault on hard-core unemployment.

Incentives, not red tape and excessive Federal power. That's the way of the opposition party. We believe there should be large-scale business involvement in the solving of our social ills.

At the outset I spoke of a morality issue that will transcend all else in 1968.

In the final analysis, this translates itself into a question of confidence in the present Administration. Noted news commentator, Walter Lippmann, is among those who point to a credibility gap in the country today. Lippmann says it is "the result of a deliberate policy of artificial manipulation of official news." As a consequence, Lippmann says the public simply refuses to accept at face value what the Federal government says and does.

Is it any wonder that our young people today ask...Who and what can we believe?



This--the Credibility Gap--poses an intolerable situation, whatever its cause. I believe it springs from this Administration's search for consensus, its abhorrence of dissent, its attempt to foist a kind of absolutism on the American people...a kind of benevolent despotism.

At a recent press conference, President Johnson spoke of the Republican opposition in the same breath with his adversaries overseas. I really do not believe the Loyal Opposition is that formidable.

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing--and then act on the evidence.

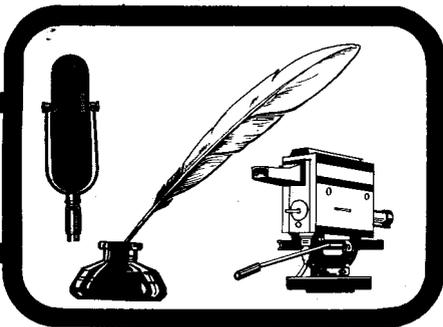
As Edmund Burke said: "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, who told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

This I ask--that the voters of this Nation be attentive to their first and foremost task--to see that government in America is the servant and not the master of the people.

#####





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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

Excerpts from an Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., at Colgate University  
For Release on Delivery at 8 p.m. Sunday, April 9, 1967, at Hamilton, N.Y.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for the Rule of Law. We are reaping a whirlwind--the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline in the public schools and a shortage of dedicated teachers, evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey those laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence and rebellion.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called national atmosphere. It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime.

I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a variety of weapons.

We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also greatly strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of criminal repeaters.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. We must be deeply concerned with individual rights. But let us examine court decisions on the questioning of suspects and the permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and then draw a line which aids our law enforcement officials without interfering with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime.



The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against professional criminals.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this Nation effectively in time of war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism by the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President only to push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as easy to see as the nose on DeBergerac's face that the enemy has more time to build up his strength and to plan countermoves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to peace in Vietnam is to keep steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while helping a government with popular support to emerge in South Vietnam. The ultimate solution in South Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or lasting peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

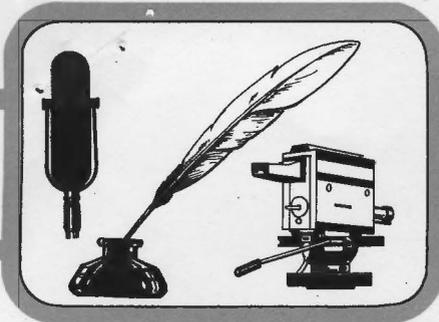
\* \* \*

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing --and then act on the evidence.

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic president. Woodrow Wilson told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

#####

*not distributed outside Colgate*



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

Excerpts from an Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., at Colgate University  
For Release on Delivery at 8 p.m. Sunday, April 9, 1967, at Hamilton, N.Y.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for the Rule of Law. We are reaping a whirlwind--the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline in the public schools and a shortage of dedicated teachers, evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey those laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence and rebellion.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called national atmosphere. It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime.

I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a variety of weapons.

We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also greatly strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of criminal repeaters.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. We must be deeply concerned with individual rights. But let us examine court decisions on the questioning of suspects and the permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and then draw a line which aids our law enforcement officials without interfering with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime.



