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EXCERPTS

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THE REPUBLICAN VIEW OF
THE STATE OF THE UNION

JANUARY 23, 1968

Statement of General Dwight D. Eisenhower

You and I - all of us - enjoy a precious privilege, that of living under the greatest self-governing society known to history.

To establish and sustain that society which guarantees to every citizen equal rights before the law, our Founding Fathers and intervening generations have fought hard in office. We are the beneficiaries of their work and sacrifices. A solemn obligation rests upon us today to do no less in our time. Not merely for ourselves but for our children and for the cause of human liberty on the earth. Under our two-party method of Government, it is essential that members of the Party not in power become convinced that new measures and directions are required to preserve and strengthen our free system. The reasons for their convictions should be made known to their fellow citizens. Tonight some of your elected Representatives in the Congress are presenting to you their views. We of the Republican Party welcome your thoughtful attention as these views are laid before you. We know that these are critical times for our beloved country - as critical as any I have known in my lifetime. The thought, the hard work, the dedication of every citizen are now required if we are to hold true to the ideals of human dignity and liberty that have meant so much to America and to the world.

Senator Kuchel

A new attitude, new vigor, new direction, new confidence, are now required if this nation is to stem its headlong descent from a role of leadership held so long in the world.

In this 20th Century free peoples have looked to America in their struggle for human liberty. Dwight Eisenhower brought like-minded nations together for collective security. It remains the world's best hope for just and enduring peace. But now our government clearly lacks the ability to rally our allies.

In Western Europe, despite a remarkable economic rebirth, there is growing distrust. The British pound shrinks, the shadows of the British Empire fade, and Britain herself is shut out from the Common Market by France, her one-time ally.

The integrity of the American dollar, continues under foreign assault. We must put our house in order. What has happened to the British pound must not happen to the American dollar.

In the Middle East, the Soviet Union has moved into the Mediterranean, and threatens to open a new front in the cold war -- playing off America's friendship to Israel against the vengeance of Arab extremists.

In Latin America, the high promise of the Alliance For Progress remains unfulfilled. Even the historic concept of freedom of the seas has been allowed to become a mockery off the Pacific Coast of Latin America.

History may yet record the Vietnam conflict as the most tragic and costly within memory. The Administration has failed to make clear our goals to friend and foe alike. It has not been candid with the American people in facing up to the complex and difficult road which lies ahead.

The nation searches for principles to guide us:

We must face the realities and accept them.

We must not be wed to past mistakes.

We must not debase our diplomacy with pledges we cannot keep.

We must never throw away what our men have fought to win.

We must rekindle the spirit of mutual trust among free peoples - mindful that America must not go it alone.

The American people yearn for a change. Our party intends to give it to them.

Congressman Ford - Opening Statement

1968 is no ordinary year.

The State of the Union is serious business.

The President came before Congress last week.

The Nation was anxious and waiting for his words.

Never were Americans hoping harder for someone to call them to action.

People all across this nation are deeply disturbed, concerned about what's going on, right here at home. I've listened to them -- we all have -- and every day I'm moved by the simple eloquence of their letters --- their unashamed love for America.

Doesn't the President listen to any of these people?

They've seen raging violence, bloodshed, destruction and death right on their own doorsteps -- their homes and stores ablaze and looted -- tanks and paratroopers -- not on faraway battlefields but rolling through once quiet neighborhoods and blasting snipers from roofs and office windows.

And the President could only tell us he detects "a questioning" and "A certain restlessness" among his countrymen.

We can speak far plainer than that!

Riots, murder and robbery -- is that just "restlessness?"

Deepening disbelief in our nation's policies, doubts about our most sacred institutions and traditions, concern over the credibility of our government's word -- the worth of our government's dollar -- do you call that "questioning?"

The President's only explanation was, "When a great ship cuts through the sea, the waters are always stirred and troubled."

Apparently the President has been standing on the stern -- looking backward at the broiling wake -- wondering which of his officers to dump overboard next!

(more)

The Ship of State is wallowing in a storm-tossed sea, drifting toward the rocks of domestic disaster, beaten by the waves of worldwide fiscal crisis that threaten shipwreck.

The Captain should return to the bridge.

We need a Captain who will seize the helm -- call up full power -- break out new charts -- hold our course steadfast and bring us through the storm.

We need a Captain who inspires his crew to heroic endeavor.

We need a Captain with courage to clear the deck -- jettison the deadweight -- a Captain who learned his seamanship beyond the Potomac and the Pedernales.

It is no time to signal S.O.S. or Abandon Ship.

It's time for all hands to man their battle stations.

This great Ship of State has weathered many a terrible storm.

We will NOT strike our colors now.

We have just BEGUN TO FIGHT!!!

We offer responsible and responsive leadership that looks for support to the worth and will of all our people, that turns from the tired theories and proven failures of the past to the realities of the present and presses forward on better ways to a brighter future.

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CONGRESSMAN STEIGER

It is an honor to appear on this program with former President Eisenhower. The return of the integrity he brought to public service and the conduct of national affairs is our goal.

Last week President Johnson tried to tell us we're really troubled because of too rapid progress.

I disagree. The reasons are deeper. There is more than surface unrest. The cause is not progress but years of over-promise and under-performance.

