



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



January 23, 1963

With this first issue of the newsletter for the 88th Congress, I want to express my gratitude and appreciation to the voters of the Fifth District for giving me the opportunity to continue my service in the House of Representatives. As I enter upon my eighth term I realize more than ever the responsibilities of the office and value more deeply the consistent and solid support which the citizens of Kent and Ottawa Counties have given me. I can only pledge continued hard work and conscientious effort in behalf of responsible government.

**ENLARGEMENT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES:** The major controversy on the first day of the new Congress involved a rule to permanently enlarge the Committee on Rules from 12 to 15 members (10 Democrats, 5 Republicans). Two years ago the Committee membership was increased for the duration of the 87th Congress only. At that time I opposed a larger committee as unnecessary because legislation desired by a majority of the House membership can be brought up for consideration regardless of the Rules Committee. I also opposed enlargement because the announced purpose was to advance legislation which could well be left in the proverbial "pigeon-hole."

This year the Republican membership agreed to go along with a 15-man Committee if the ratio of Democrats to Republicans were similar to that of the House itself. This would mean 9 Democrats to 6 Republicans as there is a 3 to 2 ratio between the parties in the House. The Democratic majority refused to accept this "Fair Play" amendment. It set the Committee at 10 Democrats and 5 Republicans. I voted against this arrangement but we lost 235-196. The so-called "liberals" will continue to control the Committee on Rules by an 8 to 7 vote. I'm confident the future will confirm what the past has indicated that the "liberal" committee will "pigeon-hole" bills as the "conservatives" did, but these bills will concern different types of legislation. The issue is not "pigeon-holing" or "obstructionism" as such but what kind of "obstructionism" shall we have.

**STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS:** In President Kennedy's State of the Union message, his views on foreign policy were far more impressive than his comments on domestic issues. He may have painted too rosy a picture of the success of the free world in the struggle against tyranny but we must agree with the President that "the world's prognosis prescribes not a year's vacation, but a year of obligation and opportunity." I, of course, fully support a continuation of our military superiority and an adjustment of our military posture to meet new problems.

I was also impressed with the fact that Mr. Kennedy called upon those nations which receive our assistance, neutrals and allies alike, to use our help to the "best advantage and that their own efforts not be diverted by needless quarrels with other independent nations."

**TAX REDUCTION AND REVISION:** A tax reduction of \$13.5 billion was the major domestic recommendation of the President. While all of us would like to pay less taxes and while I know the economy would benefit from a revision and reduction in federal taxes, responsible statesmanship requires that any proposed tax reduction be considered in the context of the overall fiscal situation.

On the day the President spoke, the national debt stood at \$309.7 billion. In his budget message three days later the President predicted a deficit this year of \$8.8 billion and a shortage in fiscal 1964 (July 1, 1963-June 30, 1964) of \$11.9 billion. Interest costs which this year will total \$9.7 billion are predicted to go to \$10.1 billion in 1964. This means \$54 in annual interest charges for every man, woman, and child in the country.

The President's recommendation to increase the deficit, the debt, and the interest charges is based on the theory that such action will so strengthen the economy that the Treasury will ultimately recoup its losses and there will be a net gain. It is going to take a lot of persuasion to convince the Congress that this theory is sound.

I believe that any substantial tax reduction must be accompanied by a substantial reduction in federal expenditures. I feel that if we can even cut back expenditures to the fiscal 1962 level we may honestly and legitimately justify some tax reduction. I want tax reduction but not at the expense of sound economics and common sense.

Personally I have been impressed with the fact that the folks of the Fifth District have not been asking for a tax cut per se. Only one letter has hinted at tax reduction as a prerequisite while many are insisting upon reduced expenditures by Uncle Sam as the major problem.

You will be interested in a few sentences from a recent letter from one of our servicemen who wrote about the proposed pay increase for the military. He said: "Naturally I would like more pay but....since the President also desires a tax cut, I think that a military pay increase will come at the expense of the national debt. And I am firmly opposed to seeing my country spending more than it earns....I would prefer to sacrifice an increase in pay and see my country operate on sound economic principles."

Without passing judgment on any military pay raise, I'm sure all of us will agree that this young man is to be commended on his sound and unselfish position. I know he expresses the attitude of all responsible citizens who want responsible government.



# Your Washington Review

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January 30, 1963

Following his State of the Union message, the President submitted to Congress his budget recommendations, his economic report, and his tax proposals. All of these documents demonstrate that the Kennedy Administration is basing its fiscal policies on Keynesian economic theories. In their simplest terms these theories, among other things, hold that economic strength, including full employment, flows from business investments, consumer purchases, and governmental spending. If there is less than full employment, or an economic sluggishness, one immediate step the government can take is to increase spending. Allegedly governmental spending takes up the slack, invigorates the economic system, and provides greater employment. Or the government can reduce taxes in the hope that the additional funds retained by the taxpayer will go into business investments or consumer purchases which will in turn provide more jobs. Or more government spending and less taxes may both be tried. In any event, governmental deficits result, but according to the theories, the created prosperity brings in more revenue so that immediate Treasury losses are recovered, and eventually there is a net gain.

No one can be certain that these theories will work. The experience of the early '30s did not prove that increased governmental spending through deficit financing creates prosperity. There is no more assurance that high governmental spending plus reduced taxes will eventually produce more revenue. Yet today we are told by no less an authority than Lawrence O'Brien, Special Assistant to the President, that those who criticize the Administration's proposed tax cut are guilty of "fiscal irresponsibility." In other words, according to the New Frontiersman we are being "fiscally irresponsible" when we ask for a balanced budget, reduced federal expenditures, and a halt to the growth of the national debt. This is one of the latest examples of redefining words or phrases to promote new theories or create untenable concepts.

In a discussion of this problem there often arises the question of the \$12.4 billion deficit in fiscal 1959 under President Eisenhower. There was such a deficit on the heels of the 1958 recession, but it was not a planned or welcomed shortage. While Ike deplored the deficit and strove for a balanced budget, JFK champions the red ink and decries the "pay-as-you-go" ideal as a myth. Herein lies the basic issue in a major problem before the Congress and the country today.

I have stated I would support a tax cut if it were accompanied by a substantial reduction in federal spending. In a \$98.8 billion budget there are ample opportunities



for cuts. We may justify a federal deficit during a grave national emergency (war; depression) but in time of prosperity the Federal Government should balance its budget, reduce rather than increase its debt and accompanying interest charges, and ease rather than compound the burden passed on to children and grandchildren.

**AGRICULTURAL PRICE-SUPPORT PROGRAMS AS A COST OF GOVERNMENT:** The latest report of Secretary Orville Freeman states that farm price supports for the 1962 crop cost \$165 million more than the 1961 crop as of November 30th in each year. The total amount of public funds involved in loans and inventories for price-supported commodities by the Commodity Credit Corporation rose \$95 million in the year to a total of \$7.74 billion. Net losses were also up by \$137 million: from \$786 million during five months in 1961 to \$923 million in the same period for 1962. Significantly the report says, "CCC operations are financed largely by borrowings, mostly from the U. S. Treasury."

**LEGISLATION IN HOPPER:** Of the 1173 public bills dropped into the hopper on the opening day of this session of the House, I introduced twelve. I also provided three of the 401 private bills. All except one of the public bills had been presented to the 87th Congress. Seven bills of the last Congress were not reintroduced because they had become law or the need for them had passed.

The new public bill, introduced at the request of the policemen and firemen of Grand Rapids, is an "enabling act" which would permit the State Legislature to include policemen and firemen under social security if the local government and local policemen and firemen vote for this coverage. Presently such coverage is not authorized in Michigan because of past opposition by some national and state groups of policemen and firemen.

Bills reintroduced include one which would require railroad freight cars to be equipped with reflectors or luminous material so they can be more readily seen at night at unlighted crossings. Another would permit a widow with minor children to earn up to \$3600 (instead of the present \$1200) without losing her social security benefits. A third would permit recipients of old age assistance to continue to receive their payments if confined to a nonpublic mental institution (Pine Rest); presently such benefits are cancelled upon admission to a mental hospital. As one approach to the problem of educational costs, H. R. 52 would make educational expenses up to \$300 a year for each individual a deductible item for income tax purposes.

Another bill would permit patent-type protection for original ornamental designs of useful articles. Original designs as for a piece of furniture are not now protected against copying. Our bill, H. R. 1006, would eliminate the box fee for patrons of small post offices where there is no delivery service. I also reintroduced a bill which passed the House last year to authorize administrative officers to correct inequities resulting from erroneous payments by the government to civilian or military personnel.



# Your Washington Review

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February 6, 1963

The President's messages on Education and on Agriculture were received by the Congress last week.

The all-inclusive message on education was implemented by an omnibus bill, H. R. 3000, introduced for the Administration by Chairman Adam Clayton Powell of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The President's message and the Administration's bill lumped together all types and kinds of "Federal Aid to Education." There is something for everybody in the bill, but the President has established no priorities. This means that the Congress must sift the dozens of proposals in the 182-page bill and separate the practical from the impractical and the desirable from the undesirable.

In the seven titles and 24 parts of the bill are hidden some propositions on which there is little or no disagreement. If instead of this hodge-podge measure, there had been introduced a series of bills concerning related aspects of education, earlier approval of the less controversial items would have resulted. As it is, Democrats and Republicans agree that passage of H. R. 3000 as introduced or in its present form is an impossibility. This, of course, raises the question of the sincerity of the Administration relative to aid to education. Does it really want to help or is the Kennedy Administration submitting an omnibus bill of 182 pages to be able to tell all interest groups "we are for you and are trying to help but the Congress is the bottleneck." Or in other words, "Is the White House bill an educational or political proposal?"

Included in the seven titles and 24 parts of the bill is a four-year \$1.5 billion program of grants to public schools for increasing teachers' salaries and aiding school construction on the elementary and secondary level. The bill also authorizes additional funds for construction loans for colleges, for student loans and insurance of private loans to students, graduate fellowships, teacher institutions, adult education, vocational education, the training of the handicapped, testing and guidance programs, college and public libraries, science and mathematics instruction, collection of statistics, and university extension services. In addition to the \$1.5 billion mentioned above the cost of these other programs could reach another \$2 billion over a three or four-year period.

Some of the proposals continue existing programs which I have supported; others establish necessary and justifiable programs while other parts of the bill cannot be endorsed. The Committee on Education and Labor must sift and judge; it has announced two weeks of public hearings beginning February 4th. In subsequent newsletters I will report



on any action taken by the Committee and give my evaluation of its recommendations. Republican members of the Committee have introduced legislation relative to assistance to higher education which the Committee will also be asked to consider.

**AGRICULTURAL MESSAGE:** The House Committee on Agriculture had initiated hearings on cotton legislation prior to the President's agricultural message last Thursday. If a program for the 1963 crop is to be developed there should be a new law by the end of March. Whether the President's request for additional subsidies on cotton sold domestically will be approved remains to be seen. Personally I cannot support any bill which will increase the cost of our farm-support programs by \$400 million as the President's cotton proposal will do.

The Committee undoubtedly will take up next the dairy program concerning which many authorities feel the Administration's suggestions can only lead to greater costs and eventual stringent federal control over every dairy farmer.

The feed grains bill probably will not be acted upon until after the wheat referendum in late May or early June. At that time farmers on about 1.8 million wheat-producing farms including those with 15 acres or less will decide by a secret ballot whether they want high price supports (\$2 a bushel for 86% of wheat produced and \$1.30 for remainder) and strict controls with acreage allotments and marketing quotas along with repeal of the 15-acre quota exemption OR lower price supports (\$1.22 a bushel) to those farmers who voluntarily go along with acreage allotments. The President asked the farmers to vote for straightjacketing controls and higher supports. Many in the know doubt that the Administration will get the necessary 2/3 vote, especially because for the first time the smaller wheat farmers will be allowed to vote. The results of this farmer referendum on wheat will have a marked effect on legislation concerning the feed grains, corn, oats, barley, rye, and grain sorghum.

**NOW IT'S 'PURITANICAL' TO OPPOSE A TAX CUT:** Chairman Walter Heller of the President's Council of Economic Advisers said last Monday that there exists "an enormous need for public education in the field of economics." He then explained the kind of education he had in mind by saying, "I think it is quite remarkable that the basic puritan ethic of the American people should be such that they want to deny themselves tax reduction because of their fears of deficits and the additions to the national debt; and because they do not understand that their spending, in effect, makes this contribution to the national growth and full employment."

This was in reply to a comment by a member of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee that many citizens felt they should not have a tax cut in view of the budgetary \$10-billion deficit and \$300 billion debt. As we saw last week, one Presidential adviser stated it was "irresponsible" to favor a balanced budget. Now it is 'puritanical' to be willing to share the tax burden. The New Frontiersmen are not only shooting at sound principles but are harpooning our basic ethical standards.



