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COMPACT DURING STORE FORMER

[Jan 1967]

NEWS

RELEASE

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, R-HICK.

The Poderal Reserve Board obviously is alarned by the drastic slowlown in the American economy.

There has been a gradual easing of credit. The Ped's action lowering the modiscount rate may speed a decline in interest rates sharped berrowers by the Nation's banks.

This is all to the good but it should be accompanied by Presidential moves to out Toderal opending and to withdraw the proposal to increase income taxes.

A drop in interest rates will not be sufficient in and of itself to stimulate the sernowy in adequate measure. The confidence of American consumers will not be restored until the proposal to raise income terms is withdrawn. Substantial outs in Poderal sponding are moded if we are to avoid the meantainous deficit built into President Johnson's fiscal 1965 budget.



Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

I applaud the action taken by the House Rules Committee in approving creation of a permanent Select Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for House Members.

This move is in line with a proposal pushed by the House Republican Leadership of last Jan. 19 for more than a year and most recently advocated in the Union Message statement and a statement adopted by the House Republican Policy Committee Feb. 8. I urge that we now move as quickly as possible for more than use establish the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and to arm it with powers of state enforcement. Such a committee will be statement worse than useless is unless it is given sufficient statement authority.

To be effective, the new committee must have **series** investigative and enforcement powers as well as the authority to recommend to the House the standards of official conduct we wish upheld. To clothe the committee with lesser powers would be to abdicate our **series** responsibilities in this matter.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1967

CONGRESSMAN

REPUBLICAN LEADER

GERALD

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

House Republicans may be foreclosed today from offering their proposal for proper handling of the Adam Clayton Powell matter. For that reason it is important that the rationale of the Republican position and the procedure involved in dealing with the Powell case on the House floor be thoroughly understood.

The first vote on the Powell matter will be procedural. It will be a vote on "the previous question." It probably will be a vote on shutting out all amendments initially, and simply voting on a motion to seat Mr. Powell with the possibility of an investigation after the fact.

The Republican leadership believes it would be wrong to deal with the Powell seating in either arbitrary or after-the-fact fashion--and an overwhelming number of House Republican members agree.

We do not feel that House members should be required to vote on the Powell seating question until such time as a special committee or Ethics committee makes a report on the matter five weeks hence. We therefore will seek to vote down the previous question and immediately open the matter up to amendment. If the previous question is voted down and amendments are thus made possible, I will offer an amendment which would deny Mr. Powell his seat pending the five-week investigation. The House would be in a much better position to cast its vote after such a study.

The Powell case raises questions involving the integrity of the U.S. House of Representatives and even justice for Mr. Powell. We can best resolve those questions by congressional investigation. We certainly should not duck them.

The charges made against Mr. Powell place the entire matter of a code of ethics for all House members before Congress and the Nation.

The Powell case clearly points up the need for the House to establish a new Committee on Ethics now that the subcommittee headed by Mr. Hays of Ohio has gone out of existence. Such a committee would look at the overall operations of all committee chairmen, of the committees themselves, and at the activities of all House members. If House members other than Mr. Powell are guilty of any wrongdoing, then the House should take corrective action in all such cases.

If the Democratic leadership restricts the current look at House ethics to Mr. Powell, it will be shirking its responsibility to the Congress and to the Nation.

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January 10, 1967

REMARKS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD IN PRESENTING SPEAKER MC CORMACK TO THE HOUSE

Members of the House:

During all the victory celebrations Members of my party have been having since last November 8, I have been steeling myself for this moment of defeat. I want first of all to say that we are going to have to do something about early election projections. For a moment, the early returns had led me to believe I was going to win. I hope I can take the final tally, however, in good grace. I am comforted by the fact that my vote was considerably better than the first time I lost the Speakership two years ago.

The Mace that stands here reminds us of the heritage our American Republic has from the Roman Republic. But there is one big difference. Under Roman Law the vanquished were at the mercy of the victor. Under our American tradition, the vanquished introduces the victor, and I do so today with great pleasure.

The late Mr. Sam Rayburn, who had this same duty at the start of the 83rd Congress, presented our beloved Republican Speaker Joe Martin to this body, and I can find no better way to express my sentiments about the other gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. McCormack, than in Mr. Sam's words:

"The Speakership of the House of Representatives should be and is the second office in power in the government of the United States. I know (he) will never forget the dignity of this high office in protecting, defending and perpetuating the rights, the prerogatives and the privileges of the House of Representatives."

"This is a great body that comes each two years fresh from the people," Mr. Sam said. "We know their wishes. We try to carry them out when they are wise and in the interest of the country."

We of the Loyal Opposition in the temporary--and I hope very temporary--minority will stand by our Speaker in the same spirit. All of us who served in the 89th Congress or years past are fond of the gentleman from Massachusetts. We have found him to be highly capable, a great leader of men, an individual uniquely equipped to fill a legislative position which is one of the cornerstones of our free system.

May I extend my personal welcome to the new members of the House. They are taking their seats in this body at a time of great moment in American history.

(More)

REMARKS INTRODUCING SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

They will have a voice and a hand in decisions which, hopefully, will move America forward on the path to international greatness. I extend to them the hand of friendship and assure them they will find all incumbent Members of the House ready to offer their assistance.

-2-

I also extend this pledge to our Speaker and to the American people. We of the opposition will be loyal; we of the opposition will be responsible; and we will work together in all that is good for America.

The Speaker's lot is not easy. Everybody is always urging him to take one course or another. Abraham Lincoln, who was once a freshman member of the House, was waited upon during his Presidency by a delegation of self-styled political experts who pressed a certain course upon him and, of course, wound up telling him such action would win him a lot of friends. President Lincoln calmly replied that when he had finished his term, he hoped that he would have one friend left, and that one friend would be deep down inside himself.

I commend Abraham Lincoln's declaration of conscience to all my colleagues, on both sides of the aisle. But I would like to amend it a little. When I finish my term as Minority Leader of the 90th Congress, I hope I will have at least two friends left--one deep down inside of me, and the other, the gentleman from Massachusetts, the Honorable John W. McCormack, the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Fellow Members, I take great pleasure in presenting to this House a great Speaker, a great American, a great citizen of the State of Massachusetts, the Honorable John W. McCormack.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JANUARY 10, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICHIGAN.

President Johnson has now dropped into the lap of the 90th Congress the fiscal mess he made in 1966.

Without blinking and with little apology, Mr. Johnson has projected spending for fiscal 1968 at a level \$12. 6 billion greater than that covered by his revenue estimates based on the present tax structure. He then calmly asks Congress to plug some of the holes in his leaky Ship of State by voting an income tax increase.

Let the American people take note that the Johnson Administration proposes to continue the spending policies that are producing a mountainous deficit of at least \$9.7 billion this fiscal year.

The huge deficits projected for fiscal years 1967 and 1968 are in prospect solely because Mr. Johnson last year played politics with the federal budget and with the economy. Having triggered inflation with excessively expansionary policies, Mr. Johnson refused to take the obvious step of cutting unnecessary domestic spending.

Mr. Johnson is again offering the Nation a guns and butter course. The tax increase he now proposes is a vehicle for greater domestic spending. If a tax increase is imposed, the economy could be so severely staggered that the result would be less revenue and not more.

Mr. Johnson's State of the Union message is studded with glittering generalities. He holds out the promise of a life of ease and plenty for all Americans, ignoring the resounding failures that have greeted his various Great Society schemes. He is still trying to get started, but doesn't seem to know where to go.

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NEWS RELEASE

Rep. Gerald R. Ford, (R-Mich.) House Minority Leader, today announced that Rep. William C. Cramer (R-Fla.) was appointed a member of the **Leadership** of the **Leadership** of the **House and Senate**) and as such he will also be a member of the National Republican Coordinating Committee.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE WEDNESDAY, JAN. 25, 1967

CONGRESSMAN

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

R. FORD

GERALD

Ford said that Cramer's service to the party as well as his proven valuable leadership ability prompted these major appointments. Ford also said that Cramer was elected to retain his ranking minority position on the House Public Works Committee but that he relinquished his seat on the Judiciary Committee because of the added responsibility of his new Leadership capacity and his desire to make a position available to the many new members. As a general rule, members of the Leadership are precluded from serving as the ranking minority member of a major committee such as Public Works. Ford said that an exception to this rule was made in Cramer's case because of his expert knowledge in public works matters and because of Cramer's belief that his position on Public Works is of continuing significance to the State of Florida.

Ford also emphasized that the added GOP membership on the Public Works Committee increased Cramer's responsibility on that Committee. The Republicans now have 15 members on Public Works contrasted to only eleven last session.

Said Ford: "I am delighted to announce that Congressman Bill Cramer has been officially appointed a member of the **Senate** Republican Leadership of the House and Senate as well as a member of the National Republican Coordinating Committee. Bill Cramer's past service has demonstrated his ability to serve as a member of the highest Republican councils.

"I am confident that he will make a significant contribution to the formulation of national policy both in and out of the Congress," Ford said.

The Republican Coordinating Committee is presided over by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Ray Bliss. It's membership includes former President Eisenhower as well as former Republican presidential nominees.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen and Rep. Gerald R. Ford represent the Joint House and Senate Leadership on the Coordinating Committee along with other members of the Joint Leadership.

Representatives of the Republican Governors Association are also on the Committee. Republican The Joint Senate and House Leadership, to which Cramer has also been appointed, formulates GOP policy in the Congress.



Rep. Gerald R. Ford, (R-Mich.) House Minority Leader, today announced that Rep. William C. Cramer (R-Fla.) was appointed a member of the Joint Republican Leadership of the House and Senate and as such he will also be a member of the National Republican Coordinating Committee.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE WEDNESDAY, JAN. 25, 1967

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--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--FRIDAY, FEB. 3, 1967

CONGRESSMAN

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

GERALD

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

President Johnson has accused congressional Republicans of petty partisanship. This is indeed strange in view of the fact that Republican congressional leaders recently offered the people of this Nation a program of positive alternatives in the domestic area and support for stronger efforts to bring the Vietnam War to an honorable end--not blind obstructionism.

The record is clear, and only a President who expects the Loyal Opposition to chorus "me too" would fail to get the message. Republicans are acting in the best interests of the Nation and not from petty political motives. Whenever we believe the President is right, we support him and we will continue to support him.

For instance, we have met him far more than halfway in protecting the Nation's interests in national security matters.

As another case in point, I announced Thursday on the House floor Republican support for efforts by our government to meet India's critical food shortage. I did this in immediate response to the President's message to Congress on India's desperate food problems.