In 1966 I was one of 47 new Republican Congressmen who came here because Americans wanted a change and wanted new ways of solving old problems. While still a minority in Congress, we have tried to carry out your mandate for change.

We began by pressing for a permanent ethics committee in the House of Representatives. We were successful and intend to push for the high standards of conduct that you demand.

We came to Congress committed to make our government more responsive and more responsible. We have reinforced our Republican Leadership in fighting to reform the legislative branch of government. Congress must be modernized to serve you better. And that legislation is now awaiting House action.

We need a Clean Elections Law that will guarantee that you'll know what's been going on behind the scenes before you vote. And that law must be on the books for the 1968 elections.

These and other measures can help restore the faith of the American people in their government.

Americans are impatient with mediocrity. So am I. Americans are not content to sit back and watch morality become a joke or responsibility become a plaything for politicians. Nor are we willing to watch politicians build a so-called great society of big government and little people. Our purpose is a great people.

We must pioneer in government as we have pioneered in technology. America's creative talent can and must provide a government equal to our challenges and worthy of our dreams.

We must view tomorrow's promises through yesterday's performance. And yesterday's performance is not enough.



Hugh Scott

One of the greatest dangers to world peace is ticking away in the Middle East. The President's State of the Union Message was vague about U. S. efforts in that vital area of the world -- because the Johnson Administration's policies are vague.

The Soviet Union relishes that kind of situation.

Last year, the Soviets goaded the Arab states into a military showdown with Israel. While the United States stood aloof, the Israelis fought a brilliant war and beat both the Arab armies and their expensive Soviet weapons.

The Soviet Union is pouring modern tools of war into a Middle East buzzing with these new Soviet jet fighters and bombers.

As the Soviets rush in to become the major force in the Middle East, with a policy of turbulence, what is United States policy? No one seems to know.

The U. S. is doing nothing to convince the Soviets of the grievous world danger in this arms race. Yet continuing sales of Soviet arms to Arab countries force Israel to find deterrent weapons.

Where is the initiative of the Johnson Administration to get Arabs and Israelis to the same peace table and preferably through direct talks?

The greatest insurance against Soviet domination of the Middle East is a strong Israel, living at peace with its Arab neighbors.

Peace in the Middle East and survival of gallant Israel depends upon a firm and clear American policy.

SENATOR PERCY

Tonight most of us will go to bed in a decent home. For some Americans though, a decent home of their own remains only a dream.

Our cities are beset with harsh living conditions, ranging from traffic congestion to air pollution. But the most critical urban crisis is housing.

The public housing record is not good. Urban renewal has demolished more houses than public housing has constructed. Too often, public housing has only served to crowd thousands of poor families together in high rise ghettos. These have become the vertical slums of our cities.

To help all Americans to own their own home, we support a National Home Ownership Opportunity Act. This Act would allow a new home owner to work on his own house, and have his labor contribute to his down payment.

The Act would combine the resources of government and private industry by drawing upon private expertise to assist low income families in building or rehabilitating homes.

It would also allow the government to financially assist low income families who cannot pay commercial interest rates.

There is a great opportunity here for government and private industry to work together in the good of the country. As the Homestead Act opened the West, this could be the 20th Century Homestead Act, helping to remake the face of our cities.

SENATOR PERCY (2nd Pge.)

Low income families deserve our help while striving to own their home. This nation requires a realistic housing program, not more false promises. We must begin to offer to the slum dweller the hope that he as an individual can succeed.

CONGRESSMAN QUIE

The cities are boiling with frustration. Frustration can be a man without a good job. We need an immediate program to provide hundreds of thousands of jobs in private enterprise. That's the only way we can provide jobs fast enough to cool the seething cities.

Yet the Johnson Administration has opposed every Republican effort to involve private enterprise in the poverty program. They've been long on promises -- short on performance. Now, at long last, the President is beginning to talk about jobs for the poor in private enterprise. He'll be talking more about private industry doing the job his poverty war just has not done.

To the President who has been opposing our approach for four long years, and now says he will do it our way, we have this challenge.

We challenge you to support our Human Investment Act, that would encourage business and industry to train under-employed men and women. We challenge you to support an Industry Youth Corps, not just government youth corps. Support our call for voluntary boards of businessmen in every city across the country to mobilize the community to help the poor get off welfare rolls.

Do not pour more money into old programs that don't work. Do provide training for jobs that are waiting to be filled. Use poverty dollars wisely to involve the poor in helping themselves, not to feed bureaucracy or city hall patronage.

Many of the prisoners of poverty can learn to earn. These Americans need their hopes fulfilled. This country must launch a new crusade for human renewal.

Words and more words are not enough, Mr. President.

CONGRESSMAN POFF

The first duty of government is to maintain law and order. The peace and tranquility guaranteed by the Constitution must be restored.

No nation in history has been able to survive the collapse of its moral structure and the anarchy and lawlessness that follow.

Look at the situation confronting us today.

Murder is epidemic. Rape is commonplace--Burglary happens so often it is no longer news. Pornography, filth and dope are peddled on nearly every street corner. Crime has grown six times as fast as the population.

Despite the urgent warnings of F.B.I. Director Hoover and law enforcement officers everywhere, the Johnson Administration has failed to take effective action. The Attorney General has banned the use of modern investigative techniques. The soaring increase in crime has been called just "a little bit" of an increase.