# Your Washington Review

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## JERRY FORD

February 13, 1963



Hearings on the \$53 billion defense budget were initiated last Tuesday by the Subcommittee on Appropriations of which I am the senior minority member. This subcommittee of 12 members (5 Republicans, 7 Democrats) from the full Committee composed of 50 members will spend about three months hearing over 400 witnesses concerning the spending proposals of the President and the Secretary of Defense.

The civilian and military leaders who appear before the Subcommittee are expected to explain and defend all expenditures and many policies of the past year and to explain and justify all expenditures and any new policies proposed for the coming year. Following the months of hearings, the Subcommittee will analyze the testimony and all proposals, and make an independent judgment based on the evidence presented and on its own knowledge derived from years of experience in defense matters. If the past is to be any guide we know that some reductions will be made in the overall request for tax money and revisions will be made in certain programs and policies. I can assure you that our committee headed by Rep. George Mahon (Democrat of Texas) is dedicated to a strong and effective military force for our country. But we do want every possible assurance that our tax dollars are being spent properly and efficiently.

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was the lead-off witness last week. He spent five days with the committee and was closely interrogated on the basic question of how our military power compares with that of the Communist bloc. The committee spent six hours questioning him on Cuba and was also particularly interested in our overall strategy today and for the future. Skybolt's cancellation, the RS-70 curtailment and other major program changes were fully investigated by the committee members both Democrat and Republican. These hearings which involve our nation's military security demand a maximum amount of your Congressman's time.

Prior to his appearance before the subcommittee Secretary McNamara submitted to each member a 180-page secret report which formed the basis for much of the interrogation.

**CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION:** Republican members of the House Committee on the Judiciary which handles Civil Rights legislation recently introduced a Civil Rights bill, H. R. 3139, and pointed out that the Republican Party "has spearheaded every major Civil Rights measure in the last century." The Republican Congressman said that they "regard the failure of the Kennedy Administration to press for comprehensive Civil Rights legislation as one of the most serious short-comings of the last Congress."

The Republican's realistic proposals are consistent with the Republican Platform of 1960. The first part of the bill makes permanent the Civil Rights Commission and gives it additional power to investigate vote frauds. There is also established a Commission for Equality of Opportunity in Employment to investigate discrimination in employment in any business concern which holds a Federal Government contract or any labor union which works on such contract, or an employment agency financed by Federal funds. If a clear pattern of discrimination appears the Board can cut off Federal funds, but there are imposed strict safeguards on the rights of all individuals and groups including the right of appeal to the courts.

The third and fourth parts of the bill relate to school desegregation. If the local school district has failed to develop a plan for desegregation and if the individual has exhausted fair and speedy legal remedies available in his state, he may ask the Attorney General to intervene for him in Federal Court to gain admission to a nonsegregated public school. Also, if asked by states or local units the Federal Government may offer technical assistance to aid in desegregating the public schools making the request.

The final provision of the bill states that for Federal elections anyone otherwise qualified to vote shall be presumed to have sufficient literacy and comprehension if he has completed six grades of an accredited elementary school. A state could still prevent such a person from voting because of failure to pass a literacy test but the state would be required to prove illiteracy.

Admittedly the above is only a brief summary of the bill but the major provisions have been outlined. I endorse the constructive efforts made by the Republican members of the Committee on the Judiciary to offer sound proposals in this important area. I hope Chairman Emanuel Celler (Democrat, N. Y.) and his committee will give the highest priority to H. R. 3139, a fair and workable Civil Rights bill.

**TAX REVISION:** The more the President's tax reform bill is analyzed the greater appear its weaknesses and inequities. President Kennedy's recommendation that only those contributions for church and charity and those expenses for taxes and interest which exceed 5 percent of gross adjusted income shall be deductible will have little support in or out of Congress. Studies have been prepared which demonstrate that many older, retired persons could pay more taxes under the President's "reform" than under present law. The Congress must go over all the proposals with a fine-tooth comb.

**OTTAWA'S CHILLS REACH WASHINGTON:** Grand Haven's ice-covered lighthouse was featured on the front page of the February 2nd Washington Post (circulation 408,000). The large picture captioned, "Winter at Work," carried the following explanation: "Resembling some sort of a monster is the ice-encrusted lighthouse on the south pier at the Great Lakes port of Grand Haven, Michigan. The coating was provided by wind-blown water that froze as it came in contact with the structure. The Coast Guard reported an ice shelf extends about six miles into Lake Michigan at this point."



# Your Washington Review

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February 20, 1963

Traditionally there is little legislative activity in the House of Representatives during the week of Lincoln's birthday. The House met last Monday for 21 minutes but transacted no legislative business. It met again on Thursday to adjourn until Monday. Office and committee work continued, however, and at the invitation of the National Committee I spent four days in California for speeches, press conferences, and visits to defense plants.

**ON NUCLEAR TESTING:** When the House met last Monday the special committee on nuclear testing for the Republican Conference made its first report. This committee considered two specific questions: 1) What are the minimum safeguards for a nuclear test-ban treaty? and 2) At this time is any test-ban treaty at all in the U. S. national interest?

The committee agreed that no test-ban treaty can be made foolproof but a treaty can and should provide means of detecting cheaters and thus discourage them from attempting any form of deception. But the committee concluded that "the present basis for negotiations regarding inspection procedures fails to offer a reasonable opportunity to verify whether cheating has occurred."

The committee could not at this time give a final answer to the second question. But it did recommend that the government declassify all possible information on nuclear testing and make the data available for widespread public discussion. It said that the question of whether there should be a test-ban treaty at all "is too important...to be left in limbo. It concerns America's destiny and the American people have a right to be informed on all its aspects and to make their voices heard."

The committee promised a second report listing the most common arguments on both sides of the question. In the meantime it urged "the President to state that no further moratoriums on U. S. testing will be declared during the process of negotiations." As Chairman of the Republican Conference I am one of the ex officio members of the committee and signed the report.

**ON CUBA:** Much has been said and written about the Communist take-over in Cuba and the present danger to the United States from this Soviet-dominated Island. All of us supported the strong action President Kennedy announced on October 22nd to force the removal of dangerous offensive weapons. At the same time we experienced a feeling of concern and frustration over the fact that the Communist conspirators now possessed a



foot-hold less than a hundred miles off the Florida coast.

As a result of our committee investigation I am convinced that between September 5 and October 14, 1962 the Kennedy Administration failed to exploit fully the opportunities it had to determine the strength of Soviet forces in Cuba. I am also convinced that during this period of 5½ weeks the Administration failed to keep the American people as accurately informed as it should have about Russian activity on the Island. In this period the Kennedy Administration was publicly downgrading the possibility of Russian missiles in Cuba. Likewise, I feel the Kennedy Administration today is underestimating the military power of the Soviets in Cuba. It greatly disturbs me that we may be making the same mistake twice.

Kremlin control of Cuba is one of the most, if not the most, serious world development during the past year. Anyway you look at it, Soviet domination and use of the Island can only be to our detriment.

ON THE "STRATEGY GAP:" Military leaders in testimony before our Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations have consistently stressed the need for a "mixed force" in our deterrent military power. For example, they meant that we should have both manned bombers and ballistic missiles to deliver nuclear warheads into enemy territory. This would require the enemy to provide various types of defenses at additional costs in money, effort, and manpower; it would mean alternative means of retaliation for us and more confusion for him.

But with the cancellation of "Skybolt" and the phasing out of the RS-70 we see the possibility of the development of a "strategy gap." We may be putting all our eggs in one basket if our deterrent force is to be only in missiles. In 1958 our deterrent nuclear force rested 100% in long-range manned bombers. By 1960 manned aircraft represented most, but missiles made up some, of the nuclear strike force. If the current trend persists and present policy continues, by 1969 missiles will represent nearly all of our nuclear retaliatory capability.

We may therefore be developing a "strategy gap" which could haunt us in the future and be much more significant than the 1960 "missile gap" which evaporated right after the election of that year.

Our committee will be going into this problem in the weeks ahead. I am not at this time passing final judgment on "skybolt" or the "RS-70," but I am expressing concern that the Kennedy Administration may be creating a "strategy gap" by actions in 1963 which could limit our nuclear striking force to ballistic missiles in the future.

ON SLEEPING BEAR DUNES NATIONAL PARK: Rep. Robert Griffin of Michigan has introduced H. R. 2400, a realistic, fair, and constructive bill for developing Sleeping Bear Dunes National Park on Lake Michigan in Benzie and Leelanau Counties. A vast improvement over the bill presented in the Senate during the last Congress, Griffin's proposal includes 37,000 rather than 77,000 acres, would cost \$2 to \$3 million rather than \$12 to \$16 million, protects rather than disturbs present property owners, retains Michigan's hunting and fishing laws for the area rather than new federal regulations, and calls for federal payments in lieu of taxes to meet local bonded indebtedness. It is a bill which conservationists, local property owners, resorters, sportsmen, and taxpayers can support.



# Your Washington Review

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**JERRY FORD**



February 27, 1963

If the "Father of His Country" whose birthday we celebrated last Friday could have observed the House of Representatives during the week he would not have been deeply stirred. The words of a message read on Thursday would have had a familiar ring and he would have remembered laboring over them for a period of four years. He may have been struck by the fact that his Farewell Message was read to the Congress in 1963, something which never happened while he was President. Actually, Washington never delivered the address anywhere. It was initially printed in the AMERICAN DAILY ADVERTISER of Philadelphia on September 19, 1796, about 5½ months before Washington left the Presidency.

On Monday he would have seen the only two bills on the Consent Calendar "passed over without prejudice," would have noted that the Committee on Banking and Currency was granted permission to meet during sessions of the House, and that the Committee on Agriculture was granted authority to carry on some studies and investigations. A few significant matters including the Cuba situation were discussed at the House sessions, but no other legislative action took place. However, as I mentioned last week, committee and office activity continued in full swing. It is in the committees that the major work of the House is done especially during the early months of the session. It is in the office that the letters arrive helping us to gauge the opinion of folks at home.

FROM THE MAILBAG: Cuba and fiscal policy continue to trouble those who write us. Our citizens are gravely disturbed by the Soviet take-over in Cuba. They want the Administration to adopt strong and effective measures to eliminate the Communist menace from its New World foothold within a hundred miles of our shores. Many of those who write also object to any assistance to Cuba by the United Nations. I must agree that no American tax dollars should be used in any way to aid the Soviet-dominated Communist regime in Cuba--and this includes tax dollars which may be funneled through the U. N. The U. N. does not help its own cause, now or in the future, by granting assistance to Castro's Cuba. I object now to any form of help for Castro for the same reason that I opposed the payment to him of \$53 million in ransom which was endorsed and arranged by the Kennedy Administration: Castro is a Kremlin-controlled Communist dedicated to the destruction of the United States and the free world. Communism, Castro variety or otherwise, must be eradicated from the Western Hemisphere.

Most of our mail on fiscal policy continues to oppose the Administration's tax schemes and alleged cuts. One letter last week summarized the attitude of many who have written. It read: "We can't see any advantage in the President's so-called cut." He.

He takes it away with one hand and puts it back with the other.

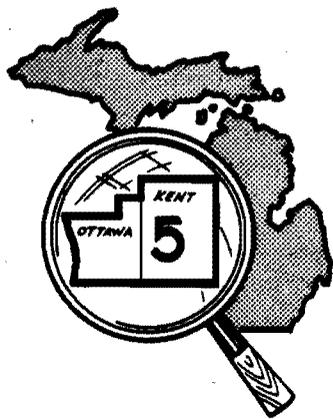
"My husband and I have always been poor, but after much hard work and scrimping, we were able to make a down payment on a nice home. Our taxes and mortgage payments are high. We cannot understand why the President wants to discourage home ownership by cutting down amounts deducted for these two items--or, for that matter, why he wants to discourage church and charity contributions. Better no tax cut at all!"

**MINORITY STAFF FOR COMMITTEES:** Committees of the House, composed of members of the House, have specific powers, an official hearing room and office space, and a staff of professional and secretarial help. Control of each committee, as of the House, rests with the majority party. The majority party determines how many staff members there shall be and to a large degree who they shall be. Recently it has become more and more apparent that the Republicans, as the minority party in the House but with 40 percent of the membership, have not been given adequate representation on committee staffs. Chairman Adam Clayton Powell, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, for instance, has hired 45 Democrats for the staff of his Committee to serve the 19 Democratic members while permitting the 12 Republicans on the Committee to have two employees. The Committee on the Judiciary has 42 staff members to serve the majority with one man assigned to the Republican minority.

If the issue were merely that of patronage or partisanship, it should be dismissed forthwith. But the issue is far more serious and significant. All elected representatives of the people serving on committees of the House must have competent professional assistants to perform their tasks effectively. The analysis of much of our legislation requires technically trained and experienced personnel. The minority party members need help as well as majority party members. In many cases this help may be obtained from non-partisan committee professionals. But especially on those committees which consider issues that are partisan in nature, each side should have staff personnel in which it has explicit confidence.