On domestic issues, Republicans find it impossible to support the President when we believe he is wrong, as he is on the budget. No doubt he would like us to forget his major policy mistake of last year when he refused to cut non-essential domestic spending or ask a tax increase to fight inflation. Now he finds that the health and growth of the economy are imperilled as a result.

We will offer domestic policy alternatives whenever we believe they would better serve the best interests of the people than those advanced by the President. This should hardly be construed as narrow partisanship. We have a duty to oppose the President when we believe he is advocating mistaken policies. Let the people choose between our alternate courses. Competition between the major political parties is the lifeblood of the American democratic system.

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STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

(2)

Many actions can be taken to reduce the crime rate in this country and again make our streets safe for our citizens. The most basic and most urgent action is to expand our local police departments and to improve the quality as well as the quantity of local law enforcement.

President Johnson's crime message focuses on a number of important problem areas but neglects some key points. While law enforcement is primarily a local problem, the federal government can help by making law enforcement a more professional and a more attractive career for capable young people.

The basic ingredients for a concerted nationwide attack on crime at the state and local levels of government are money and desire. I believe all of our citizens have the desire to launch a war against crime.

Money is the other ingredient in a nationwide crime war, and the best way to provide funds for that attack would be through federal tax-sharing. A portion of federal revenue rebated to the states could be used in combination with state and local funds to greatly expand and improve local law enforcement and sharply reduce crime rates across the Nation.

At the federal level, we should establish a national law enforcement institute to carry out research work, training and the development and dissemination of the latest police science techniques. There should be state participation in the operation of such an institute if it is to be effective.

Within the federal correctional system, we must expand the work release program and other enlightened prisoner rehabilitation projects to reduce as much as possible the number of second-time offenders, "criminal repeaters."

We should heavily circumscribe but not entirely outlaw the use of electronic eavesdropping and wiretapping. Such devices are an essential tool in law enforcement, They are especially useful in attacking organized crime and could be safely used in such cases when authorized by a federal judge by court order and for probable cause. To restrict the use of such devices to national security cases would be to throw away an important weapon against organized crime. We must legislate against the indiscriminate use of these devices. We must protect the privacy of our citizens. But we must not throw out the baby with the bath water. We need state and federal action to tighten up on the sale of firearms. But we must find a legislative solution which does not violate the constitutional rights of responsible citizens. We must seek to produce legislation which will deter violence but will not interfere unduly with the rights of those who use guns for sport or pleasure.

-2-

We now are faced with a situation in which legitimate social protest sometimes is marked by flagrant violation of laws designed to protect persona and property. To deal with such violations of the law, we propose a Citizens Rights Act of 1967. This Act would punish those who travel from one state to another with intent to incite riots. It also would provide protection for individuals exercising their constitutional rights.

We agree with the President that efforts should be made to reduce crime by attacking some of its basic causes, poverty among others. But we must remember that crime rates are high even in welfare states like England. The ultimate answer, therefore, lies in the spiritual life of a Nation and in the family, the bulwark of all sound societies.

As I noted in my State of the Union Address, fear of punishment remains an important deterrent to crime.

I urge therefore that the courts uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused. In that connection, it might be well to adopt a sense-of-Congress resolution indicating to the present and all future U.S. Presidents that U.S. Supreme Court appointees should be selected from among federal or state judges who have evidenced by their decisions a balanced viewpoint in the area of public protection and individual rights.

We can and must preserve individual rights and civil liberties. But we should not impose so many restrictions on law enforcement agencies that they are made ineffectual in their attempts to prevent crime or remove criminals from society. To turn obviously guilty persons free is to damage law enforcement both in terms of public and police attitudes.

We need a new spirit in this country--a marked change in public attitude toward the police officer. We must realize and respect the great responsibility he bears and seek to help him in carrying out that responsibility. He, in turn, must constantly strive to do a better job.

We <u>can</u> reduce crime rates in this country. But we must all work together to do it.

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House Republicans are seeking to amend the Administration bill so increas

indefinitely. We are <u>not</u> intent on blocking an increase in the debt ceiling/ That would be completely unrealistic, The bills are there. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is guilty of excessive and unnecessary domestic spending. But the bills are there, and they must be paid.

We <u>do intend</u> to force the Administration to manage the debt in the most economical way possible. We will be offering amendments to the Administration bill. They are economy amendments. We are intent on saving the taxpayer money. We intend to see to it that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration pays out no more in interest on the money it borrows than absolutely necessary.

Our amendments also will accomplish another highly desirable objective--to ease pressure on the money market and help bring down interest rates for the American trying to get mortgage money at decent interest cost.

We know the Administration is going to be borrowing \$8 billion during the rest of this fiscal year. The plans are to sell \$6 billion in regular short-term securities and \$2 billion in participation certificates.

Republican amendments to be offered today in the only way open to us--a motion to recommit with instructions--are aimed at getting the Administration to borrow at least \$6 billion of that projected debt money by selling low-interest long-term securities.

We are trying to force the Administration to abandon the sale of high-interest participation certificates and shift part of the public debt into low-interest longterm obligations. To that end, we urge that long-term obligations be sold on the same basis that short-term government bonds now are sold and that debt incurred by selling participation certificates be counted as part of the national debt subject to limitation under the Liberty Bond Act.

Summed up, our objectives are savings for the taxpayer, an easing of the tight money market, better management of the public debt, and honesty in budgeting and borrowing under the present Administration.



STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

Three weeks have passed since Senator Dirksen and I gave our Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union. We have been very gratified by the news coverage and thoughtful editorial treatment it has received, and by the interest in a positive Republican program which our mail reflects.

In many of the comments I read the idea was expressed that our Republican proposals had much merit <u>IF</u> they were actually incorporated into legislation. Now, as 187 Republicans in the House are about to go home to their districts and around the country for Lincoln Day meetings, people will surely ask us: Well, what have you done about all those good ideas you proposed in your State of the Union program?

Our researchers tell us there were 39 points in our domestic State of the Union appraisal which require specific legislative action. They also report that two-thirds of these positive, constructive Republican goals already have been reflected in bills introduced in the first month of this 90th Congress.

Republican bills listed in the background memo attached cover these 26 subject areas, but the list is by no means exhaustive since in many cases numerous other Republicans have introduced identical or similar bills. I have introduced some of them myself.

I think starting the legislative ball rolling on two-thirds of our positive Republican proposals within the first month of the Congress is a pretty good record to take back to the people who elected us last November. During the 18 years I have been a Member of the House, I can't remember a harder-working or more businesslike group of Republicans; and if we get any kind of cooperation from the Democratic majority, we are going to write many of these proposals into law.

The big difference between this Congress and the last one is that the normal legislative process has been restored. This will mean better government for all Americans. Last year laws were passed without full hearings and with only scant floor debate--the people sensed this and stopped that steamroller cold.

By giving you this run-down of Republican bills implementing two-thirds of our domestic State of the Union proposals--26 out of 39 legislative goals--I don't mean to say they all have the 100% endorsement of all House Republicans or of the Republican leadership. The details will be ironed out in the normal process. The House Republican Policy Committee, however, has acted on two of the most urgent items--an Election Reform Law and a House Ethics Committee.

REPUBLICAN BILLS INTRODUCED - 90TH CONGRESS

Tax Sharing (HR 784-Laird; HR 4070-Goodell) 1. National Commission on Urban Living (HR 3155-Quie) 2. 3. Tax Credits for Higher Education Costs (HR 781-Laird) Increase Earnings Limit for Social Security Recipients (HR 297-Bolton) 4. 5. Eight Percent Increase in Benefits Retroactive to Jan. 1) (HR 31-Byrnes) Increase Social Security Benefits with Living Costs 6. 7. Increase Benefits for Veterans and Widows (HR 1307-Saylor) 8. Human Investment Act (HR 4574-Curtis) 9. Hoover-Type Commission (HR 69-Mathias-M.D.) 10. Merit System for Postmasters (HR 425-Cunningham) 11. Fair Farm Prices in Market Place (H. Con. Res. 96-Dole) 12. House Ethics Committee (H. Con. Res. 42-Reid, N.Y.; H. Res. 71-May) 13. Minority-Controlled Investigating Committee (H. Res. 52-Dwyer; HR 873-Michel) 14. Clean Elections Law (HR 806-Lipscomb; HR 631-Goodell) 15. Repeal Long Amendment (HR 465-Davis) 16. Citizens' Rights Act (HR 421-Cramer) 17. Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense (H. J. Res. 2-Lipscomb) 18. Independent Maritime Agency (HR 841-Maillard) 19. Congressional Reorganization (HR 2925-Curtis) 20. Tax Credit for State-Local Taxes (HR 1047-Poff) 21. Strengthen Reserves and National Guard, Draft Revisions (HR 422-Curtis) 22. Electoral College Reform (H. J. Res. 40-Davis) 23. Block Grants for Education (HR 308-Brock) 24. Opportunity Crusade (Goodell) 25. Repeal Participation Sales (Goodell) 26. Restore Investment Tax Credit (Goodell)

(NOTE: This list is far from complete. In many instances, identical or similar bills have been introduced by numerous other Republican members. The somewhat arbitrary selection is intended only to show the general subject areas which have been implemented by Republican-sponsored bills.)

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STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., RE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE

The civil rights recommendations made by the President should be considered promptly by the Congress and many of them enacted into law. I have in mind those urgently needed civil rights proposals endorsed by House Republicans during consideration of such legislation in 1966. On Constitutional and other grounds, I still have serious reservations about federal open housing legislation.

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REMARKS BY MINORITY LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., ON HOUSE FLOOR, MARCH \$, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, on two occasions, after much deliberation and full debate of a quality and caliber that has rarely been surpassed during my years in this body, the House voted by very substantial majorities to exclude a Member-elect from a seat in this Congress. On January 10, opening day, we voted 364 to 64 in effect to exclude the Member-elect temporarily, while a select committee examined the law and the facts and afforded him an opportunity to respond to the allegations against him; and on March 1, by a roli call of 307 to 116, we voted finally to exclude the Member-elect and declare the seat vacant.

I do not propose to replow that ground. Whatever may have been the views of each of us on these questions, and I am sure every member had opportunity to express them, the House acted in an orderly and lawful manner with full cognizance of its rules and traditions to carry out its responsibility under the Constitution. All of us were extremely conscious, I am certain, of the grave Constitutional issues involved and the several opinions and precedents bearing upon these fundamental rights and duties were fully and expertly argued. Then the House worked its will which is, in the absence of a national referendum, the closest approximation to the will of all the people which exists under our form of representative Republic.