The recent statements of President Johnson that reflect a new awareness, some hardening of purpose, are welcome.

State and local law enforcement officers must have help, but without Federal domination and control. Our Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act that passed the House last year provides such assistance.

We must escalate the War against Crime so that all citizens, regardless of color, will be safe in their home, at their places of business and on the streets.

The American people want the "enforcement" put back into law enforcement.

Senator Robert P. Griffin

If a single thread runs through Republican thinking, it is an abiding faith in the individual.

Over the years, Republicans have stood up -- not only for the public interest and for the right of workers to join unions -- but also to make sure that the individual union member is not relegated to second-class citizenship.

Today, American workers are deeply concerned as they see the collective bargaining process breaking down...as they see strike losses increasing by 96% under the Johnson Administration.

They're not satisfied with an NLRB that distorts the law. And they believe their union dues ought to be used strictly for union business -- not for politics.

Back in 1966, President Johnson pledged that he would propose and press the Democratic-controlled Congress for certain reforms, pointing particularly to the need for better legal machinery to help in settling strikes.

Needless to say, 1966 has passed. 1967 has come and gone. And America listened carefully to the State of the Union message last week. But, although paralyzing strike after strike has emphasized the problem, President Johnson still has not delivered on that 1966 pledge.

In this troubled area, our Nation desperately needs leadership -- new leadership with vision and courage to stand up for the public interest and the rights of the individual worker.

After winning that Senate race in Michigan not so long ago, I'm more convinced than ever that millions of American workers -- who refuse to take political marching-orders from anyone -- are eager to support that new leadership next November.

CONGRESSMAN BUSH

We hear a great deal today about a tax increase. A tax increase to halt inflation, a tax increase to check the outflow of gold, a tax increase to restore confidence in the dollar. Republicans respond that before we consider a tax increase we must get our own fiscal house in order.

The nation faces this year -- as it did last -- a tremendous deficit in the Federal budget. But in the President's message there was no sense of sacrifice, no assignment of priorities, no hint of the need to put first things first.

This reckless policy has imposed the cruel tax of rising prices on the people, pushed interest rates to their highest levels in 100 years, sharply reduced the rate of real economic growth, and saddled every man, woman and child in this country with the largest tax burden in our history.

And what does the President say? He says we must pay still more taxes and he proposes drastic restrictions on the rights of Americans to invest and travel abroad. This is a bankrupt policy.

If the President wants to control inflation, he's got to cut back on Federal spending. The very best antidote to inflation is cutting back on spending. The best way to stop the gold drain is to live within our means here at home.

We pledge ourselves to find solutions to America's most urgent problems in health, housing, education, jobs and security. But we shall never sacrifice the American people on a golden altar of economic expediency.

Mrs. May:

The President said a lot about protecting the consumer in his State of the Union Message the other night. But he did fail to tell us about the protection we need most of all -- effective protection from rising prices.

Now if there is anyone who knows just how fast prices are rising, it is those of us who work in the kitchen and shop in the grocery store, and when the people running our government tell us that a little rise in prices is a good thing, we say: Maybe so, but you're carrying a good thing too far!

With skyrocketing prices and increasing taxes, it is little wonder American workers want more take-home pay to keep pace with their cost-of-living. And now we even see the threat of wage controls.

This must stop. The American family has to balance its budget and the President can do more to get things back in balance in his budget.

You don't have to be an economist or a big government planner to know that rising prices, the biggest threat to every family, stem from unsound government policies.

I think I speak for American women -- and men too -- when I call upon the President to stop wasting our money and make it worth something again.

Bob Mathias:

I have faced some high hurdles in my time. But, you know, they're nothing compared to the hurdles facing the American farmer today.

I know this because I represent a farm area and I hear from them every day. The Johnson Administration, by deliberate policies such as the dumping of grain reserves, has pushed farm income down. This has left the farmer with an ever-declining share of America's food dollar.

Government trade policies have destroyed historic markets and encouraged imports.

In spite of misdirected and self-defeating Federal programs, the energy and ingenuity of the American farmer have outpaced the tremendous growth of our population. They've fed millions of hungry people around the world. Our farmers must have the opportunity to run their own farms with minimum government interference and to join together to negotiate for better farm prices. The most productive people in our economy, the American farmers, took a pay cut of a billion and a half dollars in 1967, and the situation is getting worse. Farm prices stood at 74% of parity last year, the lowest level since 1933.

In the face of these shocking failures, the Administration and the Secretary of Agriculture are determined to make their controls a permanent part of the farm scene. Their programs are geared to the tired theories of the 30's, not to the challenge of the 70's.

Every time the Johnson Administration comes up with a new farm program, the farmers pay more and get less. We think it's time for a change . . . and so does the American farmer.

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Mel Laird:

Republicans believe there are better ways for Americans to do things than the way of the great planned society. President Johnson's solution is to pile program upon program, regulated, administered, and directed from Washington.

Republicans would instead establish revenue sharing with our states and localities to return a percentage of Federal income taxes with no strings attached. We would consolidate the hundreds of existing programs into block grants that would be both more flexible and more effective in getting the job done. And we would provide tax credits both for state and local taxes paid and for such special purposes as education and job training.