This is especially true when a committee is called upon to make an investigation. When the investigation involves the Executive Branch of the Government also controlled by the majority party, the need becomes abundantly clear. The minority must have sufficient staff assistance to do an equitable and effective job. The Republican Conference last Wednesday called upon "all fair-minded Democrats" to support an adequate committee staff for the minority.

However, on Thursday the Committee on House Administration by a vote of 10 to 9 defeated a resolution that would have given Republicans 40 percent of the committee jobs. One Democrat joined 8 Republicans to endorse the resolution. This week Republicans will continue their efforts on the floor of the House to obtain fair and adequate committee staffing.



# Your Washington Review

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March 6, 1963

The first roll call vote of the 88th Congress on a legislative matter in the House of Representatives saw the approval of a half-billion-dollar supplemental appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture. Last Wednesday the House voted 254 to 154 to add to this year's federal deficit by providing an additional \$508,172,000 to the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) which finances and manages the farm price-support program.

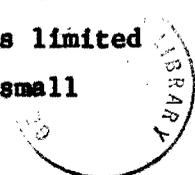
Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman told the Congress that if the money were not provided, chaos would result in the support program as the CCC notified producers that it could not carry out further price supports or make further loans on farm products. In other words, CCC is nearly out of money. Yet, it has on hand about a billion bushels of corn which it has authority to sell but hesitates to do so because of the potentially depressing effect on the market. This is one more illustration of the dilemmas created by the price-support programs.

As of February 15 the CCC held cotton valued at \$810,583,000. But how to dispose of millions of bales of cotton is the problem. Domestically sold cotton is priced so high that more and more other fibers are being used. The U. S. is losing its world markets for cotton despite the heavy export subsidy of 8½¢ a pound. Rep. Jamie Whitten (Democrat of Miss.) Chairman of the subcommittee handling this bill, said that "the minute the Department will do what I think it should...and they offer this commodity in world trade where they have the authority, it will move. The record shows it will move."

While Rep. Whitten supported the appropriation his criticism of the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Freeman was indicative of the opposition to the bill. The current financial plight of the Commodity Credit Corporation was created by President Kennedy's Secretary of Agriculture. He used his discretionary authority to raise price supports to unrealistic levels. This was true in the dairy industry, in cotton, in wheat, and in soybeans. Those of us who opposed this supplemental appropriation were, among other things, registering a lack of confidence in Secretary Freeman. His administration of the Department of Agriculture has been unrealistic and ineffective. It has been extremely costly to taxpayers and consumers.

It is significant that two Michigan Democrats (Mrs. Griffiths; Mr. Ryan) joined the Republicans in opposing this half-billion-dollar expenditure. But five Michigan Democrats, including Congressman-at-large Neil Staebler, voted to approve it.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE: By a vote of 385 to 20 the House provided its Committee on Un-American Activities with \$360,000 to carry on its work this year. This is an increase of \$10,000 over last year. In the discussion preceding the vote there was limited criticism of the mode of operation by the committee, and an allegation that only a small



amount of legislation had come from it. There was also a recommendation that the functions of the Committee be transferred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The issue before the House, however, was whether the committee should have the funds to do its work. In fact, at the moment the question of transferring the committee's functions to the Committee on Judiciary was academic as the Committee on Rules had voted 12 to 1 against reporting a resolution on this matter.

A standing committee of the House should have funds to carry out its responsibilities under the law. No valid evidence was presented to show that the committee had misused its authority. During the year I have had many requests from constituents for the material which the committee staff prepares. It seems to me that the Congress definitely needs some means of keeping Communist activities under surveillance and of alerting the public to the dangers of the Communist conspiracy. Until a satisfactory alternative means of doing this is proposed, I intend to support the Committee on Un-American Activities. No Republican voted against the funds for the Committee. However, four Democrats from Michigan, including our Congressman-at-Large, were among the 20 who voted "no."

**RAISING THE DEBT LIMIT:** On April 1st under present law the temporary limitation on the national debt drops from \$308 billion to \$305 billion. President Kennedy has asked Congress to extend the \$308 billion limit until June 30th. On that date under current law the limitation will revert to the permanent figure of \$285 billion. We know therefore that Congress will be required to take additional action in May or June to handle a debt which will far exceed \$285 billion.

Since January 20, 1961 President Kennedy has asked Congress to increase the national debt limitation four times. During the early days of the new Administration I bent over backward to give them the benefit of the doubt and voted twice to increase the debt limitation. However, in June 1962, in disgust with Kennedy's financial management I voted NO. The Kennedy Administration still defends the theories of deficit financing; it is calling for a tax cut without a substantial reduction in expenditures; it proposes vast new spending schemes without providing means of paying for them; it endorses as good and proper a policy of more and greater debt. One of the ways the Congress can control runaway debt spurred on by new frontier theories is to fence in the Administration's cowboys.

Furthermore, last fall the Kennedy Administration knew very well that the debt limit would go to \$305 billion at the end of March. Yet it took no affirmative action whatsoever to prepare for this fact. Showing little regard for the law as determined by Congress, it now expects the Congress to bail it out of an embarrassing difficulty. At this writing and based on the facts at hand I intend to vote against giving the Administration any additional authority to put the nation deeper into debt.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



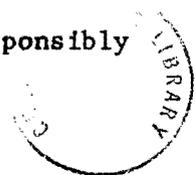
March 13, 1963

The House of Representatives last week cut the funds for studies and investigations by the Committee on Banking and Currency from \$530,000 for two years as requested to \$180,000 for one year. It also reduced the funds of the Committee on Education and Labor from \$597,000 for two years as requested to \$200,000 for one year. This was done upon the recommendation of the Committee on House Administration which acts as the "housekeeping" unit for the House of Representatives.

During the last Congress (two years) the Committee on Banking and Currency received \$5,000 for studies and investigations in connection with its legislative responsibilities. But when its chairman for many years retired from the House, the new chairman, Rep. Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, asked for \$530,000 for this Congress. The new chairman's views on committee activities as well as his views on economic principles and policies vary considerably from those of his predecessor. In any event, the House agreed that his request for a 10,500 percent increase was completely out of line and cut his request for funds by 32 percent. I concurred in this action.

Chairman Adam Clayton Powell of the Committee on Education and Labor asked for \$697,000 for two years for "the employment of investigators, attorneys, and experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, and all expenses necessary for travel and subsistence incurred by members and employees while engaged in the activities of the committee or any subcommittee thereof" (H.Res. 254). Payment was to be made upon order of the chairman of the committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

The House of Representatives not only cut Mr. Powell's request to \$200,000 for one year but allocated only \$50,000 to the full committee to be spent as the chairman directed. The remaining \$150,000 was divided equally among six subcommittees. Expenditures of subcommittee funds must be authorized by subcommittee chairmen in addition to being approved by Chairman Powell and the Committee on House Administration. By requiring approval by subcommittee chairmen, the control of committee funds by Rep. Powell is greatly restricted. No member of the House, Democrat or Republican, spoke in opposition to this reduction and control of committee funds when the matter was discussed and voted on last Wednesday. But it was pointed out that during the two years of the last Congress (87th) the committee under Chairman Powell was authorized \$633,000 and all was used. In contrast, during the 86th Congress \$328,000 was authorized but only \$286,051 was spent; in the 85th Congress the authorization was \$125,000 but \$12,353 was not used. I think the House acted responsibly



this year in authorizing only \$200,000 with the restrictions imposed.

**TELEVISION RATINGS:** The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is holding public hearings on the validity and value of radio and television rating systems which try to measure the size of the audience. Because these ratings effect sponsorship by advertisers they are a major factor in determining the type and quality of programs coming into every home. One producer testified that "the entire TV industry is completely controlled by Nielsen ratings" which other testimony showed were based on a sampling of only 1,100 TV sets across the country.

The committee will continue its investigation for some weeks and will hear from the rating services themselves. Whether new legislation will be proposed is uncertain; possibly what is needed is better enforcement of existing laws and regulations by the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission.

**TELEVISION HOUSE COMMITTEE SESSIONS:** Another issue of interest to the broadcasting industry and the public is the "live" broadcasting and televising of committee meetings in the House of Representatives. While this is done in the Senate, the House has not permitted it. Advocates of a change feel that a larger segment of the public has a right to see and hear its government in action. Opponents think that to televise a committee session will be disruptive, will promote "acting" rather than serious work, and will serve no useful purpose. The Committee on Rules heard arguments on this last week but postponed a decision pending further consideration.

**REFLECTORS ON RAILROAD CARS:** The Interstate Commerce Commission has reported to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that it favors and recommends the enactment of my bill, H. R. 181. This bill would require that railroad cars be equipped with reflectors or luminous material so they can readily be seen at night. For a number of years I have sponsored this legislation as one means of reducing the number of accidents caused by motor vehicles running into the side of trains at highway crossings at night. It is my hope that the Committee will take action on H.R. 181.

**SOCIAL SECURITY FOR FOREMEN AND POLICEMEN:** At the specific request of the firemen and policemen of Grand Rapids I introduced H. R. 484 to authorize social security coverage for those local groups of firemen and policemen which desire it. Local coverage would come only after a majority of those to be affected in each village or city voted for it. The bill is with the Committee on Ways and Means which has asked the Treasury Department and HEW for their recommendations. But I have recently been informed that the Committee probably will not act favorably on the bill as long as the Michigan state organizations of firemen and policemen continue their opposition to the extension of social security to their members. In 17 states social security benefits are available to firemen and policemen because their state organizations did not object.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**

March 20, 1963



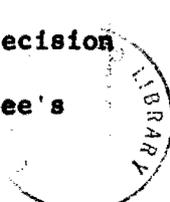
The first measure of the 88th Congress with a multi-billion dollar price tag passed the House of Representatives last Wednesday when approval was given to the \$15.8 billion authorization bill for military aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. Prior to final passage an effort was made to cut the dollar amount by \$800 million. It was proposed to reduce the authorization for new purchases by 5 percent and to cut research and development funds for the Department of Defense by 12½ percent. This proposed reduction was reasonable and would not have adversely affected our defense effort. I voted to save the \$800 million but we lost by a vote of 149 to 258.

The question was then on final passage of the bill authorizing the appropriation of \$15.8 billion. The vote in favor was an overwhelming 374 to 33. However, I could not join the majority on this vote. I think that an adequate national defense can be guaranteed with fewer tax dollars, that the Congress must assume its share of the responsibility in reducing federal expenditures, and that the time to start cutting governmental costs is here and now. Among others to vote "no" were Rep. Charles Halleck, Republican floor leader and Rep. John Byrnes, Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee.

I should point out that this was an "authorization" bill which does not actually make funds available to the Department of Defense. The "authorization" sets the upper limits for expenditures but only an "appropriations" bill can supply the money. Consequently, the Committee on Appropriations, and specifically its Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations of which I am a member, must review the budgetary requests of the Army, Navy, and Air Force for aircraft, missiles, and ships and determine precisely how much money from the Treasury will be made available for various purposes. I know that the total amount appropriated in this area will be less than \$15.8 billion.

**The RS-70 CONTROVERSY:** During the debate last week there was considerable discussion of, and a vote on, the RS-70. This is the high altitude, long distance, 2000-mile-per-hour reconnaissance and strike manned aircraft. The Secretary of Defense favors production of three prototype airplanes but his program in the 1964 budget does not provide all the supporting systems necessary to make a functioning weapons system out of the RS-70.

The Committee on Armed Services which recommended the authorization bill insists that there be five prototypes rather than three and that action be taken to develop a complete RS-70 weapons system. The Committee feels this is necessary before a final decision can be made on whether RS-70s should be produced in quantity. Basic to the Committee's



position is the fact that it believes manned strategic weapons will continue to play a major role in U. S. military capabilities.

On a roll call vote I supported an amendment to the bill adding \$363.7 million for research, development, and test of the RS-70. The amendment was approved 226 to 176. I am not passing final judgment on the RS-70. My committee is still taking testimony on the issue. However, I do think the Committee on Appropriations and the Department of Defense should have some leeway relative to expenditures for this specific weapons system. To refuse to authorize the additional amount could hamper otherwise profitable developments which cannot be foreseen now. This extra authorization does not mean that an additional \$363.7 million will be spent or even appropriated. But extra (safety valve) authorization should be approved in case developments warranted further appropriations and expenditures.

**YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT:** The House Committee on Education and Labor has been considering the Administration's proposal for a "Youth Conservation Corps." The Corps would be open during the first year to 15,000 young men between ages 16 and 22 who would enroll for six months at \$60 per month to work in national and state forests and parks. Enrollees would also be furnished food, lodging, clothing, transportation, and medical care. They could re-enroll up to a period of two years. The program will cost \$100 million the first year and more than \$260 million a year at full operation.