Therefore I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the difficult and complex case which has thus far dominated this first session of the 90th Congress has moved on to higher and historic ground. On January 10 many of us argued that the House must be firm and fair to the Member-elect, Mr. Powell. Today I say that the House of Representatives must be firm and fair to itself and to future members of this, the greatest forum for the voice of democracy in all the world. The integrity of the House must be preserved, protected and defended from without as well as from within. And only we, who have the honor to serve here, can do this.

I am advised that, as was anticipated, the former Member who was excluded from this body temporarily and permanently by majorities of the magnitude of six to one and three to one has now challenged our action in the United States Court for the District of Columbia. It is, of course, the right of every citizen to seek redress of grievances, real or not, in the courts. But the question now is, what shall this House do about it?

(MORE)

Mr. Speaker, in government as well as in engineering, the most solid and steady structure rests upon three equal bases. The framers of our Constitution, having behind them the experience of the Roman Republic and of the British parliamentary evolution, as well as their colonial governments and the Articles of Confederation, wisely wrote into the Constitution the permanent and inviolable separation of Federal power among the co-equal legislative, executive and judicial branches. It is worth passing note that the Congress was established in the <u>first</u> Article.

While, in general, legislative power is shared by the House and the Senate, and limits are placed upon it both by Executive powers and Judicial precedents, the two legislative bodies have internal organizational powers that are separate and specific and are not, in my judgment, subject to any superior power. Among these is Article I, section 5, which provides for the censure, punishment and, by a two-thirds vote, expulsion of a Member, and also states that "each house shall be <u>the judge</u> of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." In short, if this body is <u>the judge</u> in these matters, there cannot be any other judge nor any higher appeal. We did not legislate in H.R. 1 nor in H.R. 278--we rendered a judgment. That judgment is, in my view, <u>final</u> unless it is changed in the future by this House of Representatives. Neither the Senate, within the Legislative Branch, nor any officer of the Executive Branch, has any jurisdiction here.

Mr. Speaker, I can assert without reservation that one of the most fundamental and precious principles--perhaps the most important principle which has preserved the liberties of our people and ensures the welfare of our posterity--is this Constitutional provision of the separation of legislative, executive and judicial branches. It is true that at various periods of our history one branch or another has sought to overextend its power and authority. Every schoolboy knows how President Andrew Jackson declared "the justices have made their decision; now let them enforce it." Nor has the Congress been guiltless. During the post-Civil War period, Rep. Thaddeus Stevens, a member of this House, thundered at President Johnson--Andrew Johnson--"Though the President is commander-in-chief, Congress is his commander, and God willing, he shall obey.... This is not a government of kings and satraps, but a government of the people, and Congress <u>is</u> the people." But, fortunately, whenever any one of our three independent branches of government has over-reached itself, time and the lively conscience of the American people have redressed the balance.

After the action of the House on March 1, our present Chief Executive was asked by the press for comment on the exclusion of Mr. Powell. His reply was exemplary and I commend it to the attention of every member.

"No, I would have no comment on that matter," President Johnson said, "other

(MORE)

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than what you have been given before--that it is a matter for the members of the House that is reserved for them by the Constitution."

Mr. Speaker, what the chief spokesman of the Executive Branch said is, I submit, precisely and absolutely correct. I would hope that substantially the same statement would be made by the judicial branch in this matter. But we cannot rely on hope when faced with such an historic challenge. The integrity of the House and of the legislative branch of this government can only be defended in this instance by the House itself, step by step as the circumstances require.

Mr. Speaker, though trained in the law, I have no intention of pleading the Constitutional cause of the House of Representatives here today. I believe that every member of this body, from yourself, Mr. Speaker, to the most junior new member of the 90th Congress, regardless of his vote on the decision we have taken and irrespective of his position in the majority or minority, has an equal stake and an equal interest in preserving, protecting and defending the rights and privileges, the independence and integrity of this House. I yield to no one in my love for this House and I ask no one to yield to me.

When I urge that the House face up squarely to its duty and responsibility, to the oath each of us has taken to support the Constitution of the United States and its fundamental doctrine of divided powers, I do not speak selfishly or out of a narrow desire to prove ourselves in the right. Obviously, the House is not always right any more than the decisions of a democratic people are always right. They are merely, as Sir Winston Churchill observed, the least often wrong of any system yet devised.

If it is not quite true that Congress <u>is</u> the people, it is the closest thing to the people that we have--particularly here in the House of Representatives. So when we defend this House we defend <u>the people's House</u>. We have heard and doubtless will continue to hear much argument as to whether we have the right to exclude a Member-elect from this body. I submit that this question already has been pleaded before the only court of competent jurisdiction under the Constitution, the House of Representatives; and judgment has been passed by substantial majorities, on two roll calls, that we do have that exclusive right and power. I believe this accords with the intent of the Founding Fathers and the rules and precedents of the House. This judgment has been challenged and must be vigorously and ably defended. This is our simple duty to the past and to the future.

SUPPORT THE

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing the following resolution and urge its prompt consideration and approval.

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STATEMENT BY HOUSE MINORITY LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

I welcome the President's move to restore the 7 per cent investment tax credit. It is tardy, of course. It was needed early this year, and that is why I recommended reinstatement of the tax credit in my Republican State of the Union Message last January 17.

It rather surprises me that the President still clings to his proposal for a six per cent income tax surtax in the face of adverse developments in the economy. Mr. Johnson did not make a case for his tax increase proposal in January when he first advanced it, and his case is even weaker now.

The cost-push inflation which can be expected in the months ahead due to wage increases flowing in part from last year's demand-pull inflation will not be choked off by an income tax increase. The tax increase would, however, reduce workers' real spendable earnings.

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STATEMENT BY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

The record of Congress as Easter recess begins reflects confusion in the White House and in the Democratic Party.

President Johnson is failing to carry out the objectives he set forth in his State of the Union Message last January 10. Where he has moved decisively, it has been to follow up on proposals made in the Republican State of the Union Message of January 19.

The House is exhibiting an independent-mindedness that indicates many Democrats "got the message" from the voters last November 8 even if the President didn't. The signs say to me that the Congress will make substantial cuts in non-defense spending in defiance of Mr. Johnson's obvious intention to continue following a guns-and-butter course.

Mr. Johnson spoke of Administration "mistakes" in his State of the Union Message, and throughout the economy we are beginning to feel the burden of those mistakes.

I believe it was in hope of staving off a recession that Mr. Johnson did a flip-flop on the 7 per cent investment tax credit, urging Congress to restore it after it had been suspended for just five months. In urging restoration of the tax credit, Mr. Johnson was belatedly endorsing a proposal Republicans made last January.

The President is still clinging to his proposal to raise income taxes on July 1, despite the pronounced downturn in the economy. I predict he will either withdraw his proposal or see it rejected by the Congress.

There are indications the Congress will be fairly tight-fisted this year in the face of Mr. Johnson's attempts to expand his Great Society programs.

Republicans correctly read the election returns last November 8. An economy mood prevails in the Congress--at least, in the House.

This economy-mindedness showed up on the \$7.5 billion Post Office-Treasury appropriations bill, the first appropriations bill of this session. First of all, the Appropriations Committee cut \$112 million from the President's request. Then the House, following a Republican lead, sliced an additional \$2,410,000 from an appropriations bill which generally is looked upon as "uncuttable." While Republicans failed in a move to make a 5 per cent cut in the total appropriation, the vote in support of that across-the-board reduction was substantial.

STATEMENT BY REP. FORD

This is a portent of major budget cuts to come. Republicans have set a goal of \$4 billion to \$5 billion in reductions.

We are trying to send the deficit-ridden budget back to the President for his suggestions on cutting it. Meantime we will go ahead on our own.

The President set no firm course for the country in January, and the floundering within the Democratic Party is evidence of this.

The President proposed a merger of the Commerce and Labor Departments and abandoned the idea before Congress had an opportunity to assess the merits of the plan.

In January the President pledged his Great Society programs will be "made to work effectively." I see no signs that the Democratic majority in Congress is carrying out that vow.

He also promised to "create a more effective partnership at all levels of American government." We have seen nothing concrete in this connection. All we have heard is empty rhetoric.

He talked of priorities but he has established none.

He spoke of new opportunities for Youth--chiefly expansion and strengthening of the Head Start program. That will come with Republican support. We've been urging it for two years.

He advanced an ambitious proposal for enlarging Social Security benefits, a plan that was extreme and imposes a heavy payroll tax burden on the young. Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., has indicated the bill that will emerge from his committee will be closer to Republican proposals.

It appears at this point that a Select House Committee on Standards and Conduct will be created. This is moving toward reality largely because of Republican pressure.

It is unfortunate that other House activity has been eclipsed by the Adam Clayton Powell case. But even in this matter it was Republican leadership that brought the kind of action demanded by the American people.

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STATEMENT BY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

The sag in the American economy has become so serious that I believe it will deepen into a recession unless President Johnson publicly abandons his request for an income tax increase--<u>now</u>.

I urge the President to withdraw his tax increase proposal because this action undoubtedly would help to restore consumer and business confidence in the economy. The tax increase request is hanging over the heads of consumers and businessmen like the Sword of Damocles.

If the economy recovers its vigor and if a far greater deficit looms in the Johnson budget, the President could reinstate his tax increase request at that time. There currently is mounting evidence of a severe slowdown in the economy and indications of more drag to come.

1. --We have witnessed a big slump in industrial output, shortening of the factory work week and a new drop in housing starts.

2. --Inventories have reached dangerous levels due to the massive buildup of stocks last year and a falloff in consumer demand.

3. --New orders for durable goods were cut back in February to the lowest level in 18 months.

4. --Payrolls in the private sector decreased last month for the first time in nearly two years.

5. --The real net spendable earnings of an average factory worker declined \$1.13 in February to \$85.34 a week in terms of 1957-59 dollars--\$1.79 below last year at this time.

6. -- The purchasing power of the average factory worker's weekly pay has dropped two per cent over the past 12 months.

The only justification the Administration can offer for an income tax increase is that it is needed to hold down President Johnson's planned federal deficit. It would be far better for the President to cooperate with Republicans in Congress to cut domestic spending. The risk of recession is too great for the President to keep pursuing a guns-and-butter policy.



Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., today had high praise for the nationwide Jaycee program aimed at honoring outstanding young American educators.

"It is civic programs of this kind that help build America by focusing attention on the tremendous contribution made by good teachers," Ford said in a statement issued by his Washington office.