Our problems can only be solved if all levels of our society -- governmental and private -- pull together in a true partnership. This means that we have to strengthen states and localities, not weaken them. The job is not being done today because local and state officials don't have the money. They have the ability . . . and the knowledge . . . but they lack the resources because the Federal tax collector has gobbled them up.

Republicans have faith in our Governors and State Legislators. We believe in our Mayors and school board members. We think you can trust them to do what is right for the people and the community they serve. When they don't, we have faith that the people will replace them with office holders who will. That is what our representative government is all about.

Revenue sharing, together with block grants and tax credits, would restore true Federalism in America. It would give control back to the people, provide the tools for programs that work, arrest the drift of power to Washington, and preserve the fundamental freedoms of the American people.

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Howard H. Baker, Jr.

During the past few minutes, we have heard of domestic chaos in America. But you see, in this nuclear age our concern can be no less for the bewildering array of confusion and chaos abroad. Whether we speak of Vietnam or Cuba, West Berlin or Latin America, the Middle East or Africa, there is a common theme: America is forfeiting its leadership. The credibility of our intentions, our will, our economic solvency is being questioned. Not since the Civil War has the United States been so divided. Never has American prestige abroad fallen so low.

We find NATO in shambles and summarily evicted from France. We find the seeds of world war sown in the strife-torn Middle East; a restless giant in Latin America is just beginning to arouse, as are the emerging Nations of Africa. Asia is measuring the will and wisdom of the American posture.

As the free world loses faith in our leadership, it is also losing hope that we have the will to order our own house. Thus, the international and the domestic problems merge, as Nations rush to convert dollars to gold. And what must we do?

We must have bold unifying leadership. We must establish credibility for the humane motives of America and its will to resist aggression. We must restore confidence in the American economy, before it is too late. We must help those who are willing to help themselves, not with just handouts which so often produce bitterness and resentment but with dignity and grace and respect. We must lay aside the tired old techniques of the past and stand ready to innovate, to use our vast nuclear technology to produce fresh water from sea water, to produce abundant food supplies and energy, employed to promote cooperation instead of conflict. We must be as concerned with preventing another Vietnam as we are with bringing this one to an honorable conclusion.

(more)

There must be a new direction, new leadership, credible and sound. And to secure these ends we pledge ourselves, singly and in bi-partisan effort, now and in the future.

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Senator Peter H. Dominick

The peace of the Free World depends largely on American strength -- economic, moral and military strength.

The right to wake up unafraid is every American's heritage, secure in the knowledge that this country is too strong to attack. There can be no partisan politics in our efforts to maintain this goal. It is too important to mankind. But let's look at the record.

We are told of bomb shortages, automatic rifle malfunctions and lack of proper jungle gear. We have no new fighter aircraft and the TFX is still a question mark. 16" naval fire power from battleships have been literally kept in moth balls, and repeated Congressional efforts to obtain an anti-missile system have been summarily thrust aside until this year.

In the meanwhile, the Red Chinese have been steadily expanding their nuclear capability. The Soviets have surpassed us in deliverable nuclear megatonage and they have developed a fractional orbiting nuclear bomb and six new fighter-bomber aircraft systems. They have the largest submarine fleet in the world and they are well on their way toward completion of an anti-missile system.

We are menaced now -- not tomorrow or next year or the next decade, but now. The overwhelming strategic superiority developed under President Eisenhower has rapidly dissipated. This Administration has developed a strange new doctrine -- that Soviet strategic equality is better than American supremacy.

That dangerous doctrine must be reversed while there is still time. Peace, with freedom, is inseparable from American strength. Let's keep it.

Congressman Gerald Ford

What you've seen is a picture of our party, how we look, what we think, how we feel and why we believe there must be better ways to run our country.

Only by facing facts can we, as one nation and one people, move forward to forge in our time a more perfect Union.

It seems strange not to have Senator Dirksen by my side. We've missed him tonight and want him back soon.

We have told the truth as we see it about the State of the Union.

We're proud of our party and its leaders from Abraham Lincoln to General Eisenhower. We're proud of legislators like those you've just seen -- of our 26 great governors and the young men and women coming up and taking charge.

Two-party competition made America great and keeps it free. When stakes are high and problems grave, we need more airing of the issues -- not less.

We, the most powerful nation and people in history, toss and turn with the tides of discontent, seethe with the injustices of hope denied, grope with the burdens of a war unwon.

In the year just passed we have watched our cities erupt and our savings erode.

But Americans are neither quitters nor losers.

We can take the hard truth, make the hard choices, and put our country's future first.

Physical power and spiritual strength we have. Great leadership we shall find.

Now we must fight together -- not fight each other. And we, each one of us, must look deep into his conscience, searching to establish what is truly American, hoping to find a new America that unites the dreams and serves the needs of all of us.

This generation of Americans, and the next and the next, will once again establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty.

We will not be distracted by the shrill discords of the spoilers.

We will not be diverted by the doom's day fantasies of the fearful.

Let us instead hear this: "Be strong and of a good courage, be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee."

We will go forward with high hearts and ready hands for the hard work ahead.



Senator Tower

I'm here tonight to tell you where we believe the great majority of Americans stand on Vietnam.

First and foremost we stand for the all-out support of our half-million fighting men and women -- material support and moral support.

We stand for military success in Vietnam that will enable the Vietnamese to rebuild a free nation.

