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**FOR THE SENATE:**

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of Illinois*

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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

**FOR THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

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of Michigan*

*Leslie C. Arends  
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of New York*

*Richard H. Poff  
of Virginia*

*William C. Cramer  
of Florida*

**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**February 2, 1967**

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN**

**Every American family knows the meaning of the word "budget".**

Every American family knows what it is to try to make ends meet -- especially these days. Every American family knows that, while it can perhaps for a little while live beyond its means, it cannot do so for very long without finding itself on the short and rocky road to the poor house.

A government -- any government -- is no exception for a government is, after all, nothing more nor less than a collection of families. Like a family, a government cannot rely on hoped-for income nor can it endure economically for very long if needless expenditures which it can't afford are permitted. I suggest, therefore, that rather than dealing in countless billions of dollars and confusing ourselves with endless strings of zeros, we think hereafter of the operation of this government in family terms.

As has been emphasized already by the news media throughout the country and as has been emphasized already by members of the Congress, this Administration's budget for the coming fiscal year is difficult to comprehend. It contains sums that are astronomical. It contains, to be sure, provision for necessities -- especially as regards the fearful conflict in Viet Nam -- but it contains also a large number of absolutely non-essential items which, in aggregate, can and should and will be eliminated if the still-heavy Democratic majorities in the Congress will cooperate with us.

The budget of the United States, as submitted to the Congress by

the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, is as big as a metropolitan telephone directory and every page contains print just as small. The Republican members of the Congress will, without exception, in the days immediately ahead, be examining every line and item of this budget with clear and knowledgable eyes. We are determined to vote to retain every item of necessity both in domestic and defense programs but are equally determined, if the Democrat majorities in the Congress can be so persuaded, to eliminate every single item, large, middling or small, that should be cut. Our recommendations in the days ahead will be specific, clear and unmistakable. In this area of non-essential expenditures, we are prepared to wield a swinging meat-cleaver or use a delicate scalpel as the operation may require.

From our school-day reading we have ever more occasion to recall, from Dicken's "David Copperfield", the timeless and timely lesson in budgeteering given young Copperfield by the seasoned and sensible Mr. Micawber:

"Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds ought and six, result misery. The blossom is blighted, the leaf is withered, the God of day goes down upon the dreary scene and you are, in short, flat."

If the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its still dominant Democratic majorities in the Congress persist in the course they have now mapped out for the American people we too will be "in short, flat". This the Republican members of the Congress will do everything within their minority power to prevent. Let those in the seats of majority and authority be advised.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD

The "Big If" budget of the United States for the coming fiscal year, as presented to this Congress by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, is a bad budget. It should be returned to the President by the Congress immediately, with the demand that it be reviewed and revised into a document that makes sense to the Congress and to the American people.

This budget is misleading. We don't believe in it. The people don't believe in it. At a time when the living costs of every American family have never been higher -- at a time when family income just can't keep up -- at a time when we are fighting the third largest war in our history -- this budget tries to provide for both guns and butter. It actually contains a great deal of lard.

The American people will not tolerate such fiscal manipulation. They will no longer permit such insults to their intelligence and raids on their pocketbooks. The budget is agonizing table-talk in every American home. The press is already echoing the same angry feeling. One illustration -- shown here from a recent column in the Washington Daily News -- makes the point dramatically. By any estimate hundreds of dollars will be added to each family's burden.

This budget should be labelled the "Big If" budget. It is the biggest and the "iffiest" in American history:

If the Administration's estimate of the cost of Viet Nam is anywhere near accurate;

if the Congress votes a postal fee increase;

if the Congress approves an income tax increase;

if the Congress approves the various tax measures the Administration recommends;

if the program cutbacks promised actually occur;

if the economy, despite the Administration's manipulations, proves healthy.

We cannot as a people, gamble on so many and such big "ifs".

If a business were operated with a budget like this, it would go bankrupt in a week. If a family budget depended on any such reasoning, the family would be cold, hungry and without a roof almost overnight.

What must be done can be done by this Congress to make this bad budget a good one. What must be done can be done by the Congress if the Democrat majorities in the Congress will heed the people's demand for economy. The Republican minorities in the Congress are determined to act. Let the Democrat leadership take heed.

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*The National Chairman  
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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
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**Press Release**

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**Issued following a  
Leadership meeting**

**February 24, 1967**

**STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

For more than three decades now, since the onset of the New Deal, our Federal system, upon which this nation was founded and because of which it has grown strong, has been steadily eroding, despite the strenuous efforts of the Eisenhower Administration to prevent it. This erosion, which had its origin in those days has now grown to the point where, with excessive concentration of power and control in National Government hands, the destruction of our Federal system could be imminent.

As the National Government has, increasingly, become the source of near-absolute authority, the principal collector and spender of the people's money, and a central point of control over much of our lives, the position and the strength of the individual states has been steadily undermined and enfeebled.

Because we fear this destruction of the Federal system and because we are so determined to prevent it, we urge again, as we did in our Appraisal of the State of the Union in January, that there be instituted and established by this 90th Congress some principle for the sharing of tax revenues or for tax credits between the National Government and the individual states. By such means, among others, we believe that the erosion of our Federal system can be arrested, that strangling National Government controls can be loosened and the rights and responsibilities of our people in our states and local communities can be restored.