At first glance this program, which reminds us of the CCC of depression days, may seem attractive. But considered in context and in detail, it loses its glamour especially in light of constructive alternatives. With an annual deficit in excess of \$10 billion and a debt of over \$300 billion this is not the time to adopt new, multi-million-dollar projects. Furthermore, there is no convincing evidence that such a conservation work program will provide young men with the skills needed in the modern economy. Because 16-year-olds are eligible as corpsmen it may encourage students to drop out of high school thus compounding rather than solving the problem. Moreover, the Secretary of Labor who will administer the program has said that a substantial number of high school graduates will be enlisted in the Corps. This could mean that non-high school graduates will still not be taken care of. Anyway you look at it, there must be a better way to help unemployed young men.

Vocational education, which is a successful program, can be expanded. The Manpower Retraining Act can be amended to provide additional assistance for training out-of-school youths. Young men need a skill and an opportunity for productive work in a realistic environment. While a few months in the woods can be a valuable experience for any young man, it will not solve the basic problem which involves training for a place in today's complicated economy.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



March 27, 1963

**VOTE ON MONDAY:** The spring election in Michigan next Monday, April 1, has special significance. Not only are important state and local offices to be filled but a new State Constitution should be adopted. Be sure to vote Monday.

**BACKDOOR SPENDING:** Although "backdoor spending" seems to be on the wane it was given a new lease on life last week. By a vote of 7 to 7 the House Committee on Rules refused to approve a resolution ( H. Res. 67) which would have restricted this means of financing federal projects. All the "liberals" on the committee opposed the resolution which was designed to give greater congressional control over Administration spending. The Republicans voted for the resolution and were joined by two Democrats.

In the "backdoor spending" procedure administrative agencies are authorized by law to go directly to the Treasury for their funds without having to obtain an appropriation. The agencies receive authorization to draw on the Treasury up to a given amount without having to further explain and defend their specific programs and proposals each year to the Committee on Appropriations. "Backdoor spending" is not the way to encourage responsible government or worthwhile economy.

While 85 members of the House had urged the Committee on Banking and Currency to eliminate the "backdoor spending" provision requested by President Kennedy in the bill increasing the Export-Import Bank's obligational authority by \$2 billion (H. R. 3872), the committee a few days ago included the provision by a straight party vote. All Democrats on the committee voted for "backdoor spending" by the Export-Import Bank; all Republicans opposed this method of financing. The bill has been reported to the House for further action.

**TELEVISIONING HOUSE COMMITTEE HEARINGS:** The Committee on Rules has "deferred" action on the proposal to permit the televising of committee hearings. For all practical purposes this means that the present rule against televising the hearings will be continued this session. The Committee also "deferred" action on the proposal to split the committee on Education and Labor into two committees.

**SILVER AND DOLLAR BILLS:** The Committee on Banking and Currency has conducted hearings on a bill relating to silver which among other things would alter the format and the backing of our one-dollar bills. All one-dollar bills in use today are "Silver Certificates." The bill is so labeled and contains the assurance "that there is on deposit in the Treasury of the United States of America one dollar in silver payable to the bearer on demand."

If the legislation (H. R. 4413) recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury is adopted the "Silver Certificates" will be replaced by "Federal Reserve Notes" similar to most currency now in circulation. The assurance on the note will read "The United States of America will pay to the bearer on demand one dollar." Today there is in use about \$30 billion of Federal Reserve Notes and \$2 billion in Silver Certificates. While both types of currency are equally valid and backed by the full faith and credit of the U. S., only the Silver Certificates state that silver is on deposit in the Treasury and payable to anyone on demand.

A silver dollar contains a little more than 3/4 of an ounce of silver. This means that when the market price of silver reaches \$1.29 an ounce, the paper dollar and the silver in a silver dollar are at about equal value. If the market price of silver rises above \$1.29, it may be profitable for the public to cash in \$1 silver certificates to obtain silver bullion to sell on the market for more than \$1. A short time ago the market price of silver rose to \$1.28. On March 20th it was at \$1.27½. If it should go to \$1.35 an ounce for instance, there could be a substantial drain on the Treasury's silver supply.

The Treasury is doubly concerned about this because it must buy silver on the market to produce our dimes, quarters, and half-dollars. These Treasury purchases help to raise the market price of silver. Consequently it has requested permission to use the silver on hand to produce the smaller coins and to substitute Federal Reserve Notes for the Silver Certificates. According to authoritative sources, the Committee on Banking and Currency will give its approval to this proposal along with others in the bill.

**THE YEAS AND NAYS:** To complete my explanation of all roll call votes to date I will mention that I voted to extend the draft law and to proclaim Sir Winston Churchill an honorary citizen of the United States. Authorities from all the military services agree that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to maintain their manpower strength without the draft law. While only 14 percent of those who entered active or Reserve service in 1962 were inducted through Selective Service, there is no question but that the possibility of the draft played a part in the action of those who volunteered. During last year a total of 600,000 men with a military service obligation entered the service.

Conferring honorary citizenship on Winston Churchill hails one of the outstanding statesmen of the 20th century. He served in a great common cause with the United States during a most critical period in our history.

**THE INCOME TAX:** President Kennedy's proposal to place a 5 percent floor on income tax deductions for contributions to church and charity, taxes, and interest has run into strong opposition. Our mail and committee testimony bear this out. Secretary Dillon has admitted this provision was intended as a means of increasing revenue rather than of reforming the tax system. The Republicans on the Committee on Ways and Means and in the House are working hard to eliminate this provision from any tax bill.



# Your Washington Review

by

Congressman

## JERRY FORD



April 3, 1963

A nine percent reduction was made in President Kennedy's request for funds in the first appropriation bill reported by the House Committee on Appropriations. The \$1.02 billion request for the Department of Interior and related agencies was reduced by \$92.8 million for an appropriation of \$935 million. This amount for next year is still one percent above the appropriations made or anticipated for the current year. The Committee said it "is concerned with the large additional request received each year for funds to finance the activities covered by the bill...(and) has made every effort to offset urgent increases by corresponding decreases in less essential work." While increases were granted, for instance, for Indian health and education, and for National parks and forests, the Committee allowed only 796 new personnel positions of 3,475 requested by the Kennedy Administration.

This action of the Committee in cutting proposed expenditures by nine percent is a constructive beginning and a good omen. If most of the other appropriation bills reflect a similar reduction and if the Senate cooperates, the goal of the Republican leadership in achieving a realistic level of federal expenditures in 1964 will be realized.

CLAY REPORT: The findings and recommendations of the Clay Committee appointed by President Kennedy to examine our mutual security program are important to every American citizen. A fair summary of the Committee's findings would be that the United States has been trying to help too many countries too soon with too much. The Committee recommended a minimum reduction of \$500 million next year with further cuts to follow. It said the U.S. must be more selective in distribution of economic aid and should permit countries of Western Europe to bear more of the burden. It recommended this especially for Africa where the new nations have close ties with European countries.

The Committee also rejected the view that U.S. must provide aid for the new, developing countries "lest they accept it from Communist nations with resulting political penetration and eventual subversion." The Committee said, "We believe these new countries value their independence and do not wish to acquire a new master in place of the old one."

The Clay group also emphasized that the U.S. must make it clear to the government and the people of recipient countries that we are serious about self-help, fiscal reform, and support of the free world. The Committee recommended a more hard-headed control over U.S. funds to insure the performance and results we want. In other words recipients should be told: "You get our money; we want proof you are on our side and are making a sincere effort to help yourself in every way."

The Clay Report and its implication will be debated in and out of Congress for some time. I'm certain that one practical effect will be a reduction by more than \$1 billion in the \$4.9 billion appropriation for mutual security requested by President Kennedy.

Last year President Kennedy asked for \$4.9 billion and the appropriation was \$3.9 billion. During fiscal year 1955 through 1961, under President Eisenhower, the mutual security appropriations ranged from \$2.7 billion to \$3.7 billion. In '62 and '63 under Mr. Kennedy they went to \$3.9 billion. While I have consistently supported the program (especially military assistance) as an essential element in our own national defense, I think the dollar expenditures can and should be cut. Last year I endorsed a \$1 billion reduction. In fact, from my 11 years' experience on the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee I'm convinced that reductions made by the Congress in the Administration's requested funds actually help the Administration under any President. It has to be more selective in the use of available funds and therefore has the opportunity to produce better results in a more advantageous environment. It is discouraged from spreading itself too thin and from doling out dollars where lack of results can only bring condemnation.

**NEWS MANAGEMENT:** The House Committee on Government Operations has been looking into the problem of "news management" by officials in the Executive Branch. This is not a new problem and it is evident that there is no easy solution. We will all agree that there are instances when censorship is essential and there are occasions when it is not in the national interest for the government to publicly announce the whole truth. But this is not to say that the Administration may willfully withhold or manipulate the facts when the national security is not involved. I am concerned that withholding information by labeling it "secret" or "top secret" may be used as a cover-up for poor judgment or bad mistakes. I am also concerned with the attitude of certain public information officers in the Kennedy Administration who seem to delight in their ability to manage the news. If we are truly dedicated to the principle of democratic rule, we want an informed electorate and we regret any suppression of the facts. Because of the attitude of the present Administration I think the Democratic-controlled Committee on Government Operations is well-advised in examining and publicizing the problem of "news management."

**AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN:** Upon Gov. Romney's recommendation the State Legislature has approved legislation to enable Michigan children who are in need because of a parent's unemployment to receive ADC (aid to dependent children) funds. But HEW Secretary Celebrezze upon advice of Washington bureaucrats has ruled that federal funds will not be available because HEW doesn't like a provision of Michigan law concerning eligibility for ADC. It is regrettable that some Michigan children will suffer because appointed bureaucrats in Washington overrule our elected representatives in Lansing and Washington. This development is a warning to all who think we can have any type of "federal aid" without "federal control."



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



April 10, 1963

**A DIFFERENCE OF PHILOSOPHY:** President Kennedy seems to take special delight in pointing out that there was a \$12.4 billion deficit in fiscal year 1959 under President Eisenhower. He mentioned this again at his press conference last Wednesday and added that Ike had predicted a \$500 million surplus. The facts as presented are correct but there is much more to the story.

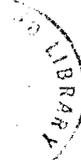
The most important difference on fiscal policy between Ike and JFK is one of attitude and purpose. Mr. Eisenhower preferred a budgetary surplus; President Kennedy openly advocates a huge deficit. Ike aimed toward debt reduction; JFK aims to put the country further into debt. President Eisenhower regretted passing on to future generations the burden of paying for our benefits plus interest; Mr. Kennedy thinks it is good and proper to let someone else pay the bill with interest.

Now let's look at some of the facts that President Kennedy neglected to mention at his press conference. Under Ike we had three years with a budgetary surplus: 1956 (\$1.6 billion), 1957 (\$1.5 billion), and 1960 (\$1.2 billion). There have been and apparently will be no surpluses under Mr. Kennedy. It should not be overlooked that the deficit year of 1959 which Mr. Kennedy likes to mention was followed in 1960 under Ike by a surplus of \$1.2 billion.

Furthermore, the 1959 deficit was not a planned and determined deficit. It was unplanned and regretted, and resulted from an unexpected loss of revenue and unexpected expenditures due to the 1958 recession. Today there is no recession; now is the time to pay off some of the obligations acquired in periods of special need.

Let's look at the debt situation. When Eisenhower took over on January 20, 1953 the national debt stood at \$267.3 billion. When he left office it was \$290.3 billion. This meant an average annual debt increase under Ike of \$2.9 billion. Under JFK the national debt rose in two years to \$304.8 billion (January 20, 1963) for an annual debt increase of \$7.2 billion under Mr. Kennedy.

I don't like a deficit or a debt increase under any Administration. These may be unavoidable in time of dire national emergency. But when there is no great loss of revenue and there is a real opportunity to reduce federal expenditures, I believe that common sense, moral integrity, and public responsibility require that our government live within its income. This means that we must heed Mr. Eisenhower's advice to drastically reduce federal expenditures. The way to cut the tax burden is to cut government expenditures.



**TREASURY-POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION:** The House last Thursday endorsed the work of the Committee on Appropriations in making a 2.4 percent reduction in the President's request in the money bill for Treasury, Post Office, and the Executive Office for fiscal 1964. But the funds allowed for next year represent a 5.8 percent increase over this year's appropriations.

The Post Office Department is to receive \$4.8 billion, a reduction of \$91.6 million from the budgetary request but \$227.5 million more than the total appropriation for this year. The small reduction made in requested funds will in no way affect the salary of any Post Office employee. Each employee will receive any pay raise to which he is entitled under the law.