"I have always maintained," Ford said, "that a great teacher is great whether he is sitting on a log talking to his pupils in an open field or is standing behind a desk in a new classroom." "We must have enough classrooms to accommodate our young people, but it is imperative that we have teachers who are dedicated and welltrained."

Ford said the Jaycee program serves to upgrade the teaching profession and make it more attractive to capable young men and women who are needed for teaching duties in the Nation's schools.

"We should constantly be striving to improve the quality of education in America," Ford said. "The best way to do that is to keep the school curriculum abreast of the times and try to bring the best talent we can into the teaching profession. One means of doing this is to honor the outstanding people now teaching in our Nation's classrooms. I congratulate the Jaycees, those teachers to be honored and the teaching profession."

The Jaycees in Kent and Ionia communities and elsewhere in the country presently are selecting elementary and secondary school teachers to be honored for their achievements.



IMMEDIATE RELEASE April 12, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD (R-Mich.), HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

While naturally disappointed at the margin of defeat of the Republican candidate, Mrs. Lucille Williams, I do not think it proper at this time to comment further on the results of yesterday's special election in the 18th Congressional District of New York.

The suit brought by Mr. Adam Clayton Powell against the House of Representatives is now pending on appeal before the U. S. Court of Appeals, following last Friday's landmark decision of Federal District Judge George L. Hart, Jr. which upheld the position I argued during debate on March 9 that the House of Representatives, having worked its will in accordance with the Constitution, is the final arbiter in this situation under the precious principle of separation of powers.

Inasmuch as I am one of the named defendants in Mr. Powell's action, presumably as the author of House Resolution 1 by which the Member-elect was denied a seat on opening day, January 10, pending a determination of the facts and recommendations of a Select Committee, I think it best at this juncture to express no opinion on the Special Election and to reserve judgment on what steps the Speaker, the Majority Leader and the other named defendants may, on advice of counsel, decide to propose for consideration of the whole House.

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REMARKS OF REP. RICHARD H. POFF (R-Va.) ON HOUSE FLOOR -- APRIL 13, 1967

Mr. Speaker, today is the birthday anniversary of one of Virginia's greatest sons and one of America's greatest Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson. Although he can be said to be the author of our two-party system, and was in days of yore claimed as a patron saint of the Democratic Party, it is in no mean spirit of partisanship that we honor his memory. Like Abraham Lincoln, who declared that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society," we can truly say that his heritage belongs to all Americans.

This being the week in which most Americans are struggling to complete their Federal, State, and in some cases county and city income tax returns, it seems to me appropriate to recall what Thomas Jefferson thought about taxation and government spending.

"I am not among those who fear the people," Jefferson wrote in 1816. "They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusions and servitude.

"If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessaries and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements, for our callings and our creeds -- as the people of England are -- our people, like them, must come to labor 16 hours in the 24, give the earnings of 15 of these to the government for their debts and daily expenses; and the 16th being insufficient to afford us bread we must live, as they now do, on oatmeal and potatoes; have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account; but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow sufferers.

"And this," Thomas Jefferson warned, "is the tendency of all human governments."

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REMARKS OF REP. GERALD R. FORD (R-Mich.) ON HOUSE FLOOR -- April 13, 1967

Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the gentleman from Virginia for reminding us of Thomas Jefferson's birthday and, even more, for reminding us of Thomas Jefferson's views on the perils of public extravagance and excessive taxation -- that debt and inflationary spending strike hardest, not at the rich, but at the great majority of the people who are the bulwark of our freedom and independence.

Were we to quote even a fraction the wise counsels of the author of the Declaration of Independence and our third President, we would accomplish little else today. But I would just like to pursue for a moment Mr. Jefferson's grim forecast, which my distinguished colleague has just cited, that the tax-ridden slaves of an improvident government "have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account."

It would be of timely interest to members of this body, I believe, to review Jefferson's comments on the Constitution (which was framed while he was absent as Minister to Paris) particularly his endorsement of the principle of separation of powers. He had some misgivings about the popular election of the Federal flouse of Representatives but he concluded it was imperative to give the people, every two years, that essential "means of calling the mismanagers to account."

Thus he wrote James Madison, his friend and future successor in the Presidency, when the new Constitution was published: "I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary and executive. I like the power given the legislature to levy taxes, and for that reason solely, I approve of the greater house being chosen by the people directly....preserving inviolate the fundamental principle that the people are not to be taxed but by representatives chosen immediately by themselves."

Mr. Speaker, I concur in the gentleman from Virginia's view that Thomas Jefferson's legacy is above partisanship, and in this nonpartisan spirit I offer Mr. Jefferson's timely thoughts on taxation and the people's power to call their mismanagers to account. I commend them not only to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle but also to President Johnson and his Administration, which continues to tell us that higher taxes, higher deficits and higher nonessential spending are somehow in the public interest. I believe most Americans, when they finish their tax returns this week, will find "time to think" how truly Thomas Jefferson forewarned us.

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STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R.-MICH. FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 1967--

WASHINGTON -- Virtually every state would receive more funds under programs covered by a Republican plan for block sum Federal grants to elementarysecondary schools and private schools would share equitably in the additional money, House GOP Leader Gerald R. Ford, R.-Mich., said today.

CONGRESSMAN

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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FORD

Ford said it appears the Johnson Administration is seeking to derail the GOP block grant approach to elementary-secondary Federal school **aid** by misleading officials of private schools. He said this can be the only explanation for private school leaders' fears that the GOP plan would deprive their schools of Federal assistance.

"There is absolutely no truth to the contention that the Republican proposal to substitute block grants would eliminate assistance to private schools," Ford declared. "The facts are that the Republican plan continues all the benefits of the present plan for pupils and teachers in private schools and does this without Federal dictation."

"It is typical of the Johnson Administration," Ford said, "that attempts are being made to mislead the American people as to legislation which spells out a far better way to improve education in this country than the method now dictated and closely controlled by Washington bureaucrats."

Ford noted that the GOP block sum grant plan provides that at least 50 per cent of the funds going to any state must be used for special programs for educationally-deprived children and that private school children must be included in those programs.

"That should set at rest all of the fears stirred up by those spreading false propaganda among officials of our private schools," Ford said.

The block grant approach espoused by the GOP would not take effect until July 1, 1969, because states and school districts would not have time to adjust their planning and programming if the plan were to begin operating with the start of fiscal year 1968.

A total of \$3 billion would be authorized under the GOP plan for fiscal 1969. This would be roughly \$200 million less than the Administration is seeking

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for the programs the GOP plan would replace. But it would be \$1.5 billion more than the Administration request for fiscal 1968.

"It should be remembered there would be tremendous savings in administrative costs under the block sum grant approach," Ford said.

Assuming an appropriation of less than \$2.4 billion under Title I of ESEA for fiscal 1969, the Republican plan would provide more funds for Titles I, II, III, and V than the Administration bill except in the case of New York State and the District of Columbia, Ford asserted.

Ford said the GOP plan would cut administrative costs by many millions, reduce paperwork and red tape, permit better planning by local school officials, allow local people to set educational priorities, and reduce the power the U.S. Commissioner of Education now has over local school decisions.

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STATEMENT BY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

The Executive Committee of the House Republican Committee on Committees today selected six GOP House members to serve on the newly created House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

The appointees, named subject to approval by the full Committee on Committees, are: Reps. Charles A. Halleck of Indiana, Leslie C. Arends of Illinois, Jackson E. Betts of Ohio, Robert T. Stafford of Vermont, James H. Quillen of Tennessee, and freshman Lawrence G. Williams of Pennsylvania.

The recommendations of the Executive Committee will be presented to the full Committee on Committees for approval at 10:30 a.m. Monday. A House Republican Conference will be held at 11 a.m. to waive a conference rule that a member of the House GOP Leadership cannot serve on two standing committees. This is necessary so that Mr. Arends, the House GOP Whip, may serve on the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

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JOINT STATEMENT BY Hon. Gerald R. Ford, House Minority Leader and Hon. Albert H. Quie, First District, Minnesota

April 28, 1967

ADMINISTRATION HAS MOUNTED AN ATTACK OF INCREDIBLE PROPORTIONS TO SAVE ITS ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT BILL, FIRST MAJOR TEST OF STRENGTH IN 90TH CONGRESS

The Administration, in an attack almost unprecedented in its scope and bitterness, has within the past week launched an all-out assault on the Republican amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (H. R. 8983).

Twice the Administration has postponed debate and action on the Administration bill, H. R. 7819. When it will finally be brought up even the Administration will not say. We believe we have the votes to win as of today.

If we win on this vital issue, it could create a pattern for the 90th Congress. That is the reason the Johnson Administration is employing outright misrepresentation against the Republican substitute, known as the Quie amendment.

So widespread has been this attack, so unfair has it been, that we are forced to make this statement to bring the truth to the American people.

Here are the facts on the four major issues raised by the Administration:

1. The President has charged we are behaving recklessly for partisan advantage by opposing the Administration's extentions of the ESEA through the 1968-69 school year.

ANSWER: It is not the supporters of the Republican amendment who are behaving recklessly for partisan political advantage. It is the Administration. The public must understand that the Administration regards this as the first major test of strength of the 90th Congress. If the Republican alternative should win, as now appears quite possible, the tenor and tone of the entire 90th Congress will change. Other alternatives to Great Society programs may also be enacted. For this reason the Administration has postponed consideration of ESEA. Over the past week, since the Republican amendment was announced, we have been subjected to an attack of almost incredible proportions. This attack has dealt in misinterpretation and fear to such an extent that it is almost impossible to reply to each distortion.

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The Administration has marshalled its largest-bore guns----from the President, who attacked the proposal Thursday, to the U. S. Commissioner of Education, the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, and individual Members of Congress with statements in the Congressional Record. The magnitude of the attack is truly awesome. Again, the reason for the attack is that the Administration feels it MUST win this first test of strength in the 90th Congress or it will lose the whole ball game in the 90th Congress.

2. The President has accused opponents of his measure of trying to

revive bitterness between church and public school leaders. ANSWER: This totally untrue accusation is the most serious, the most regrettable and the most unfair. The widely-disseminated rumor that the Republican bloc grant approach would penalize pupils in private (and parochial schools) is an outright deception. The Quie amendment was announced on Thursday (April 20.) The following Sunday, when scarcely a handful of private school officials had even read the Quie amendment, a false report spread across the nation: "This means the end to benefits for private school pupils." Obviously, a few strategically-placed telephone calls from the Administration caused the unjustified reaction. Private school people were, in truth, victimized by Administration officials.

The Quie Amendment from the very beginning contained the same language as the present act respecting participation of private school children in the benefits of the program. The amendment even increased the types of assistance which could be made available.