The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against professional criminals.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this Nation effectively in time of war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism by the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President only to push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as easy to see as the nose on DeBergerac's face that the enemy has more time to build up his strength and to plan countermoves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to peace in Vietnam is to keep steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while helping a government with popular support to emerge in South Vietnam. The ultimate solution in South Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or lasting peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

\* \* \*

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing --and then act on the evidence.

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic president. Woodrow Wilson told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

#####

*cut*

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

Excerpts from an Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., at Colgate University  
For Release on Delivery at 8 p.m. Sunday, April 9, 1967, at Hamilton, N.Y.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for the Rule of Law. We are reaping a whirlwind--the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline <sup>in the public schools</sup> and a shortage of <sup>dedicated</sup> teachers, ~~in the schools~~ evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey <sup>those</sup> laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence <sup>and</sup> rebellion ~~and anarchy~~.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is <sup>definitely</sup> intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, <sup>that</sup> intangible called national atmosphere. It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime.

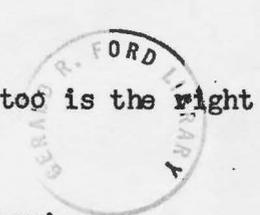
I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts ~~and~~ and with a variety of weapons. ~~and~~

We in the ~~the~~ Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must ~~we~~ make the latest and best information on crime detection ~~and~~ tactics and techniques ~~is~~ available to them. We must also ~~we~~ greatly strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of criminal repeaters.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. We must be deeply concerned with individual rights. But let us examine court decisions on the questioning of suspects and the permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and then draw a line which aids our law enforcement officials without interfering ~~the~~ with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and ~~and~~ eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this ~~law enforcement~~ tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime.

The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected <sup>professional</sup> against criminals.



I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this Nation effectively in time of war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism by the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President only to push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism but we have not sought military victory or ~~max~~ unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would purse a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as easy to see as the nose on DeBergerac's face that the enemy has more time to build up his strength and to plan countermoves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to peace in Vietnam is to keep steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while helping a government with popular support to emerge in South Vietnam. The ultimate solution in South ~~the~~ Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or ~~lasting peace~~ lasting peace in Vietnam.

The ~~the~~ best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be ~~supported~~ supported by effective ~~political~~ political and economic measures aimed at creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South ~~the~~ Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

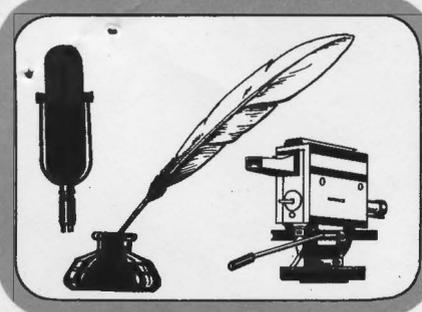
\* \* \*

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing--and then act on the evidence.

If, as the figures indicate, ~~there is~~ a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic president. Woodrow Wilson told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

#####

*Distribution: 20 sent w/ Mr. Ford ONLY*



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

Excerpts from an Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., at Colgate University  
For Release on Delivery at 8 p.m. Sunday, April 9, 1967, at Hamilton, N.Y.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for the Rule of Law. We are reaping a whirlwind--the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline in the public schools and a shortage of dedicated teachers, evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey those laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence and rebellion.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called national atmosphere. It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime.

I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a variety of weapons.

We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also greatly strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of criminal repeaters.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. We must be deeply concerned with individual rights. But let us examine court decisions on the questioning of suspects and the permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and then draw a line which aids our law enforcement officials without interfering with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime.



The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against professional criminals.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this Nation effectively in time of war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism by the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President only to push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as easy to see as the nose on DeBergerac's face that the enemy has more time to build up his strength and to plan countermoves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to peace in Vietnam is to keep steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while helping a government with popular support to emerge in South Vietnam. The ultimate solution in South Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or lasting peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

\* \* \*

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing --and then act on the evidence.

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic president. Woodrow Wilson told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

#####