We stand for an era of peace and stability that will embrace all of Southeast Asia.

We stand for the effective utilization of America's vast air and sea superiority.

We stand for quarantine of the enemy's supply lines so that he can no longer fight.

We stand for firm resistance to naked Communist aggression in Vietnam as we did in Greece, Berlin, Korea and Cuba. We also stand for the complete protection of American ships in international waters.

We note that in the last few months the Johnson Administration has been vigorously prosecuting the war in Vietnam. But, we also note that for far too long it followed a self-defeating policy of "gradualism."

That "gradualism" policy caused us to pull our punches; it prolonged the fighting; it cost American lives unnecessarily. This war could be over today if the Johnson Administration had acted with determination instead of with vacillation.

It is no wonder that the communist enemy is confused about American intentions and doubts American determination. The Administration's ping-pong pronouncements have left even Americans confused.

Throughout this century Republican Administrations have understood how to maintain world peace. Today, we understand what peace demands.

The nation suffers from a "peace gap" which we are determined to close.

Congresswoman Charlotte T. Reid

Yes, I am a mother. Two of my four children are sons -- one of whom served four years in the Marine Corps and the other left for Vietnam just last week. I believe that not only all parents, but all thinking Americans, are as deeply distressed as I am by complacency, disunity, and protest here at home.

There are many problems which threaten our American way of life -- crime, disrespect for law and order -- but particularly the war. Our men in Vietnam are fighting to insure the freedom and happiness of all of us -- of our children and, indeed, our grandchildren, too.

So -- we must impose on ourselves the kind of discipline we impose on our soldier sons. While we have American troops in Vietnam, we must be certain that they have our wholehearted support. We must be certain that the Johnson Administration knows what it is trying to do in Vietnam and that it knows how to do it. Above all, there must be no false promises.

More than 16,000 families have learned the final, terrible price of freedom. Yet, the casualty lists continue to rise. We must be certain that the lives which have been lost will not have been sacrificed in vain.

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JANUARY 23, 1968

Also in C.R.

Jan 24 - p. S, 366 ff

Jan 30 - p. H548 ff.



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To establish and sustain that society which guarantees to every citizen equal rights before the law, our Founding Fathers and intervening generations have fought hard in office. We are the beneficiaries of their work and sacrifices. A solemn obligation rests upon us today to do no less in our time. Not merely for ourselves but for our children and for the cause of human liberty on the earth. Under our two-party method of Government, it is essential that members of the Party not in power become convinced that new measures and directions are required to preserve and strengthen our free system. The reasons for their convictions should be made known to their fellow citizens. Tonight some of your elected Representatives in the Congress are presenting to you their views. We of the Republican Party welcome your thoughtful attention as these views are laid before you. We know that these are critical times for our beloved country - as critical as any I have known in my lifetime. The thought, the hard work, the dedication of every citizen are now required if we are to hold true to the ideals of human dignity and liberty that have meant so much to America and to the world.

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It is an honor to appear on this program with former President Eisenhower. The return of the integrity he brought to public service and the conduct of national affairs is our goal.

Last week President Johnson tried to tell us we're really troubled because of too rapid progress.

I disagree. The reasons are deeper. There is more than surface unrest. The cause is not progress but years of over-promise and under-performance.

In 1966 I was one of 47 new Republican Congressmen who came here because Americans wanted a change and wanted new ways of solving old problems. While still a minority in Congress, we have tried to carry out your mandate for change.

We began by pressing for a permanent ethics committee in the House of Representatives. We were successful and intend to push for the high standards of conduct that you demand.

We came to Congress committed to make our government more responsive and more responsible. We have reinforced our Republican Leadership in fighting to reform the legislative branch of government. Congress must be modernized to serve you better. And that legislation is now awaiting House action.

We need a Clean Elections Law that will guarantee that you'll know what's been going on behind the scenes before you vote. And that law must be on the books for the 1968 elections.

These and other measures can help restore the faith of the American people in their government.

Americans are impatient with mediocrity. So am I. Americans are not content to sit back and watch morality become a joke or responsibility become a plaything for politicians. Nor are we willing to watch politicians build a so-called great society of big government and little people. Our purpose is a great people.

We must pioneer in government as we have pioneered in technology. America's creative talent can and must provide a government equal to our challenges and worthy of our dreams.

We must view tomorrow's promises through yesterday's performance. And yesterday's performance is not enough.

SENATOR PERCY

Tonight most of us will go to bed in a decent home. For some Americans though, a decent home of their own remains only a dream.

Our cities are beset with harsh living conditions, ranging from traffic congestion to air pollution. But the most critical urban crisis is housing.

The public housing record is not good. Urban renewal has demolished more houses than public housing has constructed. Too often, public housing has only served to crowd thousands of poor families together in high rise ghettos. These have become the vertical slums of our cities.

To help all Americans to own their own home, we support a National Home Ownership Opportunity Act. This Act would allow a new home owner to work on his own house, and have his labor contribute to his down payment.

The Act would combine the resources of government and private industry by drawing upon private expertise to assist low income families in building or rehabilitating homes.

It would also allow the government to financially assist low income families who cannot pay commercial interest rates.