The budget anticipates a postal deficit in 1964 of \$554 million. This is the amount that comes out of the pocket of the general taxpayers for running the Post Office. The remainder of the appropriation or about \$4.3 billion is recovered from stamp sales and other post office revenues. Under current law about \$450 million of the deficit may be charged off as "public services," that is, services performed by the post office for our citizens and often for other governmental agencies for which no fee is charged. Therefore the net deficit for 1964 can be estimated at about \$104 million. But the final figure may vary considerably depending on actual revenue received through the new rates and actual savings realized through proposed reformations.

**EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE:** When Gen. Maxwell Taylor was before our Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations in February he refused to discuss the report of the Presidential appointed Study Board on the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Previously the Attorney General, also a member of this investigative board revealed some of its findings to certain newsmen. Yet Gen. Taylor refused to discuss the matter with elected Congressmen on the Committee which has jurisdiction over funds for the Defense Department. He based his refusal on President Kennedy's order and on the theory that "executive privilege" gave him the right to deny the information to Congress. Certainly the national security was not involved: all members of the Subcommittee have clearance; testimony is censored before printing; the Cuban fiasco is history. Gen. Taylor didn't plead security reasons but said that a public discussion of his Report "would be damaging to all parties concerned." In other words, the truth would embarrass the Kennedy Administration. Very simply, this is another example of the abuse of "executive privilege" to cover up mistakes. As was true of "managed news" techniques mentioned last week, this sort of action is inconsistent with the American way of life.

**HIGH SCHOOL VISITORS:** We had our first visits of the season from high school classes last week. On Thursday we met 49 seniors from Lee High School and 44 from Byron Center. On Friday Hudsonville's 65 seniors were on Capitol Hill. It is always a pleasure to speak to these young people and to have a picture taken on the steps leading to the House Chamber.



# Your Washington Review

by

Congressman

## JERRY FORD



April 17, 1963

An effort by the Committee on Appropriations to save the taxpayers a half-billion dollars was defeated by a vote of 228 to 184 in the House of Representatives last Wednesday. The Committee had eliminated from the Supplemental Appropriations bill for 1963 the \$500 million request of the Kennedy Administration to pay for local road construction, recreational facilities, water and sewage plants, fire stations, park improvements, community centers, libraries, city halls, courthouse repairs, and wildlife facilities. Five Democrats on the Committee had voted with 17 Republicans to eliminate this request for additional funds for these local projects in the current fiscal year which ends June 30th. The "Accelerated Public Works Program" has already received an appropriation of \$400 million for this fiscal year. The additional \$500 million would have raised the total available in one year to \$900 million. The House action in restoring \$450 million brings the year's total to \$850 million.

In a 68-page report distributed to members of Congress a few days before the vote on the appropriation, the Administrator of the program listed 2,700 local projects in 50 states involving the expenditure of \$312 million which have been approved for federal assistance. The alleged purpose of the program is to make work to reduce unemployment which after two years of the Kennedy Administration stands at a high 5.6 percent. But many of the approved projects were in areas where there is little or no unemployment. Moreover, the program's Administrator agreed that only 60,000 on-site jobs for one year will be created by the \$500 million expenditure.

There is considerable evidence that allocation of funds under the acceleration program has been politically inspired. A veteran New York Republican Congressman revealed that two days before the election last November his Democratic opponent was told that he could announce a special public works grant to a town in the District about which the Republican Congressman had been given no information. Incidentally, the project has not yet gotten under way.

In addition, there is little evidence that "make work" programs are of any real value in getting at the root of the unemployment problem. Furthermore, the Congress has appropriated for the current fiscal year a total of \$5.07 billion, exclusive of highway construction funds, for the regular federal public works program. Uncle Sam would be spending these billions on public works without the accelerated program.

I voted for the \$500 million reduction in Committee and against restoration of \$450 million in the House vote. I also voted against the authorization bill when it passed

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the House last August. My opposition was based on the factors mentioned above and on the status of the federal budget and national debt. With an annual deficit in excess of \$10 billion, we must reject costly programs and projects which under other circumstances could be approved.

**SILVER LEGISLATION:** By a vote of 251 to 122 the House on Wednesday approved a bill relative to the purchase of silver and the nature of our one-dollar bills. If this bill, H. R. 5389, becomes law our one-dollar bills will be Federal Reserve Notes rather than Silver Certificates which promise to pay upon demand one dollar in silver. The original bill, H. R. 4413, for which H.R. 5389 was the Committee substitute, was discussed in my newsletter three weeks ago when I explained some of the reasons for the legislation. I voted for H. R. 5389 which carries out recommendations made by President Kennedy in his latest Economic Report to the Congress.

**NUCLEAR TEST BAN:** Considerable interest has been exhibited recently in the negotiations going on with Russia relative to a nuclear test ban. President Eisenhower recognizing the potential danger in a nuclear arms race, suggested a test ban treaty. Because Ike had no confidence in the Communists he insisted that any treaty contain self-enforcing mechanisms. He wanted to insure against any cheating by those who had vowed to bury us. As a practical matter any testing in the atmosphere can be readily detected. The problem lies in underground testing.

It is true that an underground nuclear explosion can be detected by a seismograph, the instrument which measures and locates earthquakes. But it has been well established that the seismograph must be located within 600 miles of the underground nuclear explosion to give us accurate information. Low-yield nuclear tests carried out beyond a 600-mile radius from the seismograph cannot be determined for a certainty. About 1/3 of the land of the Soviet Union lies more than 600 miles from a place where we can have a seismograph. Thus the Soviets have a "zone of undetectability" of about 2½ million square miles. In this area they could carry on low-yield underground nuclear tests without detection unless there were other means for inspection including on-site examination. Military atomic experts have testified that low-yield underground testing is adequate for experimenting with all types of nuclear weapons of interest to the military except the latest developments in the H-bomb.

Because of these facts Republicans in Congress have expressed grave concern with the apparent willingness of the Kennedy Administration to make concessions to the Russians at Geneva. The United States must agree to no nuclear test ban which leaves any possibility for cheating. To permit the Russians in any way to develop improved nuclear weapons under the guise of a treaty can only hasten the day when their superior nuclear power will mean that we yield to their ultimatum to surrender or die. I want a test ban treaty but it must be fool-proof, fair to both sides, with assurance that neither side can cheat.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



April 24, 1963

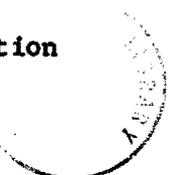
That Congressional activities vary was forcefully illustrated by the contrast in our work during the week before Easter and that following. During the four days before Good Friday 231 folks from home signed the guest book in the office and visited with us; last week there were nine. In addition, a week ago I met for an hour with 70 high school students here with the Fountain Street Workshop Tour; last week there were no school groups to see us.

While there were no sessions at all last week, the previous week the House of Representatives was in session for 15 hours and 51 minutes including two meetings of more than 5½ hours each. The week before Easter our Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations met regularly to analyze the defense budget from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 and 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.; the following week there were no meetings. This gave me an opportunity to accept invitations in Grand Rapids, Holland, Lansing, Detroit, Oscoda, Chicago, and Minneapolis. I was away from Washington for these speaking engagements from Wednesday through Saturday.

**TOWARD A CUBAN POLICY:** Rep. August Johansen of Michigan sent the following telegram to President Kennedy on April 1: "We must end the harassment, which this government has carried on, of liberty-loving anti-Castro forces in Cuba and in other lands. While we cannot violate international law, we must recognize that these exiles and rebels represent the real voice of Cuba, and should not be constantly handicapped by our Immigration and Justice authorities."

As of April 19 Mr. Johansen had received no reply from the White House although newspaper headlines, "U. S. to Curb Cuban Exiles" have been common. But the most startling fact is that the precise words of the telegram Rep. Johansen sent to President John F. Kennedy were uttered by Senator John F. Kennedy at Johnstown, Pa., on October 15, 1960. It is only fair to ask whether "these exiles and rebels" do not still represent "the real voice of Cuba?" And should this government not "end the harassment...of liberty-loving anti-Castro forces in Cuba and in other lands?"

In Cincinnati on October 6, 1960 Senator Kennedy said, "We must firmly resist further Communist encroachment in this hemisphere, working through a strengthened organization of the American States, and encouraging those liberty-loving Cubans who are leading the resistance to Castro." The Cuba which plagues us could be a Cuba which pleases us if the policies which Senator Kennedy enunciated were the policies which President Kennedy pursued. It is quite evident that had the pre-election Kennedy promises become the post-election



Kennedy policies we could have escaped the Bay-of-Pigs fiasco, the prisoner-ransom disgrace, and the present Soviet-dominated stalemate.

WITH THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS: During this session the Committee on Ways and Means has spent most of its time on the President's tax proposals. However, there seems to be no great urgency in the Committee; it has scheduled only morning meetings of 2 to 2½ hours per day.

The Committee took time out to consider the Administration's request for a continuation of the \$308-billion debt limitation but did nothing about it. As a result the debt limit was automatically lowered to \$305 billion on March 31st. Unless the Committee takes some action the limit will by law go to \$300 billion on June 25 and to \$285 billion on June 30. It is obvious that some adjustment will have to be made especially when the Kennedy Administration is predicting a national debt of \$316 billion by June 30, 1964. This predicted figure is one more argument against bigger spending and deficit financing.

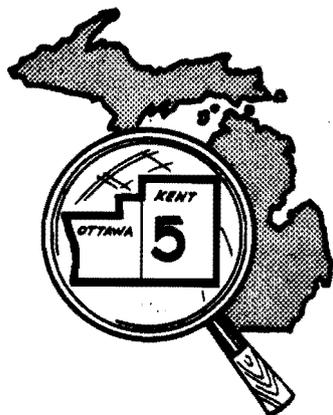
The Committee has reported a bill, H. R. 4655, to reduce the federal unemployment tax for 1963 from .8 percent to .65 percent largely because of the potential surplus in the fund from which certain expenses of the Employment Security Administration are met. The tax for 1962 and 1963 had been increased from .4 percent to .8 percent when unemployment benefits were temporarily extended.

WITH THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR: Various subcommittees have been working with portions of the omnibus education bill, H. R. 3000, submitted by the Kennedy Administration. Hearings on vocational education will continue all this week. Hearings on assistance to federally impacted school areas and for improving library services have been concluded by the respective subcommittees which will meet in executive session this week in the hope of being able to pass on recommendations to the full committee.

A "Youth Employment Act," H. R. 5131, was reported by the full committee on April 8 with all minority members opposed. This bill would set up a Youth Conservation Corps to work in parks and forests. The minority feel that a more constructive program would involve vocational training and job opportunities in a more realistic environment. The bill is presently with the Committee on Rules which schedules legislation for House action. As of April 18th no request for action had come from Chairman Powell of the Education Committee so Rules had done nothing.

The subcommittee handling H. R. 3861, the bill calling for equal pay for women doing equal work, has concluded its hearings and will meet in executive session this week to decide on further action.

The General Subcommittee on Labor headed by Rep. James Roosevelt has been considering H. R. 405, the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Act which would prohibit discrimination in employment or <sup>in</sup> membership in a labor union because of race, religion, national origin, or age. Hearings were scheduled this Monday evening at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Peanek, N. J., where Mr. Roosevelt is a part-time instructor in political science.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



May 1, 1963

Two major legislative items were acted upon by the House of Representatives last week. In addition, numerous private bills and a number of minor public bills passed the House. Committee activity was in full swing with public hearings, executive sessions, and reports on legislation being submitted to the House.

**HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE ACT:** A \$206 million three-year program of federal assistance to medical and dental schools and students was adopted by a vote of 228 to 122 on Wednesday. I voted against the bill, H.R. 12, on final passage and for a motion to eliminate the student loan provision from the legislation. It seems to me that any federal assistance to higher education should encompass colleges, universities and their components generally. To grant help to certain schools or parts of institutions by special legislation is a haphazard, piecemeal method of doing a really big job. It means that other special interest groups in higher education will come to the Congress with their demands to compete for dollars from the U. S. Treasury. An overall federal aid program for the construction of necessary college and university facilities, which I have supported in the past, is a far better approach.

H.R. 12 restricts federal grants to the construction or rehabilitation of facilities only for the training of physicians, dentists, pharmacists, optometrists, podiatrists, nurses, or professional public health personnel. Some members of the committee which handled the bill questioned the need for federal expenditures for this specific purpose at a time when the Treasury is far in the red. They reported that "there is no reason to believe that the bulk of the needed building will not be done regardless of the fate of H.R. 12." Incidentally the committee agreed that administrative costs for the three-year program will total \$1,150,000 and "that extensions of the initial three-year program will be necessary in order to achieve fully the objectives of this legislation." In fact the original proposal called for a 10-year program costing \$813 million.

The legislation would have been more palatable if the House had approved three amendments which it rejected. One of these would have limited to 50 percent the total federal share in all construction under the bill. The second would have denied Federal funds to institutions which discriminate on the basis of race in admission of students. I think these amendments should have been adopted. The third amendment, to remove the student loan provisions, was rejected by a recorded vote of 171 to 229.