We have even gone a step farther by writing in clarifying language to make even more explicit the intent that the Federal bloc grants would not be commingled with State funds to be spent for general educational purposes, but would be funds to be spent for special programs. Secondly, the Republican amendment specifically states that private school children would enjoy the same degree of participation in these programs under the Quie amendment as they now do under ESEA.

In truth, it was the subtle, behind-the-scenes maneuvering of the Administration that tended to "revive the bitterness between church and public school leaders." The Administration has deliberately tried to cause confusion and fear in the hearts of private school authorities, for its own political advantage.

3. The President said we have tried to revive bitterness and distrust

between the so-called poor and rich states.

ANSWER: The allegation that the "poor would get poorer and the rich would get richer" is a classic example of Administration misrepresentation. This is absolutely

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untrue. Beginning with the 1958-59 school year, under the Republican plan, \$3 billion would be available for distribution under a formula used for nine years in the National Defense Education Act which takes into account the ability of each State to support education, and thereby favors poorer States. The main formula in the present Elementary-Secondary Act is so inequitable that it provides a payment of \$129.64 for each poor child counted in Mississippi and \$393.14 for each child counted in New York.

To dispel any fears of reduced allocations, the Quie Amendment would require that a state's allotment could not be less than its total allotments for the year ending June 30, 1968, under Titles I, II, III, and V of ESEA.

The Republican amendment would assure the states of a continuing authorization of \$3 billion in aid, starting with the 1968-69 school year. States would know well in advance what they could expect. On the other hand, if the Administration bill becomes law, states could not know for certain what would be available. It could range as low as \$2.3 billion, based on the actual appropriations under the present act.

4. The President said Thursday, this is "a time of testing for American education."

ANSWER: We agree that this is a time of testing, but not in the sense the President meant. It is a time of testing because America must choose between the path of more and more Federal control over education and the other path, which will assure the states and local communities their rightful control over education. After all, it was America's local schools that built our educational system into the best in the world. It was not control from Washington which produced this superb educational system. This is the one issue before us in the consideration of the Quie Amendment.

We must all understand that with Federal money goes Federal influence. The Republican amendment seeks to reduce the danger of Federal control. It also seeks to greatly reduce the endless red tape which is strangling local school boards in their dealings with the vast bureaucracy in Washington.

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Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.), House Minority Leader For Release at 10:30 a.m., Friday, April 28, 1967

President Johnson has made wild and irresponsible charges against the House Republican Leadership and leading advocates of the Republican substitute for the Administration's elementary-secondary school aid bill.

This Administration is playing fast and loose with the truth and has been engaging in such tactics ever since Rep. Quie unveiled his substitute measure on April 20. This further widens the Credibility Gap.

It is the Administration which has revived the church-state issue in connection with elementary-secondary school aid, not House Republicans. Administration officials did this by falsely asserting that aid to private schools would be virtually eliminated under the Quie Amendment. They deliberately fed misinformation about the Quie Amendment to private school officials. The truth is, of course, that the Quie Amendment from the outset has contained assurances that private schools would continue to receive full benefits. These assurances were couched in the same language found in the existing Elementary-Secondary School Aid Act. The truth is on our side.

We have one purpose and one purpose only in seeking adoption of the Republican substitute. That is to cut federal red tape in the channeling of federal aid to elementary and secondary schools and to let state and local educators set priorities. We would do that with bloc sum grants.

The President has falsely asserted that Republicans "trot out a new version" of their school aid substitute each day. The truth is we have made slight additions to the language in our legislation to calm the fears of private school leaders--groundless fears stirred up by the Administration through a scare campaign based on false statements.

The church-state issue actually is not involved in this matter. This is a choice between the Administration's categorical kind of elementary-secondary school aid and the Republican approach of bloc sum grants. The only issue is more local control and less federal influence. The present pattern of benefits for private schools will continue. We are heartily in favor of it.



Comment by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., on Westmoreland Speech 4/28/67

I support and applaud Gen. Westmoreland's call for unity among the American people.in this crisis. Unity at home will bolster the morale of our fighting men, convince the Communists that the Vietnam War must end, and expedite the finding of a just and honorable solution to the conflict.

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--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--May 4, 1967

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., on President's Railroad Wage Dispute Proposal.

Now that free collective bargaining between labor and management in the railroad crisis has again failed, I recognize the need for <u>some</u> legislative action. Because I resent and fear the heavy hand of federal power in this delicate area, I will support such action with grave misgivings.

The President's proposal, which has an element of compulsory arbitration, is one approach. The House and Senate should immediately consider the Johnson recommendation but should explore other alternatives that would include finality and at the same time give the negotiators an opportunity and incentive to reach an accord.

Regrettably the Johnson Administration has been tardy in not submitting overall legislation in this area months ago. We should not continue to legislate solutions to one national emergency labor-management dispute after another in an atmosphere of crisis.

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Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., House Minority Leader, at Public Affairs Luncheon, National Forest Products Association, May 9, Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

It was Shakespeare who said, "Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them."

We have could achieve greatness if we were able to formulate--instanter--a national public land use policy fully adequate for our times.

Certainly the need for such a policy is being thrust upon us. The need is here and we must grapple with and meet it as best we can. It is without doubt one of the great problems of our day.

I do not think anything we say here or any single enactment by Congress will automatically meet the need for an all-encompassing land use policy. But we can build on what we already have--we can make legislative history, as it were--and I believe from those efforts an improved land use policy will emerge.

First of all, we must discard the idea that the conflict between private and public land use cannot be resolved for the greatest good of the greatest number.

It does not proceed with logic that private use of the land must be completely eliminated if the public is to be accommodated on a tract which clearly needs special protection and preservation for posterity. Neither does it necessarily follow that privately-owned lands sought for the public domain must be completely eliminated as a resource productive of wealth and jobs.

What is necessary is that men of good will work together to reconcile opposing viewpoints and to formulate mutually satisfactory agreements which benefit both public and private interests. The conflict is between aesthetics and economics, but it is not an irreconciable dispute between reasonable men of good will.

I share fully the concern of the Department of Interior that more of our land be set aside and developed so that the harrassed city-dweller may bathe his senses in the sweet sights and sounds of nature. But I also feel keenly that we should not wipe out communities or industries in the name of the public good. That, I feel, would be most misguided--and unnecessary.

My position as regards a national land use policy is summed up in the

Republican State of the Union Message of last January 19: "We applaud efforts to create more parks and seashores and will give special emphasis to the preservation of jobs and community stability."

I see Rep, Don Clausen's proposal for a "string-of-pearls" National Redwoods Park and Seashore in California as a concrete example of the kind of reasoned and reasonable land use policy I am espousing.

Mr. Clausen is a dedicated conservationist. But he also is acutely aware that the Administration's plan for a National Redwoods Park would--in the words of Interior Secretary Stewart Udall--put a principal lumber company out of business, cause 235 men to lose their jobs, and deprive California's Del Norte County of \$252,000 in real estate taxes.

It seems to me there is a better way to handle this situation than to throw hundreds of men out of work and provide adjustment payments to Del Norte County and its local government bodies to offset the impact of federal land acquisition for the proposed national park.

The answer, I think, lies in wise application of the multiple-use concept for both public and private lands. This is really nothing new. The U.S. Forest Service has developed forest management techniques to the point where it is indeed possible to carry out Gifford Pinchot's mandate of "the greatest good for the greatest number."

Certainly we must consider carefully Mr. Clausen's warning that "neither tourism nor recreation development can ever substantially replace the annual payrolls of \$80 million, \$18 million spent for services and supplies each year, and the more than \$6 million in property taxes now paid every year by the forest industry in Del Norte and Humboldt Counties (of California) alone."

Mr. Clausen calls instead--and I applaud and endorse his efforts--for a park by partnership, a new approach that encompasses the objectives of a national park while serving the broader needs of the public.

A pattern similar to the plan advanced by Mr. Clausen has already been extablished by the Congress in my own state of Michigan.

The Congress last year established a new national park--the Pictured Rocks National Seashore in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan--which is a perfect example of how the clash between public and private interests in land use can be dissolved in harmonious agreement. In that case, arrangements were made both for harvesting of timber on a sustained yield basis in perpetuity on company-owned land sold to the federal government for the park, and for future swapping of privately-owned

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and federally-owned land on a straight-swap or cash-plus basis.

Our discussion of a coherent national land policy will go far beyond the Pictured Rocks Seashore in Michigan and a National Redwoods Park in California, of course.

We may well get into Sen. Karl Mundt's proposals for reversing the population flow from the cities--where 70 per cent of our people sit huddled on one per cent of our land--to our rural areas, many of them economically depressed.

Or we might discuss the work of the Public Land Review Commission. That group's recommendations may well produce a coalescing of ideas essential to the formulation of a national land policy.

Meantime it seems clear that our guidelines should be those of multiple use of public and private lands, and a reasoned and reasonable approach to conflicts between private and public interests.

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--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--MAY 10, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

Since there is no present opportunity to repeal the presidential campaign subsidy law, I hope the Conference Committee agrees as a minimum to stay the effect of the Act until safeguards can be written into it.

I have not for a moment given up the idea that the law be repealed, but certainly the Senate insistence on guidelines is a major improvement.

I think the presidential campaign subsidy law is a bad mistake. Congress should reverse itself and wipe this law off the books before it ever begins operating. We should instead write into law an income tax deduction for political contributions up to \$100 as an incentive to small contributors. The dangers in the campaign subsidy law are so great as to threaten the destruction of the American political system. Instead of moving toward clean elections, we might well accomplish the opposite.

It should be noted that the White House lobbied against repeal of the campaign subsidy law and thus helped to delay passage of the investment tax credit bill by the Senate. Yet the President and the Secretary of the Treasury stressed the need for swift action on the investment tax credit bill when it was before the House. The House passed the tax credit bill March 16, nearly two months ago. The White House must share the blame for the delay in Senate action on it.

Distribution: House Galleries and mailing, 9:30 a.m., May 12, 1967 50 copies to National Machine Builders Assoc.



STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., BEFORE THE NATIONAL MACHINE TOOL BUILDERS ASSOCIATION SPRING MEETING, STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Gentlemen: I want you to know at the outset that I do not profess to be a prophet. Like you, I am deeply concerned about the outlook for the economy. In my role as Republican leader in the House, I take a hard look at the economic indicators and then make a judgment on pending legislation affecting the economy. Today I will give you my latest reading, for whatever it may be worth.

The theme for your spring meeting is a challenging one...Six Months To Sixty-Eight. It poses the question...where do we go from here.