There is a great opportunity here for government and private industry to work together in the good of the country. As the Homestead Act opened the West, this could be the 20th Century Homestead Act, helping to remake the face of our cities.

SENATOR PERCY (2nd Pge.)

Low income families deserve our help while striving to own their home. This nation requires a realistic housing program, not more false promises. We must begin to offer to the slum dweller the hope that he as an individual can succeed.

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The cities are boiling with frustration. Frustration can be a man without a good job. We need an immediate program to provide hundreds of thousands of jobs in private enterprise. That's the only way we can provide jobs fast enough to cool the seething cities.

Yet the Johnson Administration has opposed every Republican effort to involve private enterprise in the poverty program. They've been long on promises -- short on performance. Now, at long last, the President is beginning to talk about jobs for the poor in private enterprise. He'll be talking more about private industry doing the job his poverty war just has not done.

To the President who has been opposing our approach for four long years, and now says he will do it our way, we have this challenge.

We challenge you to support our Human Investment Act, that would encourage business and industry to train under-employed men and women. We challenge you to support an Industry Youth Corps, not just government youth corps. Support our call for voluntary boards of businessmen in every city across the country to mobilize the community to help the poor get off welfare rolls.

Do not pour more money into old programs that don't work. Do provide training for jobs that are waiting to be filled. Use poverty dollars wisely to involve the poor in helping themselves, not to feed bureaucracy or city hall patronage.

Many of the prisoners of poverty can learn to earn. These Americans need their hopes fulfilled. This country must launch a new crusade for human renewal.

Words and more words are not enough, Mr. President.

CONGRESSMAN POFF

The first duty of government is to maintain law and order. The peace and tranquility guaranteed by the Constitution must be restored.

No nation in history has been able to survive the collapse of its moral structure and the anarchy and lawlessness that follow.

Look at the situation confronting us today.

Murder is epidemic. Rape is commonplace--Burglary happens so often it is no longer news. Pornography, filth and dope are peddled on nearly every street corner. Crime has grown six times as fast as the population.

Despite the urgent warnings of F.B.I. Director Hoover and law enforcement officers everywhere, the Johnson Administration has failed to take effective action. The Attorney General has banned the use of modern investigative techniques. The soaring increase in crime has been called just "a little bit" of an increase.

The recent statements of President Johnson that reflect a new awareness, some hardening of purpose, are welcome.

State and local law enforcement officers must have help, but without Federal domination and control. Our Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act that passed the House last year provides such assistance.

We must escalate the War against Crime so that all citizens, regardless of color, will be safe in their home, at their places of business and on the streets.

The American people want the "enforcement" put back into law enforcement.

Senator Robert P. Griffin

If a single thread runs through Republican thinking, it is an abiding faith in the individual.

Over the years, Republicans have stood up -- not only for the public interest and for the right of workers to join unions -- but also to make sure that the individual union member is not relegated to second-class citizenship.

Today, American workers are deeply concerned as they see the collective bargaining process breaking down...as they see strike losses increasing by 96% under the Johnson Administration.

They're not satisfied with an NLRB that distorts the law. And they believe their union dues ought to be used strictly for union business -- not for politics.

Back in 1966, President Johnson pledged that he would propose and press the Democratic-controlled Congress for certain reforms, pointing particularly to the need for better legal machinery to help in settling strikes.

Needless to say, 1966 has passed. 1967 has come and gone. And America listened carefully to the State of the Union message last week. But, although paralyzing strike after strike has emphasized the problem, President Johnson still has not delivered on that 1966 pledge.

In this troubled area, our Nation desperately needs leadership -- new leadership with vision and courage to stand up for the public interest and the rights of the individual worker.

After winning that Senate race in Michigan not so long ago, I'm more convinced than ever that millions of American workers -- who refuse to take political marching-orders from anyone -- are eager to support that new leadership next November.

CONGRESSMAN BUSH

We hear a great deal today about a tax increase. A tax increase to halt inflation, a tax increase to check the outflow of gold, a tax increase to restore confidence in the dollar. Republicans respond that before we consider a tax increase we must get our own fiscal house in order.

The nation faces this year -- as it did last -- a tremendous deficit in the Federal budget. But in the President's message there was no sense of sacrifice, no assignment of priorities, no hint of the need to put first things first.

This reckless policy has imposed the cruel tax of rising prices on the people, pushed interest rates to their highest levels in 100 years, sharply reduced the rate of real economic growth, and saddled every man, woman and child in this country with the largest tax burden in our history.

And what does the President say? He says we must pay still more taxes and he proposes drastic restrictions on the rights of Americans to invest and travel abroad. This is a bankrupt policy.

If the President wants to control inflation, he's got to cut back on Federal spending. The very best antidote to inflation is cutting back on spending. The best way to stop the gold drain is to live within our means here at home.

We pledge ourselves to find solutions to America's most urgent problems in health, housing, education, jobs and security. But we shall never sacrifice the American people on a golden altar of economic expediency.

Mrs. May:

The President said a lot about protecting the consumer in his State of the Union Message the other night. But he did fail to tell us about the protection we need most of all -- effective protection from rising prices.

Now if there is anyone who knows just how fast prices are rising, it is those of us who work in the kitchen and shop in the grocery store, and when the people running our government tell us that a little rise in prices is a good thing, we say: Maybe so, but you're carrying a good thing too far!