I voted to delete the provisions which authorize \$30.7 million for loans to students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy. We already have a loan program under the National

Defense Education Act. In 1962 over 3200 medical students and over 1800 dentistry students received loans which averaged \$700. NDEA loans are limited to \$1,000 a year with a \$5,000 maximum; H.R. 12 loans, however, could be \$2,000 a year with a limit of \$8,000. It would seem desirable to have a greater degree of uniformity in federally financed loans to college students.

Evidence was also presented to the House to show that there are many scholarships, fellowships, and loan programs already available to worthy students. The need for new and special federal loans is, to say the least, questionable. In addition, we have in H.R. 12 another example of legislation whose purpose is laudable but whose enactment could be postponed until we get our fiscal house in order.

**FEED GRAINS ACT:** With one Democrat and all the Republicans objecting, the Committee on Agriculture recommended the enactment of H.R. 4997, the Feed Grains Act of 1963. The House on Thursday endorsed the bill by a vote of 208 to 196. I voted with the minority on final passage against another unsound, dangerous, and costly piece of farm legislation advocated by Secretary Orville Freeman.

I indicated in my newsletter of February 6 that it was generally agreed at that time that legislation relative to feed grains (corn, oats, barley, rye, and grain sorghums) would be delayed until after the May 21 National Wheat Referendum. On that date wheat farmers throughout the country will vote on the certificate wheat plan strongly supported by Secretary Freeman. With the farmer's verdict known on wheat the Congress could try to write a sane program for the feed grains. But Secretary Freeman, fearing a defeat at the hands of the wheat farmers, insisted on H.R. 4997 as a "political sweetener" for them. The enactment of this bill will permit certain farmers in the far west to shift their allotted wheat acreage to feed grains. Freeman hopes this will encourage them to vote "yes" in the referendum. In any event there would be plenty of time after May 21 to write feed grains legislation for the crops of 1964 and 1965, those covered by H.R. 4997.

I also voted against the bill because it increased the power of Washington bureaucrats to control production and marketing of farm products. We want less federal control of agriculture, not more. But it is evident that this Administration's only answer to controls that don't work is more and more control. The Kennedy-Freeman plan for agriculture is mandatory control over every meaningful action of every farmer.

Some of the provisions of H.R. 4997 border on the ridiculous. For instance, farmers who raised no feed grains in 1959 or 1960, can obtain a base (the right to grow) for 1964, and without producing one single kernel during that year, may in 1965 receive federal payments for not growing feed grains on one-half of their land. They will be paid not to grow something they never have produced. This approaches the ultimate in New Frontier farming.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



May 8, 1963

The House of Representatives has passed a 1964 appropriation bill in which the total amount was under both the President's budget and the 1963 appropriation. Thus it has altered the usual pattern of allowing less money than the Administration requested but more than is being spent during the current year. For the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare the President had asked \$5.79 billion. The bill approved by the House last Tuesday cut \$309 million from the request for a 5.4 percent reduction. But the more unusual fact is that the appropriation for 1964 is \$118.8 million under this year's spending allowance for these Departments. Actually the Department of Labor received \$24.4 million more than last year but the \$144.6 million reduction for HEW offset Labor's increase and those of the related agencies considered in this, the third regular appropriation bill to be passed this session.

One other pattern change was reflected in the \$18 million reduction in the budgetary request for the National Institutes of Health. In the past Congress has often increased the President's request for NIH and its medical research activities. This year there was a reduction in the request although the amount allowed (\$962.4 million) is \$31.6 million more than was appropriated for the current year. The record of the Committee's hearings on NIH runs to about 1,000 pages. The Committee examined and evaluated the evidence relative to allegations of inadequacy, laxness, and ineptness in handling research grants by the administrators, the grantee institutions and individuals. At the conclusion of the hearings the Committee on Appropriations stated it was "favorably impressed with the solid improvements made by NIH in its administrative procedures and policies."

**BUDGET REDUCTION TO DATE:** The House had previously cut 9 percent or \$92 million from the request for the Department of Interior and had reduced the amount for the Treasury and Post Office Departments by \$149 million or 2.4 percent.

In action on four appropriation bills this session the House has reduced the President's budget by \$760 million. The total appropriated in the four bills is \$13.8 billion.

**OTHER LEGISLATION OF THE WEEK:** On Monday the House approved H. R. 1762, a bill to authorize the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of Interior. The main function of the Bureau, according to Administrative spokesmen, is to coordinate the activities of various federal agencies in the field of outdoor recreation. The Bureau has already been set up by Executive Order and the legislation had been requested to provide "the organic act" for the Bureau.

I'm sure this is one of the "bureaus" with which we could do without, especially when we note that the price tag for 1964 is \$2.4 million. There was no roll call vote on final passage of the bill but I did vote for an amendment, approved 292-50, which requires the Secretary of Interior to make an annual report on the source, value, purpose, and use of each donation accepted by the Bureau. The House wants this report so it will have a complete picture of the activities and fiscal operations of the Bureau.

The House agreed to reduce the federal unemployment tax for 1963 from 0.8 percent to 0.65 percent. The bill, H. R. 4655, unanimously approved by the Committee on Ways and Means, made two other changes in the law relative to the administration of the employment service.

A bill not unanimously approved by the Committee on Banking and Currency was also passed by the House but only after adoption of an amendment supported by every Republican on the Committee. The bill, H.R. 3872, extends the life of the Export-Import Bank for five years and increases its lending authority. The Republicans favored all provisions of the bill except the "back-door financing" section. They insisted that the additional \$2 billion to be made available to the Bank be obtained from appropriated funds rather than directly from the Treasury without further review by the Congress. The Republicans were asking that Bank administrators be required to explain and defend their work each year to the Committee on Appropriations which passes on their request for funds. When this Republican-sponsored amendment was accepted, the bill passed with no difficulty.

The House last week also authorized appropriations up to \$49.8 million for the purchase, construction, lease, maintenance, repair, and alteration of buildings overseas required by the Department of State in the operation of its 286 posts abroad. The Committee on Foreign Affairs had cut \$4.1 million from the Administration's request of \$30.5 million for new construction and major alterations.

FOOTNOTE ON FEED GRAINS BILL: During the debate on the feed grains bill mentioned last week it was shown that in 1963 the payments for not growing 25.8 million acres of feed grains are over \$200 million more than the payments for not growing 25.2 million acres in 1961. The payments in 1963 are \$141 million more than they were in 1962 in spite of the fact that there are almost 3 million fewer acres taken out of production. Payments in 1963 are up in an amount of \$496 million for land retirement and an additional \$487 million is being spent in direct price-support payments.

Amid the conflicting presentations an amendment was offered to the section of the bill which authorizes payments for not growing feed grains to farmers who had not been producing any in the past. The amendment would have prohibited such payments unless Congress permitted "payments in like amount to residents of urban areas who are willing not to grow feed grains." The amendment was defeated 124 to 151. The amendment was offered to call attention to a ridiculous provision in the bill.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



May 15, 1963

Scheduled for consideration today in the House of Representatives is a bill to raise the "temporary" national debt limit to \$309 billion for July and August of this year. Recommended by the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means upon demand of the Kennedy Administration, the bill, H. R. 6009, was opposed by all ten Republican members of the Committee. The Republicans urged that the current \$305 billion limit be maintained.

Republicans oppose an increase in the debt ceiling as one means of halting the Kennedy Administration's spending spree. The Kennedy deficits are created by increased spending and not by decreased revenue. Treasury receipts in 1961 were \$77.6; in 1962 they were up to \$81.4 billion, and for this year, \$85.5 billion. Expenditures in 1961 were \$81.5 billion; in 1962 they were up to \$87.8 billion, and for this year will be at least \$94.3 billion. With increased revenues and a high degree of prosperity, the Administration should live within its income or have the courage to ask for a tax increase. I think it is morally and ethically wrong for us at this time to follow a policy of deficit financing by which we enjoy material benefits to be paid for plus interest by our children and grandchildren.

To continually increase the debt limit to accommodate the Kennedy Administration's wobbly economic theories and reckless spending proposals is to support a policy of unlimited national debt. Secretary Dillon has said that according to Mr. Kennedy's present plans the debt will go to between \$315 and \$320 billion by June 30, 1964. To increase the limit now means to raise it further in a few months and then up and up and up. The time to halt increased spending, increased deficits, increased debts, increased interest costs, and increased taxes is now. It is encouraging to note that in the first four appropriations bills passed by the House \$754 million was cut from the President's budget for a 5.2 percent reduction. If members of Congress favoring economy have the dedicated support of citizens back home (including those who may benefit from greater spending), reductions in expenditures and in the debt can be made.

**A POINT OF VIEW ON \$65,000:** In today's budget a \$65,000 item is infinitesimal, but one such item brought a roll call vote last Wednesday which resulted in the \$1.4 billion supplemental appropriations bill being returned to its conference committee (joint House-Senate membership). The House had eliminated from the original bill but the Senate included \$65,000 earmarked for the "International Secretariat of the Middle Level Manpower." This turned out to be the secretariat for the International Peace Corps and the U. S. was to pay the expenses of delegates from 12 other countries at a meeting in Washington

beginning May 6th. These are not delegates from under-developed countries but included those from Canada, Denmark, Japan, Netherlands, West Germany, and Switzerland.

At the request of the Administration which at the very moment was paying the expenses of these foreign delegates, the American taxpayers were asked to hand over additional (supplemental) funds to meet the cost. The House voted 207 to 190 to instruct its conferees to eliminate this amount. It is significant that every Republican from Michigan voted to cut out this unnecessary expense. But every Democrat from Michigan, including Neil Staebler, our Congressman-at-Large, supported this waste of tax dollars.

**MILITARY PAY INCREASE:** The last basic pay raise for members of the armed forces became effective on June 1, 1958. Civilian federal employees received pay increases in 1958, 1960, 1962, and will get another raise on January 1, 1964. The Department of Defense this year recommended a pay increase for members of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The House Committee on Armed Forces reported a bill which provides an overall average increase in basic pay for active duty personnel of 12.6 percent for those with more than two years of service. The total cost of the bill as recommended was \$1.19 billion a year.

The House adopted an amendment to provide \$55 a month combat duty pay for those under actual hostile firing as in Laos and Vietnam today. It is estimated that this will cost from \$1 to \$2 million a year unless there is a major change in world conditions.

I objected strongly to another amendment adopted by the House over the objections of its committee and the distinguished Chairman, Rep. Carl Vinson. The Committee had included in the bill a 5 percent increase in pay for those retired from the Armed Forces. The House approved an amendment which further increases the pay of those who retired before June 1, 1958. For instance retired generals and admirals now getting \$12,180 a year were to get \$12,792 under the Committee bill, but will receive \$16,068 if House bill becomes law--an increase of \$3,888.

I am concerned with the ever-increasing cost of retirement pay for the military. In 1954, the defense appropriations bill of \$40.3 billion provided retirement pay of \$386 million or 0.96 percent of the defense budget. In 1964 the \$51 billion defense budget calls for \$1.1 billion in retirement pay or 2.28 percent of the total.

In 11 defense budgets from 1954 through 1964 the total costs have gone up 25 percent but cost of retirement pay increased 130 percent. In 1971 the cost of military retirement will be over \$2 billion a year and this will be an increasingly larger share of our annual military expenditures for the defense of the nation. This increasing annual cost of the military retirement program in future years could bring major changes. I don't want to see a good system in jeopardy and therefore opposed the additional increase voted by the House over its own Committee's recommendation. Justice, equity, and fairness, however, required that I support the military pay bill in all other respects.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



May 22, 1963

Faith 7 and the National Debt Limitation were both sent into orbit last Wednesday. Major Cooper in Faith 7 was "all go" for 22 orbits. The House of Representatives blasted off the debt limitation but full orbit will not be attained until August when the \$309 billion limit will be further boosted. The pressures of acceleration and reentry on Major Cooper were endured and completed; the pressures of taxes and increased interest costs will be endured unmitigated for generations by all U. S. taxpayers. The American people won a victory in space but lost a battle in the House of Representatives.

By a narrow margin of 213 to 204 the House voted to raise the debt limit from \$305 billion to \$307 billion until June 30 and to \$309 billion for July and August. On September 1 the limit reverts to \$285 billion which can only mean that the Congress will again be asked to increase the limit further before that date. This will be the fifth request in two years by the Kennedy Administration for a debt boost.

The Republican members of the Committee on Ways and Means offered a sound and constructive alternative which called for the continuation of the present \$305 billion limit. This proposal was defeated 195 to 222 with 170 Republicans and 25 Democrats supporting it but 219 Democrats and only three Republicans in opposition.

On final passage putting the limit at \$309 billion, 32 Democrats joined 170 Republicans in opposition while only one Republican went along with the majority party to up the figure. All Michigan Democrats including our Congressman-at-large voted for more debt and more spending; all Michigan Republicans voted to keep the \$305 billion limit. I mention these differences not out of pride of partisanship but to counter the allegation that there is little or no difference in the attitudes of the parties on fiscal policy and economy.