Well, let's look at what we have to go on.

The Johnson Administration has been predicting a sharp upswing in the economy in the last half of 1967. On that basis, the President last January asked that a 6 per cent add-on to the income tax be imposed on corporations and individuals as of July 1.

Now, what has been happening? We have seen the economy turn dangerously sluggish since Congress at the request of the President suspended the 7 per cent investment tax credit last September as a brake on inflation. We have seen American consumers turn cautious in their spending, with resultant slumps in the sale of automobiles, heavy appliances and television sets.

It became obvious to me and other Republican leaders at the start of the year that the economy was undergoing a grinding adjustment and that suspension of the investment tax credit had seriously damaged prospects for economic growth.

For that reason I called last January 19 for "immediate" restoration of the investment tax credit. I issued that call in our Republican State of the Union Message.

President Johnson belatedly asked Congress in March to restore the tax credit. With the unanimous support of Republicans, the House passed the tax credit restoration bill on March 16. The President and the Secretary of the Treasury had asked for quick action. The House gave it to them.

But in the Senate the tax credit bill became ensnarled in a fight over the

presidential campaign subsidy law passed last year. The White House contributed to the delay by lobbying against a campaign subsidy repeal amendment which had been attached to the tax credit bill.

With Senate passage of the bill this week, the only remaining question on the investment tax credit is that of retroactivity. I strongly favor the House version, which gives business and industry a better break on retroactivity. I have always had misgivings about the Administration move to suspend the tax credit in the first place. The timing of the action was particularly bad. I am forced to say bluntly that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has mismanaged the economy, and the timing of its investment tax credit move was part of that mismanagement.

Now we find the Administration eager to restore the investment tax credit to stimulate the economy, yet playing a role in delaying enactment of the tax credit restoration bill and continuing to demand an income tax increase which may depress the economy. Does that make sense to you? I find it completely inconsistent.

I said as long ago as last November that an income tax increase would be damaging to the economy, and nothing that has happened since has changed my mind. The Joint Economic Committee of the Congress recently said that, instead of a surtax, we should have a \$5 to \$6 billion cut in non-essential federal spending. I agree. That has long been my contention. I also believe that if federal non-military spending had been cut in that amount in early 1966 we could have restored balance to a badly overheated economy and stifled the fires of inflation. If the Majority Party had brought non-essential federal spending under control, we would now not even be talking about an income tax increase.

The Administration's failure to halt inflation also laid the foundation for large wage increases in 1967 and the possibility of crippling strikes. Industrial contracts involving more than three million workers are up for negotiation this year. We know that wages will go up substantially, at the same time that productivity increases only slightly. The result may well be a new round of price increases, a new inflation spiral.

You gentlemen in the machine tool industry are only too familiar with the developments I have sketched for you. You know that the Johnson Administration used you, along with the home builders and the farmers, as the whipping boys of inflation. The Administration put most of its anti-inflation chips on suspension

(more)

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of the investment tax credit because only business would get rubbed the wrong way.

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I haven't talked about the East-West Trade Bill. It hasn't even been sent to Congress yet. This is a most delicate subject, since it involves foreign policy as well as import-export matters. I think Congress needs all the information it can get before making judgment. For that reason, House Republicans have set up a task force to gather all available facts and projections. We will take a firm position when all the facts are in.

I wish I could be optimistic about trends in the economy in the next six months. But of the 12 leading economic indicators--the signposts used to guess where the economy is going--nine point downward right now. And Acting Commerce Secretary Alexander Trowbridge said just yesterday that the economy is "still sluggish."

What the economy needs for a new surge of sound growth is the proper mix of monetary and fiscal policy and a system of taxation that does not act as a drag. I wish you luck. Thank you.

Distribution: House Galleries at 6:15 p.m., May 16, 1967 Mailing List at 11:30 a.m., May 17, 1967

GERALD





FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONGRESSMAN

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

R.

FORD

<u>May 16, 1967</u>

House Republicans today introduced a comprehensive bill to protect lawabiding citizens from improper wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping by strictly defining permissible surveillance under court orders, House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford (R. Mich.) announced.

The proposed legislation was introduced by Congressman William M. McCulloch (R. Ohio), senior Republican Member of the House Judiciary Committee and co-sponsored by Minority Leader Ford, Congressman Richard H. Poff (R. Va.), Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime, and 20 other Republican Members of the House of Representatives.

The Republican bill would implement the recommendations of the majority of the President's Crime Commission and the Commission's Task Force on Organized Crime.

Contrary to the recommendations of this distinguished panel, President Johnson recently asked Congress to enact legislation prohibiting virtually all electronic evidence-gathering by law enforcement officers which is primarily used against organized crime.

Commenting on the bill, Minority Leader Ford stated:

"This important legislative initiative carries out the constructive Republican commitment in our State of the Union appraisal of last January 19.

"On that occasion I warned that 'wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping worry all Americans who prize their privacy,' but also noted that within welldefined limits with proper safeguards, 'these are essential weapons to those who guard our nation's security and wage ceaseless war against organized crime.'"

Congressman McCulloch pointed out that the President's proposal does not ban all electronic surveillance. Rather it would permit the President to make unilateral, unchecked and unreviewable determinations of when it should be used in "national security" cases. Congressman McCulloch stated that if wiretapping is effective against subversives, its effectiveness should not be denied to law enforcement in dealing with the equally subversive activities of organized crime. Congressman McCulloch added: "I am certain that this proposed legislation

minimizes actual or potential threats to individual privacy and strikes a true balance between the needs of society and the rights of individuals."

Congressman Poff emphasized that the Republican measure provides extra protection against wiretapping or electronic surveillance of conversations between husband and wife, lawyers and clients, doctors and patients, clergy and communicants and users of public telephones. Poff said:

"This bill for the first time gives the citizen protection and legal recourse against unauthorized or improper invasions of private communications. It advances both the traditional American concept of individual liberty and the equally important rule of law and order."

Joining with Minority Leader Ford, Congressman McCulloch and Congressman Poff, were the following Republican co-sponsors: Arch A. Moore of W. Va., William T. Cahill of N.J., Clark MacGregor of Minn., Edward Hutchinson of Mich., Robert McClory of Ill., Henry P. Smith of N.Y., William V. Roth of Dela., Thomas J. Meskill of Conn., Tom Railsback of Ill., Edward Biester of Penna., Charles E. Wiggins of Calif., Carleton King of N.Y., Jack Betts of Ohio, Barber Conable of N.Y., William Cramer of Fla., Robert Price of Texas, Garner Shriver of Kansas, Louis Wyman of N.H., and Chalmers Wylie of Ohio.



THE AMERICAN MARITIME INDUSTRY CRISIS

NATIONAL MARITIME DAY

The President has issued a proclamation designating May 22, 1967, National Maritime Day.

I am sure all of us endorse the sentiments of the proclamation.

Unfortunately the President's words have a hollow ring when we consider the evident confusion and inaction on the part of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in this field.

More than two years have passed since the President's State of the Union Massage in 1965 when he promised a new Merchant Marine policy. This past week at the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department Seminar conducted in Washington, D. C., industry and labor spokesmen underscored the anxiety of both over the Administration's non-policy in the maritime field.

While industry and many members of Congress urge the construction of 50 ships a year during the next 5 years, the Administration sponsored the construction of 13.

Our declining merchant fleet is struggling to carry more than 90 percent of the material supporting our Vietnam forces. The fleet has fewer privately-owned seagoing vessels than in 1936. In fact, 70 percent of our ships are more than 20 years old and due for obsolescence layup in the next 5 years.

The portion of our foreign trade being moved by American flag vessels has fallen to the shameful level of 7 percent.

At present we are using 35 percent of our sea lift capability to support Vietnam. Approximately 98 percent of the materials are moved by ships. This entails 100 percent of our NSTS fleet, 40 percent of the privately-owned fleet, 26 percent of the subsidized lines, 50 percent of the unsubsidized lines, 70 percent of the general cargo capability of the Tramp fleet and 32 percent of the National Defense reserve fleet.

Faced with another conflict, we would be forced to further curtail our commercial shipping, with resultant inroads by foreign flag competition, or

permit foreign flag vessels to carry a substantial portion of our defense cargoes. In either case, our maritime industry is the loser.

This situation is particularly painful when we recall the observation of the Secretary of Defense a little over a year ago that our maritime resources were adequate and that emergency situations (Vietnam) would be logistically supported by air transport.

This past week we witnessed a paradox wherein the Administration is hailing the Trade agreements reached at Geneva in the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations. The agreements are designed and intended to expand the free trade of the world. Concurrently the Administration and Secretary Boyd are doing nothing to provide seaborne transport resources to conduct such trade.

We are on the brink of a maritime crisis of major proportion. The Administration's abandonment of the Eisenhower maritime program has triggered just such a crisis. Its indecision and failure to mount anything more than a minimal program has escalated the crisis to a point bordering on a national catastrophe.

This country must have a modern merchant marine. We must revitalize and modernize our shipbuilding industry, re-examine the construction and operations subsidy program, establish reasonable measures to insure an appropriate level of cargo preference, and once and for all establish a long-term construction and operation program that will retain a highly skilled management and labor force vital to the welfare of the nation.

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STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

My name is not among those on the statement of endorsement by the Michigan Republican delegation for reasons which I shall make abundantly clear.

I believe Gov. Romney to be the most capable governor our state has ever had--certainly the finest in my memory. His constructive and successful record in both public and private life eminently qualifies him to be President of the United States.

However, as Republican leader of the House of Representatives, I <u>should</u> not and therefore <u>will</u> not endorse any candidate for the Republican presidential nomination above all others prior to the Republican Convention. Such action would reduce my effectiveness as the leader of House Republicans.

Republicans in the 90th Congress must unite in building a legislative record for the Republican Party's candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency to run on in 1968. I can best help in that important effort by refraining from endorsing any individual as the party's nominee for either office.



STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

I have grave reservations about the wisdom of direct congressional appropriations for the financing of presidential election campaigns.

It is questionable, first of all, whether this is a legitimate use of the taxpayers' dollars. There is reason to wonder, too, whether such a system would not "blow the lid off" presidential campaign spending. The politicians could well have a vested interest in federal spending for campaign purposes.

I find merit, however, in some of the other provisions of the President's campaign financing proposal.

I strongly favor the provision which would preserve the voting privilege in presidential elections for those citizens who have moved from one state to another between elections and would otherwise be deprived of their right to vote.

I also believe the President's proposal of a tax credit for small voluntary contributions is constructive but the ceiling is unrealistic.