With skyrocketing prices and increasing taxes, it is little wonder American workers want more take-home pay to keep pace with their cost-of-living. And now we even see the threat of wage controls.

This must stop. The American family has to balance its budget and the President can do more to get things back in balance in his budget.

You don't have to be an economist or a big government planner to know that rising prices, the biggest threat to every family, stem from unsound government policies.

I think I speak for American women -- and men too -- when I call upon the President to stop wasting our money and make it worth something again.

Bob Mathias:

I have faced some high hurdles in my time. But, you know, they're nothing compared to the hurdles facing the American farmer today.

I know this because I represent a farm area and I hear from them every day. The Johnson Administration, by deliberate policies such as the dumping of grain reserves, has pushed farm income down. This has left the farmer with an ever-declining share of America's food dollar.

Government trade policies have destroyed historic markets and encouraged imports.

In spite of misdirected and self-defeating Federal programs, the energy and ingenuity of the American farmer have outpaced the tremendous growth of our population. They've fed millions of hungry people around the world. Our farmers must have the opportunity to run their own farms with minimum government interference and to join together to negotiate for better farm prices. The most productive people in our economy, the American farmers, took a pay cut of a billion and a half dollars in 1967, and the situation is getting worse. Farm prices stood at 74% of parity last year, the lowest level since 1933.

In the face of these shocking failures, the Administration and the Secretary of Agriculture are determined to make their controls a permanent part of the farm scene. Their programs are geared to the tired theories of the 30's, not to the challenge of the 70's.

Every time the Johnson Administration comes up with a new farm program, the farmers pay more and get less. We think it's time for a change . . . and so does the American farmer.

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Mel Laird:

Republicans believe there are better ways for Americans to do things than the way of the great planned society. President Johnson's solution is to pile program upon program, regulated, administered, and directed from Washington.

Republicans would instead establish revenue sharing with our states and localities to return a percentage of Federal income taxes with no strings attached. We would consolidate the hundreds of existing programs into block grants that would be both more flexible and more effective in getting the job done. And we would provide tax credits both for state and local taxes paid and for such special purposes as education and job training.

Our problems can only be solved if all levels of our society -- governmental and private -- pull together in a true partnership. This means that we have to strengthen states and localities, not weaken them. The job is not being done today because local and state officials don't have the money. They have the ability . . . and the knowledge . . . but they lack the resources because the Federal tax collector has gobbled them up.

Republicans have faith in our Governors and State Legislators. We believe in our Mayors and school board members. We think you can trust them to do what is right for the people and the community they serve. When they don't, we have faith that the people will replace them with office holders who will. That is what our representative government is all about.

Revenue sharing, together with block grants and tax credits, would restore true Federalism in America. It would give control back to the people, provide the tools for programs that work, arrest the drift of power to Washington, and preserve the fundamental freedoms of the American people.

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Howard H. Baker, Jr.

During the past few minutes, we have heard of domestic chaos in America. But you see, in this nuclear age our concern can be no less for the bewildering array of confusion and chaos abroad. Whether we speak of Vietnam or Cuba, West Berlin or Latin America, the Middle East or Africa, there is a common theme: America is forfeiting its leadership. The credibility of our intentions, our will, our economic solvency is being questioned. Not since the Civil War has the United States been so divided. Never has American prestige abroad fallen so low.

We find NATO in shambles and summarily evicted from France. We find the seeds of world war sown in the strife-torn Middle East; a restless giant in Latin America is just beginning to arouse, as are the emerging Nations of Africa. Asia is measuring the will and wisdom of the American posture.

As the free world loses faith in our leadership, it is also losing hope that we have the will to order our own house. Thus, the international and the domestic problems merge, as Nations rush to convert dollars to gold.

And what must we do?

We must have bold unifying leadership. We must establish credibility for the humane motives of America and its will to resist aggression. We must restore confidence in the American economy, before it is too late. We must help those who are willing to help themselves, not with just handouts which so often produce bitterness and resentment but with dignity and grace and respect. We must lay aside the tired old techniques of the past and stand ready to innovate, to use our vast nuclear technology to produce fresh water from sea water, to produce abundant food supplies and energy, employed to promote cooperation instead of conflict. We must be as concerned with preventing another Vietnam as we are with bringing this one to an honorable conclusion.

(more)

There must be a new direction, new leadership, credible and sound. And to secure these ends we pledge ourselves, singly and in bi-partisan effort, now and in the future.

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Hugh Scott

One of the greatest dangers to world peace is ticking away in the Middle East. The President's State of the Union Message was vague about U. S. efforts in that vital area of the world -- because the Johnson Administration's policies are vague.

The Soviet Union relishes that kind of situation.

Last year, the Soviets goaded the Arab states into a military showdown with Israel. While the United States stood aloof, the Israelis fought a brilliant war and beat both the Arab armies and their expensive Soviet weapons.

The Soviet Union is pouring modern tools of war into a Middle East buzzing with these new Soviet jet fighters and bombers.

As the Soviets rush in to become the major force in the Middle East, with a policy of turbulence, what is United States policy? No one seems to know.

The U. S. is doing nothing to convince the Soviets of the grievous world danger in this arms race. Yet continuing sales of Soviet arms to Arab countries force Israel to find deterrent weapons.