**MORE CONTROL AND OBEISANCE FOR SECRETARY FREEMAN:** Over thirty resolutions have been introduced in the House to stop the Secretary of Agriculture from requiring every local farmer-elected ASC committeeman to pledge that he will "support the programs he is called upon to administer." These resolutions would have the Congress overrule Secretary Freeman who on March 1 published an order that locally and independently elected members of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee must support his policies whether they approve them or not. Moreover the members are required to make this pledge before taking office. Such highhanded attempts at bureaucratic dictation to locally elected officials cannot be condoned.



Regrettably an effort in the Senate to overrule the Secretary's order by amending the Feed Grains bill was defeated 34 to 48 with both Michigan Senators voting to endorse the Secretary's dictatorial methods.

THE YEAS AND NAYS: Four bills, on which I have not previously commented, recently passed the House by an overwhelming vote. H. R. 950, recommended by the Committee on Un-American Activities, strengthens the authority of the Secretary of Defense to dismiss employees of the National Security Agency for security reasons. The legislation grew out of the flight to Russia in 1960 of two employees of the Agency who had access to top secret cryptologic information. I voted for the bill which passed 340 to 40.

By a vote of 384 to 2 the House approved H. R. Res. 245 which limits the expense allowances for members of Congress traveling abroad on official business. Complete reports must also be filed by any Federal Agency which expends its funds on behalf of traveling members or employees of the Congress. I supported this action which was designed to curtail certain abuses recently publicized.

Acting in its capacity as a local governing body the House last Monday approved H. R. 4274 to permit principals and teachers in the public schools of Washington, D. C. to "use reasonable force in the exercise of lawful authority to restrain or correct pupils and maintain order." Current rules of the D. C. Board of Education state that "corporal punishment is not permitted." When a divided Board refused to change the rule at the request of the Superintendent of Schools and the vast majority of teachers, the House passed H. R. 4274 by a vote of 277 to 53. While we can all agree that school is no longer to be "taught by the rule of the hickory stick," we should give teachers and principals the authority to use reasonable force to maintain order. Today only New Jersey and the District of Columbia prohibit corporal punishment in schools. I endorsed the action taken by the House.

The fourth bill, H. R. 40, approved 274 to 30, authorized the appropriation of federal matching funds to assist states in the construction and remodeling of buildings and laboratories for agricultural research in State experiment stations.

Two additional roll call votes with the count much closer also developed last week. The conference report on the Supplemental Appropriations bill for 1963, was approved 241 to 130. Defeated 153 to 217 was a Resolution authorizing payment of expenses for four members of the Committee on Education and Labor at a meeting of the International Labor Organization at Geneva with Rep. James Roosevelt going on to Greece, Israel, Rome, and Paris. I voted against the Supplemental primarily because it included an additional \$450 million expenditure this year for the accelerated public works programs which I discussed on April 17th. We who opposed the travel allowance are concerned with the refusal of the Chairman of the Committee to file a satisfactory statement of past expenditures of public funds.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



May 29, 1963

Legislation to provide equal pay for equal work by women was approved by the House of Representatives last Thursday. The bill, H.R. 6060, incorporating recommendations by Republican members of the Committee on Education and Labor, is a vast improvement over last year's Administration bill which was considered by both Houses but without agreement being reached. Instead of creating a huge new bureaucracy to administer the law, enforcement is placed in the existing Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor. Coverage is limited to those employees (estimated at 27,500,000) who are presently covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. The Act's exemptions also apply: agriculture, hotels, motels, restaurants, and laundries being excluded from coverage along with professional, managerial, administrative personnel, and outside salesmen.

If this bill becomes law it will be illegal for wage differentials to be based solely on sex. In other words, men and women performing the same task are to receive the same pay. However, the bill recognizes that there are many factors which enter into job classifications and wage differentials. H. R. 6060, therefore, requires that equal wages must be paid men and women only for "equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions."

The Act will go into effect one year after it is signed into law except for employees covered by a labor-management contract in which case the effective date is extended another year or until the contract expires. This legislation places equal responsibility on management and labor unions to carry out its provisions.

**AND LET FREEDOM REIGN:** America's wheat farmers last Tuesday voted overwhelmingly to free themselves from restrictive bureaucratic control and costly federal price supports. Repudiating the Kennedy-Freeman scheme which combined iron-clad controls over production on every farm with the promise of \$2 a bushel for 80 percent of the wheat produced (\$1.30' for the remainder), the American farmers chose freedom over thinly veiled security. The vote left no doubt as to where the wheat farmers stand. With a 66-2/3 percent "yes" vote required for approval, only 47.8 percent of the farmers endorsed the Kennedy-Freeman plan. None of the major wheat-producing states gave the plan the required 2/3 approval. This stunning defeat for the Administration's farm policy is most significant in view of the all-out effort to produce an affirmative vote by Secretary Freeman and Department of Agriculture officials throughout the country.

JANUARY

In Michigan 76,489 farmers voted and 79.8 percent said "no" to rigid controls and high price supports. This year was the first time the small farmer (15 acres or less) was given an opportunity to vote and he spoke "loud and clear." Last year in Michigan only 5733 votes were cast in the wheat referendum with 53.6 percent voting affirmatively. A year ago the nationwide wheat referendum carried by 68.4 percent with 250,621 votes being cast. This year with 1.14 million farmers voting on the issue it was defeated 547,151 to 596,943. Clearly, in 1963 America's farmers voted for Freedom and against Freeman.

At the May 7th meeting of the House Republican Conference, of which I am chairman, a resolution was adopted condemning "the blackjack tactics of the Secretary of Agriculture ... (in) improperly using the taxpayers' funds to prejudice the referendum, mislead the farmer, and turn the referendum into a Freeman pressure referendum." The Republicans in the House also promised that if the wheat farmers rejected the Freeman plan, they would demand and support the enactment of a sound and constructive alternative during this session of Congress. It would be unjust indeed if the Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress refused to adjust their thinking and actions to the expressed desires of American farmers. A number of plans for meeting the real needs of wheat producers have been introduced in the Congress. We hope the Democratic leaders will not vent their spleen on American farmers by refusing to recommend and enact a sound alternative to the repudiated Freeman plan.

**AND THE PRICE OF SUGAR GOES UP TOO:** Most housewives have noticed that the price of sugar at the store has risen drastically in recent weeks. A 5-pound bag of sugar selling for 61¢ in Washington during January now is marked 72¢, an increase of 18 percent. A year ago the price was 59¢. The same thing is true on the wholesale market. In fact there have been six price increases in the wholesale sugar market since April and 12 since the first of the year.

The sugar legislation recommended by the Kennedy Administration last year became law on July 13, 1962. The House of Representatives had passed a different "sugar bill" but the Senate insisted upon the Administration's approach to the problem. Because there was a deadline to meet the House accepted the Administration-Senate bill and this legislation has governed the sugar situation since July 13th.

While it is true that the weather situation in western Europe and the political situation in Cuba have influenced the sugar market, the Administration's sugar plan has aggravated the problem in the U. S. It is apparent that the Congress should reconsider the present Sugar Act and pass new legislation relative to foreign sugar quotas. Also, everything possible ought to be done to encourage the expansion of our domestic sugar industry.



# Your Washington Review

by  
Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



June 5, 1963

The only significant piece of legislation scheduled for consideration in the House of Representatives during the Memorial Day week was a bill to continue for two years the law permitting the employment of Mexican labor in U. S. agriculture. With the defeat of H. R. 5497, the program under Public Law 78 of 1951 by which "braceros" are admitted temporarily from Mexico to perform "stoop labor" and other essential work in fruit and vegetable farming is due to expire on December 31.

While the number of contracts with Mexican laborers has decreased from 445,000 in 1956 to 195,000 in 1962, the services performed by Mexican nationals is significant in U. S. and Michigan agriculture. Last year Michigan used 13,327 braceros to rank fourth among the states in their employment. California with 127,000 was first to be followed by Texas (36,000) and Arizona (17,000). While there was a nationwide decline of 56 percent in the man-months of Mexican farm labor from 1959 to 1962, the decline in Michigan was only 19 percent. During August of last year 2000 Mexican nationals were employed in a six-county area in western Michigan including Kent and Ottawa. The number dropped to 233 on September 15 and to 11 on October 31.

Mexican nationals may be used only where the Secretary of Labor certifies that U. S. workers "able, willing, and qualified" are not available and that the employment of the Mexicans "will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of domestic agricultural workers similarly employed." The Report of the Committee on Agriculture recommending the bill stated among other things that "any relationship between the use of braceros and displacement of American workers classified as 'hard-core' unemployed can be judged by the experience in Michigan. The Michigan Employment Security Commission, in attempting to place urban unemployed into seasonal agriculture jobs found fewer than 1 out of 20 stayed on the job long enough to have a successful work completion record."

The program is operated practically without cost to the Treasury. Governmental expenses are met largely from a fund maintained by fees paid by employers who use the Mexican nationals. The enactment of Public Law 78 has drastically reduced the number of "wetbacks" who illegally enter the U. S. to seek employment. The number dropped from over one million in 1954 to 30,000 in 1962. Furthermore this program brings into our country for a short period (never for more than six months) physically fit, adult men to work in the production and harvesting of sugarbeets, tomatoes, peaches, berries, cucumbers, etc. Women and children do not accompany the men so problems of child labor and education are eliminated.



Living and working conditions are supervised by proper authorities to prevent exploitation and the employer must pay the cost of transporting the worker from the border and back again. The Committee stated in its Report that discontinuance of the program would work the greatest hardship on the small farmers who are not able to further mechanize their operations or find substitute labor. In view of all these considerations I supported H. R. 5497. The House however, rejected the bill 158 to 174.

**AUTHORITY TO REORGANIZE:** Another law which expires this year unless Congress acts is that authorizing the President to reorganize agencies and activities of the executive branch. Originally approved in 1949, it was the purpose of the law to enable the President to promote efficiency and economy by giving him the power to rearrange, consolidate, or abolish agencies and offices. He was not to establish any agency or take on any function not expressly authorized by law. Either House of Congress could veto the Presidential proposal. There was little disagreement with this purpose and arrangement.

However, during 1961 and 1962 President Kennedy submitted "reorganization plans" which went far beyond the intent and purpose of Congress. He submitted a plan to establish a new cabinet post (Urban Affairs) not authorized by law. He proposed that the President have more political control over the quasi-judicial regulatory bodies (SEC, FCC, NLRB) and that more authority over all citizens be concentrated in these groups. The Congress vetoed four of the nine plans submitted in 1961 and 1962.

Under current law the President's authority to submit reorganization plans expires June 1. Legislation (H. R. 3496) to continue the authority for two years is scheduled for consideration this week. I intend to support the bill provided an amendment is adopted prohibiting the creation of any new executive departments by presidential action.

**SWEET AND DEAR:** Five pounds of sugar which was selling in Washington stores for 72¢ when last week's REVIEW was prepared is costing our families 89¢ at this writing. This represents a 28¢ or 46 percent increase since January when the price was 61¢. Republican members of the House Committee on Agriculture which handles sugar legislation have urged the Chairman to hold public hearings on developments in sugar. Republicans want to get the facts concerning the manner in which the Kennedy sugar program enacted last summer is being administered by Secretary Freeman and whether a different approach is necessary. They also want to know whether the Soviet influence in Cuba in recent months is responsible in any way for the extreme increase in sugar prices in our country.

It seems to me the Committee on Agriculture should conduct a thorough investigation and recommend any remedial legislation which appears necessary. Other committees have scheduled hearings but sugar legislation is the responsibility of the Committee on Agriculture. As the newsletter is being written Chairman Cooley, (Dem., N. C.) has not replied to the request of his Republican members.



# Your Washington Review

by

Congressman  
**JERRY FORD**



June 12, 1963

The House of Representatives last week acted on two of the 12 regular appropriation bills which must be approved each year. These bills are reported by the Committee on Appropriations of 50 members (30 Democrats; 20 Republicans) under the Chairmanship of 84-year-old Clarence Cannon, Democrat of Missouri. By means of 13 subcommittees this Committee hears weeks of testimony from officials in all the agencies of the Executive Branch, analyzes all the items in the presidential budget, and then "marks up" the appropriation bills. In the "mark up" final decisions are made. It is through this process that the elected representatives of the taxpayers exercise the "power of the purse" in controlling the functions of government. The 12 regular appropriation bills are the minimum legislation which must be passed each year. Without the passage of these bills there would be no tax funds legally available for the operation of government.