This, I think, is the nub of the matter. Congress should greatly encourage small voluntary contributions instead of going directly to the Treasury for campaign financing.

On balance, I think the House Republican Election Reform Act of 1967 is superior to either the President's bill or Russell Long's tax checkoff idea which Congress has shelved.

The Republican bill, along with other moves to assure clean elections, would provide for tax deduction up to \$100 for voluntary political contributions.

This is basically the best route toward clean elections for America.

If the President really wants election reform, he might well look at a bipartisan bill which was reported out by the Elections Subcommittee of the House Administration Committee last year. This legislation is reflected in the Election Reform Act of 1967 introduced by House Republicans.

We must have action in this area. If this legislation is not enacted this session, it should be adopted early next year in time for the 1968 election.



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--Tuesday, June 13, 1967

The following is the text of a letter sent to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee asking for an immediate hearing on House Resolution 505, introduced June 8 by House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.) and Rep. John J. Rhodes, (R-Ariz.), Chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee:

12 June 1967

Honorable William M. Colmer Chairman, Committee on Rules United States House of Representatives Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Enclosed is a copy of H. Res. 505 which calls for the immediate Floor consideration of H. Res. 406 which we introduced on March 22, 1967.

H. Res. 406 (copy enclosed) respectfully requested the President to reconsider his fiscal 1968 Budget and to indicate where substantial reductions in spending could best be made. This Resolution was referred to the Committee on Appropriations on March 22, 1967. Since that time the Committee has taken no action upon this Resolution.

In the meantime, the Administration's own estimates of the probable deficit under the 1968 Budget have increased from \$8.7 to \$11 billion. Moreover, the Administration recently sought borrowing authority to accommodate a deficit of \$29 billion. However, on June 7, 1967 the House of Representatives by a vote of 210 to 197 rejected the Administration's request to raise the reflected National Debt Ceiling to a record \$365 billion. This vote emphatically **understand** the strong sentiment of the American people that ever-rising deficits and runaway spending must be curbed in this period of international and fiscal crisis.

Under the present circumstances, it is even more imperative that H. Res. 406 receives the earliest possible Floor consideration. In order that this may be accomplished, we have introduced H. Res. 505 which under Rule 27, Section 4 of the Rules of the House of Representatives calls for immediate consideration of our earlier proposal which has remained in the Appropriations Committee for more than 30 days without action.

We respectfully request an immediate hearing on H. Res. 505.

Sincerely,

/s/ Gerald R. Ford Gerald R. Ford, M. C. Minority Leader /s/ John J. Rhodes John J. Rhodes, M. C. Chairman

(The background of House Resolution 505 and House Resolution 406 is contained in the earlier news release attached. The procedure is intended to bring to the Rules Committee for hearings, and hopefully to the House Floor for debate and action, the Republican proposal to return the fiscal 1968 Federal Budget to the President for revision downward.)

For Release Friday A.M.s June 9, 1967

JOINT STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVES GERALD R. FORD (R-MICH.) HOUSE MINORITY LEADER, AND JOHN J. RHODES (R-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

On March 22, 1967, we introduced identical House Resolutions, (H. Res. 406 and H. Res. 407) respectfully requesting the President to reconsider his fiscal 1968 budget and to indicate where substantial reductions in spending could best be made. (See text.)

These resolutions were referred to the Committee on Appropriations which has taken no action upon them. Meanwhile the Administration's own estimates of the probable deficit under the 1968 budget have increased and the House of Representatives, by yesterday's vote of 210 to 197 rejecting the Administration's request to raise the national debt ceiling to a record \$365 billion, has emphatically reflected the strong sentiment of the American people that ever-rising deficits and runaway spending must be curbed in this time of international and fiscal crisis.

We are therefore today introducing a Special House Resolution under Rule 27, Section 4 of the Rules of the House of Representatives, calling for immediate floor consideration of our earlier proposal to send the budget back to President Johnson for revision downward. Under this rule, when a public bill or resolution has remained in a standing committee 30 days or more without action, members may file a special resolution with the Rules Committee to bring the bill or resolution up for immediate consideration by the Committee of the Whøle House. (See text.)

* * *

SPECIAL RESOLUTION (H. RES. 505)

That upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall immediately resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of H. Res. 406, requesting the President to submit to the House of Representatives recommendations for budget reductions. After general debate, which shall be confined to the resolution and shall continue not to exceed 3 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, the resolution shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

* * *

H. RES. 406

Whereas the House of Representatives must, in the public interest, make substantial reductions in the President's budget for the fiscal year 1968: Now, therefore, be it

<u>Resolved</u>, That the President be respectfully requested to indicate the places and amounts in his budget for the fiscal year 1968 where he thinks substantial reductions may be made.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be submitted to the President.



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--Friday, June 16, 1967

CONGRESSMAN

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

R.

FORD

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD (R-MICH.), HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

GERALD

Our great country has always been dedicated to humanitarian principles. All Americans must have been profoundly moved, as I was, by recent news accounts and photographs of helpless Arab soldiers abandoned by their governments and wandering in the broiling desert sun. These men, surely, are not responsible for the folly of their leaders nor deserving of slow and horrible death after defeat in battle.

Therefore I applaud and support the step just announced by the White House, offering American planes to airdrop water to these unfortunate castaways. Let us hope that the Israeli and Egyptian governments will give their cooperation promptly, before the grim desert sun makes our mission of mercy moot. Personally, I would think emergency food and medical supplies as well as water should be provided.

While I remain adamantly opposed to the use of American aid to prop up such demagogic and discredited regimes as Mr. Nasser's, I notified President Johnson by telegram today of my warm endorsement of this humanitarian step which accords with our highest religious teachings. Because it is moral and right, it is also good international politics for the United States at this critical juncture in Middle East and East-West relationships.

The text of my telegram follows: Dear Mr. President:

I commend and support our government's offer of American aircraft to try and save the stranded Arab soldiers in the Sinai desert. It accords with our country's humanitarian and religious traditions and effectively answers President Nasser's big lie on the role of American planes in the recent war. My stated opposition to the use of American aid to prop up Mr. Nasser's demagogic and discredited regime does not preclude emergency measures to save soldiers it has abandoned in defeat. If they live, they might prove a leaven of realism among the Egyptian population to restrain future follies and threats to world peace. I am advising the House of Representatives of my views. Respectfully,

Gerald R. Ford, M.C.



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--June 22, 1967

Information has come to me--confirmed by the State Department--that an American food ship with a 27,000-ton cargo of grain bound for famine-stricken India is trapped in the closed-down Suez Canal.

The ship is the tanker Observer, which was loaded with P.L. 480 milo, a corn-like sorghum, about May 15. It has been held up in the Suez Canal since June 5 when the six-day Arab-Israeli War broke out.

Third-country reports to the State Department say that seven ships have been sunk at various points in the Suez Canal. News reports indicate that the Egyptians themselves have sunk these ships and that they intend to keep the canal closed for months.

Meantime, the government of India has sided with Egypt in the smoldering Mideast crisis--and hungry crowds in West Bengal State are looting freight trains and trucks carrying rice, wheat and other food.

The grain for India held up in the Suez Canal may be a small amount in terms of the overall U.S. program of food for that starving nation but 27,000 tons of milo would feed a great many people.

According to the State Department, officials at the Indian Embassy here want to dispose in the Mideast of the grain aboard the Observer. These officials fear the grain will spoil and be a total loss, the department said. The ship's owners also want to get rid of the cargo and get the ship's crew out of Egypt. The State Department has not yet taken a position on the matter. Although the Indians have paid for the grain--in their own currency--our government's permission must be obtained before the cargo can be removed from the ship.

It is the cruellest of irony that India should be deprived of 27,000 tons of American surplus grain by a nation whose side she has taken in an international dispute.

I would suggest the Indians reconsider their attitude toward the disputants in the Mideast.



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--June 28, 1967

CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD (R-MICH.) HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

June 17, 1967, Red China exploded her first Hydrogen Bomb.

That was eleven days ago.

October 16, 1964, Red China detonated her first nuclear device.

That was two years and eight months ago.

The first atomic explosion by Communist China was rated around 20 kilotons. The latest thermonuclear blast was estimated between 2 to 7 Megatons--at least 100 times as powerful as Red China's first atomic explosion.

Each of Red China's six nuclear tests has evidenced more rapid technological progress and greater sophistication than most U.S. experts had predicted.

It took the United States six years and three months to get from the first Alamo gordo atomic test to the first H-Bomb at Eniwetok.

It took the Soviet Union three years and eleven months to cover the same stages of development, after the United States had shown the way.

Red China took two years and eight months to join the H-Bomb Club.

Throughout that entire period of peril, a one-sided debate has paralyzed Administration policy on the life-and-death question of an Anti-Ballistic Missile defense system for the United States. The almost unanimous opinion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the nation's top professional military experts, and the cognizant committees of the Congress has been in favor of proceeding with some form of ABM development and deployment which, the Defense Department estimates, might save millions or tens of millions of American lives.

The debate has been one-sided because President Johnson, as Commander in Chief, and Secretary of Defense McNamara, his civilian deputy, have repeatedly deferred this decision and declined to spend pre-production funds appropriated by Congress for ABM defense.

At first, the Administration argument was that an ABM defense was impractical and would be a waste of money. When rumors first spread, through press reports, early in 1963, that the Russians apparently were developing an ABM defense, Secretary McNamara engaged in semantic hair-splitting with Congressional questioners which seemed to deny that the Soviet Union had an ABM "system" (defining system in the technical sense of a complete weapons system) and thus implying that the United States was at least even with the USSR in this technological race.

That was four years ago.

More recently, the Administration line has shifted to the theme that Soviet leaders might be persuaded, in a hopeful atmosphere of "detente," to agree to stop the costly ABM race on which they were well along and the United States had not yet decided to start. But, despite numerous authorative articles and discussions in the press, there was no official Administration confirmation of the deployment of a Soviet ABM defense until Nov. 10, 1966 -- two days after the 1966 national elections -- when Secretary McNamara announced there was "considerable evidence" to this effect. He also said it was "much too early to make a decision for a deployment against the Chinese threat." (The Red Chinese had just tested a nuclear-tipped 400-500 mile ballistic missile on Oct. 27, 1966.)

That was eight months ago.

In his latest State of the Union Message, Jan. 10, 1967, President Johnson noted two developments -- an increase during the past year of Soviet long-range missile capabilities and the beginning of an Anti-Ballistic Missile defense around Moscow. But his main emphasis was on what he termed his "solemn duty to slow down the arms race between us (the U.S. and the USSR) if that is at all possible, in both conventional and nuclear weapons and defenses."