Where is the initiative of the Johnson Administration to get Arabs and Israelis to the same peace table and preferably through direct talks?

The greatest insurance against Soviet domination of the Middle East is a strong Israel, living at peace with its Arab neighbors.

Peace in the Middle East and survival of gallant Israel depends upon a firm and clear American policy.

Senator Tower

I'm here tonight to tell you where we believe the great majority of Americans stand on Vietnam.

First and foremost we stand for the all-out support of our half-million fighting men and women -- material support and moral support.

We stand for military success in Vietnam that will enable the Vietnamese to rebuild a free nation.

We stand for an era of peace and stability that will embrace all of Southeast Asia.

We stand for the effective utilization of America's vast air and sea superiority.

We stand for quarantine of the enemy's supply lines so that he can no longer fight.

We stand for firm resistance to naked Communist aggression in Vietnam as we did in Greece, Berlin, Korea and Cuba. We also stand for the complete protection of American ships in international waters.

We note that in the last few months the Johnson Administration has been vigorously prosecuting the war in Vietnam. But, we also note that for far too long it followed a self-defeating policy of "gradualism."

That "gradualism" policy caused us to pull our punches; it prolonged the fighting; it cost American lives unnecessarily. This war could be over today if the Johnson Administration had acted with determination instead of with vacillation.

It is no wonder that the communist enemy is confused about American intentions and doubts American determination. The Administration's ping-pong pronouncements have left even Americans confused.

Throughout this century Republican Administrations have understood how to maintain world peace. Today, we understand what peace demands.

The nation suffers from a "peace gap" which we are determined to close.

Congresswoman Charlotte T. Reid

Yes, I am a mother. Two of my four children are sons -- one of whom served four years in the Marine Corps and the other left for Vietnam just last week. I believe that not only all parents, but all thinking Americans, are as deeply distressed as I am by complacency, disunity, and protest here at home.

There are many problems which threaten our American way of life -- crime, disrespect for law and order -- but particularly the war. Our men in Vietnam are fighting to insure the freedom and happiness of all of us -- of our children and, indeed, our grandchildren, too.

So -- we must impose on ourselves the kind of discipline we impose on our soldier sons. While we have American troops in Vietnam, we must be certain that they have our wholehearted support. We must be certain that the Johnson Administration knows what it is trying to do in Vietnam and that it knows how to do it. Above all, there must be no false promises.

More than 16,000 families have learned the final, terrible price of freedom. Yet, the casualty lists continue to rise. We must be certain that the lives which have been lost will not have been sacrificed in vain.

Senator Peter H. Dominick

The peace of the Free World depends largely on American strength -- economic, moral and military strength.

The right to wake up unafraid is every American's heritage, secure in the knowledge that this country is too strong to attack. There can be no partisan politics in our efforts to maintain this goal. It is too important to mankind. But let's look at the record.

We are told of bomb shortages, automatic rifle malfunctions and lack of proper jungle gear. We have no new fighter aircraft and the TFX is still a question mark. 16" naval fire power from battleships have been literally kept in moth balls, and repeated Congressional efforts to obtain an anti-missile system have been summarily thrust aside until this year.

In the meanwhile, the Red Chinese have been steadily expanding their nuclear capability. The Soviets have surpassed us in deliverable nuclear megatonnage and they have developed a fractional orbiting nuclear bomb and six new fighter-bomber aircraft systems. They have the largest submarine fleet in the world and they are well on their way toward completion of an anti-missile system.

We are menaced now -- not tomorrow or next year or the next decade, but now. The overwhelming strategic superiority developed under President Eisenhower has rapidly dissipated. This Administration has developed a strange new doctrine -- that Soviet strategic equality is better than American supremacy.

That dangerous doctrine must be reversed while there is still time. Peace, with freedom, is inseparable from American strength. Let's keep it.

Congressman Gerald Ford

What you've seen is a picture of our party, how we look, what we think, how we feel and why we believe there must be better ways to run our country.

Only by facing facts can we, as one nation and one people, move forward to forge in our time a more perfect Union.

It seems strange not to have Senator Dirksen by my side. We've missed him tonight and want him back soon.

We have told the truth as we see it about the State of the Union.

We're proud of our party and its leaders from Abraham Lincoln to General Eisenhower. We're proud of legislators like those you've just seen -- of our 26 great governors and the young men and women coming up and taking charge.

Two-party competition made America great and keeps it free. When stakes are high and problems grave, we need more airing of the issues -- not less.

We, the most powerful nation and people in history, toss and turn with the tides of discontent, seethe with the injustices of hope denied, grope with the burdens of a war unwon.

In the year just passed we have watched our cities erupt and our savings erode.

But Americans are neither quitters nor losers.

We can take the hard truth, make the hard choices, and put our country's future first.

Physical power and spiritual strength we have. Great leadership we shall find.

Now we must fight together -- not fight each other. And we, each one of us, must look deep into his conscience, searching to establish what is truly American, hoping to find a new America that unites the dreams and serves the needs of all of us.

This generation of Americans, and the next and the next, will once again establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty.

We will not be distracted by the shrill discords of the spoilers.

We will not be diverted by the doom's day fantasies of the fearful.

Let us instead hear this: "Be strong and of a good courage, be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee."

We will go forward with high hearts and ready hands for the hard work ahead.