The first of the 12 bills to be practically completed is the appropriation for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and the Executive Office. It must only be approved by the Senate in its final form before going to the President for his signature. (Incidentally, it carries funds in the amount of \$2,730,000 to operate the White House and \$150,000 as "compensation for the President," i.e. \$100,000 salary; \$50,000 expense allowance.) Originally passed by the House on April 4, it was amended and passed by the Senate on May 8. Because of Senate changes, the bill on May 15 was sent to a conference committee composed of delegates from both Houses. The bill approved by the House last week was the compromise version worked out in Conference.

The total amount appropriated by this first regular appropriation bill for fiscal 1964 was \$6.04 billion. This represents a 1.6 percent cut in the \$6.14 billion request of the President. The House had made a \$150 million reduction while the Senate's cut was \$77 million. The bill developed by the conferees reduced the President's request by \$101 million. This is the normal pattern: The House cuts the request for money; the Senate restores some of the cut; the final appropriation is above the House bill and below the Senate's amount.

This is the bill in which the House initially reduced funds for the Post Office Department by \$92 million and threats of curtailment of service were made by the Postmaster General. The bill in its final form restored \$40 million of this reduction. The Post Office can live with this amount and provide all normal services. It is getting \$276 million more in 1964 than during current fiscal year.



The Department of Agriculture appropriation bill initially passed by the House last Thursday carried a \$5.9 billion price tag. The Committee had cut the President's request by 6.1 percent for a \$389 million saving but I believe further reductions could have been made. I therefore supported amendments on the floor encouraging additional economy. If we are to curtail excessive spending and make possible a tax cut, it is evident that the Congress must put the brakes on this Administration. Because I think Secretary Freeman is dedicated to excess in controls and in expenditures, I voted against the 1964 agriculture appropriation bill as I did on similar bills for 1962 and 1963.

**WHEAT REFERENDUM IS DRAMATIC:** The vote in the Fifth District on the wheat referendum was a dramatic demonstration of the opposition of small farmers to federal controls. The following chart gives the story of the vote in Kent and Ottawa Counties for the last four years. It should be noted that only in 1963 were farmers with a wheat allotment of 15 acres or less permitted to vote.

YEAR	VOTES CAST	YES	NO	PERCENTAGE OPPOSED
1960	106	73	33	31
1961	267	169	98	37
1962	165	103	62	38
1963	3809	667	3142	82

**POULTRY AND TARIFF NEGOTIATORS:** Last year the European Common Market increased the tariff on U. S. poultry from 5¢ to 13¢ a pound. This seemed more than unfair in light of the policy of our government to reduce trade and tariff barriers. But following further activity by our trade representatives, the Common Market upped the duty by 1½¢ a pound. On May 31 Democratic Senator Russell said that this "new tariff barrier against American poultry amounts to a total embargo that will make it impossible for American producers to export to Europe profitably." Yet as late as May 29 Secretary Freeman had said that "poultry probably represents our outstanding success story in developing a new market abroad ... We are, of course, hopeful that the (tariff) decision will be favorable." It was not, but Sec. Freeman had gone on to say, "In a sense, we feel that as poultry goes, so go our overall trade prospects." The poultry farmers of America should be very disappointed with the trade negotiators appointed by the President. Recent events, therefore, are not encouraging. It is evident that the Administration must adopt a more hard-headed approach in tariff negotiations if the best interests of our country are to be protected.

**"THE LONGEST DAY:"** With 10 roll call votes and a session lasting until 9:45 p.m., the House of Representatives had its longest day for this session last Tuesday. Considerable legislation was handled but approximately five hours were consumed by calling the roll of 435 members on ten occasions. One roll call was on legislation, another on adjournment (defeated), and eight were quorum calls. The latter were demanded from time to time by a few members who objected to a Republican discussion of civil rights. It was their way to filibuster. The long day with many trips from the office to the floor had one compensation. My attendance record for the session rose from 94.9% to 95.6%.



# Your Washington Review

by

## Congressman **JERRY FORD**

June 19, 1963



American taxpayers won a victory in the House of Representatives last Wednesday when the Kennedy Administration's request for an additional \$455.5 million for area redevelopment was turned down by a vote of 204 to 209. I voted against this unnecessary expenditure.

The area redevelopment program, established by the law of May 1, 1961, was supposed to alleviate the problems of substantial and persistent unemployment. The Area Redevelopment (ARA) was to provide industrial loans, public facility loans and grants, technical assistance, and worker retraining benefits. ARA was given \$394 million for what was alleged to be a temporary four-year plan. As of April 1st it had given final approval to applications totaling only \$84 million.

During its two years in existence, ARA has been able to use only 21.6 percent of the money it had available for industrial and commercial loans in urban areas and 20.6 percent in rural areas. It has utilized only 25.1 percent of its authorization for loans for public works and 22 percent for public facility grants. With other federal funds also available for many types of public works, there was little justification for granting additional tax money or borrowed funds to ARA.

According to ARA figures its loans and grants up to March 25th were supposed to have resulted in 35,226 new direct job opportunities. If this is true, its results have been meager indeed; the 35,226 job opportunities represent less than one percent of the total number of unemployed in the United States. If we take into consideration local private and public investments in approved ARA projects, it appears that only about 16,500 direct jobs can be attributed to federal assistance.

Furthermore, much evidence was presented to the Committee handling this legislation to show that ARA projects simply transfer unemployment from one place to another. It was shown that an approved loan to build a soybean processing plant in Maryland will drive out of business a similar plant nearby. The going concern is privately financed without taxpayer assistance. In another case a \$418,000 loan was granted to establish a papermill to make household tissues. Yet ARA knew that present capacity of this industry at normal working rates is in excess of consumption in the United States by more than 400,000 tons, or 16 percent. The 73 new jobs claimed for this new facility simply means that corresponding unemployment will be transplanted to existing plants which are operating now at only 84 percent of capacity.

The record of the Area Redevelopment Administration is another example of the impracticability of New Frontier theories. The new frontiersmen have not learned the first

lesson taught on the old (real) frontier--that you can't solve every problem by spending money and getting yourself further into debt.

**CORPORATE AND EXCISE TAXES CONTINUED:** The day after it halted the additional expenditures by ARA, the House voted 283 to 91 to continue the current corporate and excise taxes scheduled to be reduced or eliminated on July 1st. As much as I would like to see these taxes cut, it is evident that the U. S. Treasury cannot stand a revenue loss at this time of \$3 to \$4 billion annually. I therefore joined the majority in support of H. R. 6755 which provides for a one-year extension of the taxes. If the bill does not become law the 52 percent corporate tax rate will drop to 47 percent on July 1st. Excise taxes will be reduced as follows: distilled spirits from \$10.50 to \$9 per gallon; beer from \$9 to \$8 a barrel, wines by about 11%; cigarettes from 8¢ to 7¢ a pack, passenger cars from 10% to 7% of manufacturer's price; auto parts from 8% to 5%; telephone service from 10% to 0; and the 5% tax on airline tickets will be eliminated.

The Kennedy Administration has requested the continuation of these taxes at the current rates and approval in the Senate is expected. Only when we have a substantial reduction in federal expenditures can we have a substantial cut in federal taxes. A vigorous effort by the Kennedy Administration in behalf of economy and efficiency would assist materially in achieving responsible tax reduction.

**WORKSHIP IN WASHINGTON:** Four Fifth District college students will be working in my office this summer in our first annual "Workshop in Washington." Selected by their respective colleges, these students will be at the Capital from two to four weeks to gain some practical experience in governmental operations. They will be employed in my office but will also be encouraged to visit and observe many agencies of government in Washington.

The following students will participate in the 1963 "Workshop:" Allen J. Rietberg (Calvin College), 6158 Clyde Park Avenue, Grand Rapids; Thomas J. Sullivan (Aquinas College) 211 Bristol, N. W., Grand Rapids; David Wier (Hope College) 5035 N. Division, Comstock Park; and Miss Ina G. Zeemering (Grand Rapids Junior College) 1939 Collins, S. E., Grand Rapids.

Allen is a pre-law student and will be a junior in September. Tom is a political science major who has completed his junior year. David majored in history and political science and will be teaching at Hart this fall. Ina is considering the foreign service as a career and plans to enroll in the University of Michigan in September.

**OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT:** The 1963 edition of the 44-page booklet entitled "Our American Government" is now available. Published as a House Document, the booklet answers 175 questions on the history and functions of the Federal Government. It also lists the members of Congress by states and names the chairmen of House and Senate committees. Included also are the population figures for each state and the names of major officials of the government.

Copies of the booklet will be sent upon request addressed to me at 351 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.



# Your Washington Review

by

Congressman

## JERRY FORD



June 26, 1963

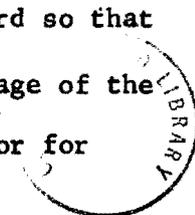
This week the House of Representatives acted upon the Department of Defense Appropriation Bill, by far the largest single money bill to be considered during this session. This action was also the culmination of the work which has occupied the major portion of my time since January. As the senior Republican member of the subcommittee on military appropriations I have participated in the executive session hearings on the defense budget which extended from January 21st to May 20th on a 4-to-5-hour a day, five-day-a-week basis. The published report of the discussions by the subcommittee with civilian and military leaders runs to six volumes and 4,610 pages.

After these extensive hearings the Subcommittee of 12 members made its recommendations to the full committee of 50 and to the House membership. The President's request of \$49 billion in defense funds was reduced by the Committee by \$1.9 billion. While this represents a 3.9 percent cut and the \$47.09 billion approved is \$700 million less than the 1963 appropriation, I can assure you that the Committee's action will have no adverse effect on the nation's security. In fact this reduction will help Secretary McNamara to achieve the economy and efficiency which all of us desire. Neither military operations nor weapons systems will be weakened by the \$1.9 billion savings. The Committee cut out the fat, not the muscle, from the Defense appropriation request.

**ANOTHER APPROPRIATION; EQUAL AIR TIME:** In approving the appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary the House last week cut President Kennedy's request by 14.3 percent. The \$1.8 billion allowance for 1964 is also \$292 million less than the appropriation for 1963. This is further evidence that a conscientious Congress can act to keep in line insatiable administrators.

By a vote of 263 to 126 the House passed H. J. Res. 247 which will permit radio and TV stations to grant equal time to presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the major political parties without having to give the same privilege to minor parties. While one can argue on a theoretical basis that this is not right, in the United States as a practical matter it is fair and equitable.

**THE CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE:** Chairman Celler of the Committee on the Judiciary has said that he hopes to renew hearings on the President's civil rights message and bill this week. In my newsletter of February 13th I urged that Mr. Celler give the civil rights bill introduced by Republicans in February the "highest priority." A proper consideration of this important issue requires that all parties concerned have ample opportunity to be heard so that the Congress will be appraised of all the bill's implications. The specific language of the bill must be carefully analyzed so that when the legislation reaches the House floor for



debate every member will know the full meaning of every provision.

During this period of study and consideration nothing could be more harmful than a flaunting of the law. (local, state, or federal) through public disturbances or any other means. All parties concerned must conduct themselves in a manner which indicates a respect for the Constitution and the rights of all citizens. Any other action can lead only to the consideration of this extremely significant legislation in a strained and unhealthy atmosphere. It is essential that any legislation enacted promote the best interests and safeguard the rights of all American citizens. When the Committee completes its work, I trust that we will have a bill all or most of us can support.

THE COURT'S RULE ON RELIGION IN SCHOOL: The action of the Supreme Court in declaring unconstitutional a state requirement that the Bible be read and the Lord's Prayer recited was not unexpected. But this does not make it right. I strongly disapprove of the majority decision which in effect is a backward step in the development of those principles which have contributed so much to our nation.

Although the Bible was to be read without comment, and in the Pennsylvania case Protestant and Catholic versions as well as the Jewish Holy Scriptures have been used, and although participation by students was voluntary and the parents involved had not availed themselves of the opportunity to have their children excused, nor had they proved that being excused would have injured the students--yet the Court struck down the State laws as unconstitutional under the first amendment. It is significant that one Justice consumed 77 pages to tell why he concurred in the 23-page decision of the Court.

Justice Potter Stewart disagreed with his eight colleagues and wrote a 13-page dissent. His opinion is eminently sound and recognizes the need for the broad view if our children are to have the most comprehensive educational experience.

Fully agreeing with the majority that the government must be neutral in the sphere of religion, Justice Stewart wrote: "...A compulsory state educational system so structures a child's life that if religious exercises are held to be an impermissible activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and state-created disadvantage. Viewed in this light, permission of such exercises for those who want them is necessary if the schools are truly to be neutral in the matter of religion. And a refusal to permit religious exercises thus is seen, not as the realization of state neutrality, but rather as the establishment of a religion of secularism, or at the least, as government support of the beliefs of those who think that religious exercises should be conducted only in private." The effect of the Court's decision is to grant to a small minority power which it would not possess as the majority. This hardly seems consistent with broad constitutional principles. I will support a resolution to submit to the state legislatures a constitutional amendment to overrule this decision of the Court.