That was five months and two weeks ago.

In the Republican appraisal of the State of the Union delivered Jan. 19, 1967, I said:

"The Administration has finally admitted to the American people that the Soviet Union has increased its Intercontinental Ballistic Missile capability and is deploying an Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense System. In anticipation of a life-and-death decision on just such a development, Congress has voted millions of dollars which the Administration did not seek and apparently has not used.

"The Congress did its duty and gave the President a clear expression of its will and the means to carry it out.

"Before more precious time is lost, Congress and the American people are now entitled to a clear explanation from the President of the perils and problems facing the United States in the new global balance of strategic power.

"We, too, seek to avoid a costly new round in the nuclear arms race. But the least the Nation must do now is to speed up its readiness to deploy Anti-Ballistics Missiles in a hurry if our survival requires it."

That was five months and one week ago. I repeat it again today.

In his Budget Message to Congress on Jan. 24, 1967, the President spelled out his decision on an ABM defense for the United States, pledging that during fiscal 1968 he would:

"Continue intensive development of Nike-X but <u>take no action</u> now to deploy an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense; initiate discussions with the Soviet Union on the limitation of ABM deployment; in the event these discussions prove unsuccessful, we will reconsider our deployment system."

That was five months ago.

Soviet Premier Alexei N. Kosygin gave an oblique answer at a news conference in London on February 9, 1967. This is from the New York Times' account:

"Premier Kosygin suggested at a news conference today that defensive antiballistic missile systems were less dangerous to mankind than offensive systems, and therefore more desirable even if they should prove more costly.

"While avoiding a direct answer to a question on the subject, he gave no encouragement to hopes for a moratorium on anti-ballistic missile defense development as a means of limiting the arms race between the great powers.....

"His reply was that 'a system that serves to ward off an attack does not heighten the tension but serves to lessen the possibility of an attack that may kill large numbers of people."

It is difficult not to agree with the Communist leader in the way he dismissed the "cost-effectiveness" argument favored by Mr. McNamara.

"It might be cheaper to build offensive than defensive systems," Kosygin said, "but this is not the criterion upon which one should base oneself in deciding this problem."

This was four months and two weeks ago.

Nevertheless, President Johnson continued to support Secretary McNamara, or vice-versa. Testifying March 6, 1967, before the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee, McNamara conceded the continuing split between himself and the

entire Joint Chiefs of Staff, represented by their Chairman, General Earle G. Wheeler, on the ABM question.

Gen. Wheeler told the House Armed Services Committee that he had gone to President Johnson, on his own initiative, to present the Joint Chiefs' case to the Commander-in-Chief in this important difference of opinion with the Secretary of Defense.

In the heavily-censored transcripts of committee testimony, it is evident that Mr. McNamara still felt that the Russians were wasting their resources on defensive measures against a missile attack and that the United States should not follow suit. He argued that the U.S. response to a Soviet ABM system should not be a U.S. ABM system, but a step-up in our deterrent offensive capability. If we embarked upon an ABM defense, Mr. McNamara assumed that Soviet planners would use the same reasoning as he used and increase their offensive capability. At the same time he acknowledged that, even though the United States had widely advertised that it was not proceeding with any ABM deployment, the Soviet Union was increasing its offensive missile capability anyway. But he persisted in the view that the United States should not expedite an ABM deployment.

General Wheeler took the position that "the Soviets will undoubtedly improve the Moscow system as time goes on and extend ABM defense to other high-priority areas of the Soviet Union." He estimated that they have the resources to do so and are willing to spend whatever it takes to gain strategic superiority or strategic parity with the United States.

On behalf of his colleagues of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler testified that the Soviet objective -- both in offensive and defensive strategy -is "to achieve an exploitable capability, permitting them freedom to pursue their national aims at conflict levels less than general nuclear war."

While the debate on the desirability of a U.S. ABM defense system has concentrated until very recently on sharply varying U.S. estimates of Soviet intentions and capabilities, Red China's breakthrough into the select group of four thermonuclear superpowers injects an entirely new factor.

The timing of Red China's H-Bomb breakthrough was most significant. It came as the whole world was groping to assess the lessons of the Israel-Arab war and the near-confrontation of great powers that had been averted. The most immediate conclusions from this crisis are:

(1) As proved by Israel, a sudden and pre-emptive air strike has not been summarily discarded by military planners of other nations. This is especially true if the odds against a successful defense are very unfavorable.

(2) As proved by Nasser, fanatic and authoritarian regimes do not necessarily act rationally or evaluate risks by the same standards we do. Furthermore, they can suffer what a Western government would consider inacceptable human and material losses and still survive politically.

(3) As proved by the United States and the Soviet Union, when the two superpowers neutralize each other with their mutual nuclear deterrents, lesser nations are pretty much left free to resolve regional issues by force.

None of these lessons, I am sure, was lost on Red China or on the other nations of Asia.

I hope they are not lost upon Secretary McNamara, and will cause him quickly to reverse his 1966 post-election view that it is "much too early to make a decision for a deployment against the Chinese threat."

Even those who cherish the most optimistic hopes that Russian Communist leaders will act reasonably and with restraint in their thermonuclear strategy cannot possibly put the Chinese Communist leaders in the same category. Peiping itself does not.

Red China's capability in the field of nuclear weaponry consistently has been

downgraded and underestimated by Administration policymakers. When Red China achieved atomic status, Americans were told it would take many years for them to

perfect advanced systems for delivering a nuclear weapon. When, within six months, Red China mounted an atomic warhead on a 500-mile ballistic missile, Americans were reassured that it would be many more years before the Chinese could pose any intercontinental threat to the United States.

Secretary McNamara testified on Jan. 25, 1966 before the House Armed Services Committee that "the Chinese Communists have detonated two nuclear devices and could possibly develop and deploy a small force of ICBMs by the mid-to-latter part of the 1970's." Whether this estimate is better or worse than Mr. McNamara's previous estimates on the Vietnam War, the necessity of a U.S. Merchant Marine, the usefulness of Reserve forces and the future of manned aircraft and nuclearpowered ships, cannot yet be determined. His danger date, however, is only 8 to 10 years away.

Other Pentagon officials have pointed out that a primitive submarine-launched nuclear-tipped missile could be developed by Red China in a much shorter period, and conceivably could already exist.

"Fortune" magazine in an authoritativeJune 1967 article on ABM defense estimates that five to seven years, from the time the go-ahead is given, would be needed to deploy even a "thin" U.S. anti-ballistic missile defense. Cost estimates, depending upon the degree of protection provided, range from \$3 billion to \$40 billion, spread over a period of years.

The article quotes Lt. Gen. Austin Betts, Chief of the Army's Nike-X research and development, as believing the "optimum" moment has arrived to begin production. It points out that further delay could mean the breakup of contractor teams and the onset of obsolescence in components.

There appears to be general agreement that the current fiscal 1968 Defense Appropriation, voted 407-to-1, contains as much money as could be used in the coming 12 months -- some \$908 million on top of the \$4 billion previously provided for anti-ballistic missile research and development. This includes the extra \$167.8 million which Congress voted last year for initial deployment which the Administration declined to use.

I can no longer see any logic in delaying this crucial decision for an indefinite time while the United States attempts to get agreement with the Soviet Union to slow down an expensive ABM race. Premier Kosygin threw cold water on any ABM moratorium at his U.N. news conference June 25 and President Johnson has not revealed any progress on this subject during their private talks at Holly Bush.

What is perfectly clear is that U.S. reluctance to move forward on ABM defense deployment has in no way slowed the Soviet program, defensively or offensively, nor impaired the thermonuclear progress of Red China. Both are moving full speed ahead.

Gen. Harold Johnson, the Army Chief of Staff, summed up the sentiment of professional military leaders when he told the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee on March 10, 1967:

"Now, one cannot argue against discussing the issues that are to be discussed with the Soviets, you cannot argue that at all. However, the uneasiness that I feel is basically this: <u>When do we stop discussing and when do we reach a</u> <u>decision point</u>?"

That was three months and two weeks ago.

Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb of California, ranking Republican on the subcommittee, summed up the House Appropriations Committee's answer to the President and Secretary McNamara on the House floor June 13, 1967. He said:

"In commenting on the reluctance to begin to deploy the Nike-X system on the part of the Administration, our committee report states:

"'It would appear that the initiation of deployment of light or thin defense, now, may very well be a most useful first step toward whatever level of ballistic missile defense ultimately appears necessary.' In other words the report, adopted unanimously by the committee, says: 'Get Going!'" Lipscomb declared.

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(more)

That was two weeks ago. The key word is "NOW."

Four days after the House overwhelmingly endorsed this view of the urgency to get going on ABM, the Red Chinese H-Bomb was exploded.

Initial reports on this significant event, overshadowed by the U.N. wrangling on the Middle East, quoted Washington "weapons specialists" as surmising that "Red China would be more likely to set it off on a test stand so that its yield and other effects could be measured more precisely" -- another disturbing sign of assuming a potential enemy thinks exactly as we do.

Later, after Japanese atomic scientists said their analysis showed the bomb had been exploded at a high altitude, the Washington Post on June 22 quoted Washington "intelligence officials" as believing the Red Chinese H-bomb was dropped from an airplane. It added that "The Pentagon has said of the Chinese H-Bomb that it does not require any change in U.S. military strategy."

I disagree.

With the United States and the USSR standing each other off in nuclear deterrents, the possession of even one Red Chinese nuclear weapon that can be carried in one conventional bomber radically alters the balance of power in East Asia and the Western Pacific -- areas which President Johnson has specifically proclaimed as vital to America's national interest and the fate of the free world.

If the elementary "weapons system" represented by what Red China evidently has already produced is not an <u>immediate</u> threat to the continental United States, or even to Alaska, Hawaii and Guam, what about its threat to Japan, South Korea, Formosa, South Vietnam, Thailand, and the Philippines which the United States has solemn treaty obligations to defend?

Time, unlike money, cannot be recovered. Wasting time is therefore a far more serious matter than wasting funds. The arguments about the cost effectiveness of ABM defense which Mr. McNangra has argued for years and years, backed by the President, must now give way to the unanimous opinion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the cognizant committees of Congress that the United States cannot risk running second in any aspect of this grim game.

If any practical step could conceivably save 100 million American lives -or 1 million or 1000 -- how much is too much to spend on it? Yet what we lack is not the money but the decision to "Get Going!" The funds have been provided. I call upon President Johnson to act without another day's delay.