The principal device through which National Government power and control over the states has become established has been through the torrent of Washington largesse and regulation known as "grants-in-aid". The chart shown here today illustrates in simple and fearful form the speed with which this Federal club over the states and local communities has grown in a shockingly short period of time. The hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations reveal that a projection of this chart would indicate a grants-in-aid total in excess of 50 billion dollars by 1975. Current examples of this are legion:

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare alone has published a book containing some 527 pages. It is entitled "Grants-in-aid and Other Financial Assistance Programs Administered by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare". This 527-page book merely lists and describes briefly the grants-in-aid programs administered by this single department of the Federal Government.

The Office of Economic Opportunity -- the War on Poverty headquarters -- has published a book entitled "Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement." The book is 414 pages long!

Very recently the Office of Education prepared a single table for the use of Congressional offices. This table outlines the programs available from this bureau alone. There are 112 separate grant-in-aid categories in this table.

It might be noted also that the most recent edition of "The Encyclopedia of United States Government Benefits", a volume of 1,010 pages lists more than 8,000 Federal Government aid items.

Those in bureaucratic authority proudly refer to this as "Creative Federalism".

It ought to be called "Creative Federalism", likely to consume us all.

To these illustrations many others can and will be added by the Republicans in Congress as we urge the Democrat leadership and

majority to schedule legislative hearings on this now vital subject of sharing of tax revenues between the Federal Government and the 50 states and local communities.

Let me emphasize -- just as strongly as I can -- that we do not believe such a policy and program to be ideal by any means. The truly ideal form of tax revenue sharing would consist of a reduction in Federal spending and in Federal taxes, tax reform, and a selective phasing-out of some Federal grants-in-aid. We face, however, a reality and not an ideal. We confront a fact and not a theory. We therefore urge -- no, we demand -- that this next best approach be made -- and be made now -- by this Congress and by the prompt action of the Democrat leadership and majority in scheduling public and thorough hearings on this important matter.

Representative Ford

February 24, 1967

Let me repeat and emphasize the vital point Senator Dirksen has just made -- that we believe the truly ideal form of tax revenue sharing between the Federal Government and the states would consist of a reduction in Federal spending and in Federal taxes, tax reform, and a selective phasing-out of some Federal grants-in-aid. Only by this means can we truly hope to restore the Federal system to strength and balance. Only in this way can we restore to our people in the states and their local communities the rights of decision, historically theirs, to solve far more effectively than can be done from Washington the problems they know best.

Let me emphasize also that we do not now endorse any particular plan for tax revenue sharing that has been offered to date. In the 89th Congress 53 bills on this subject were filed, from both sides of the aisle. In the 90th Congress, again more than 50 bills have been filed thus far from both sides of the aisle. Governors, mayors, county supervisors and other public leaders have made specific recommendations. Economists and leaders from the academic community have done likewise. By thorough and extended public hearings and through the established legislative process we can achieve the best possible tax revenue sharing plan. We now demand, therefore, that the Democrat leadership and majority move promptly to schedule such hearings.

We are aware of the several important factors which must be taken into account in the preparation of a sound tax revenue sharing plan. We realize that allocation of tax revenues to the states might be done on any one of several bases, that those states with smaller population and modest state revenues must be individually provided for, that the authority of the governors of our states must be respected, that the revenue-raising responsibilities of the states must be re-inforced, that tax credit proposals must be carefully

weighed, that the needs of our urban centers and the seasoned opinions of their mayors must be taken into full account. These are but a few of the necessary considerations that must be given this proposal. No one of them can be treated lightly nor can any thoughtful opinion be left unheeded.

The most recent Gallup poll reveals that 70 per cent of our people endorse the finding of a sound tax revenue sharing plan. The voice of the people is being heard -- loud and clear. Our people resent fiscal plenty at the Federal level and fiscal poverty in their communities. They resent the labelling of Federal tax money as "free money", for they know every penny and dollar comes from their own pockets. They resent and will no longer accept remote, arbitrary dictation from Washington. Local officials know best how to solve the problems with which they live each day.

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**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**March 17, 1967**

**STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN**

**For Release**

**Noon, March 17, 1967**

The Kennedy Round negotiations at least reach crisis point. Our negotiators in Geneva rightly confess alarm over the magnitude and complexity of the issues still unsolved after nearly three years of effort.

These prolonged negotiations -- still fruitless even at this late date -- evidence the urgent need for a comprehensive reassessment of America's foreign trade policy by the 90th Congress.

Republicans in Congress strongly favor truly reciprocal trade. But for years the United States has not benefited reciprocally from its trade agreements. For seven years straight our commercial balance of trade has declined. Its alarming state has been misrepresented to Congress and the nation.

A number of basic domestic industries have suffered grievously under unwisely "liberalized" customs and tariff practices and ineptly administered trade agreements legislation. Foreign-produced goods have prospered in our markets. But foreign markets have not reciprocally responded to our products of America's mines, farms, forests and industry.

We welcome the pledge of Chairman Long of the Senate Finance Committee to conduct an early review of the nation's foreign trade operations and particularly the administration of the trade agreements program. This pledge is in accord with our own earlier recommendations. Our appended statement outlines areas and problems which the national interest requires be included in the Committee's investigation and hearings.

Let the Administration understand clearly the import of these remarks: a simple extension of the present law just will not do. We must proceed -- and in good time -- to give adequate attention to this nation's basic economic needs, and amend the law accordingly.

*Room S-124 U.S. Capitol—(202) 225-3700  
Consultant to the Leadership—John B. Fisher*

**(More)**



REPRESENTATIVE FORD

March 17, 1967

If this nation's foreign trade position is not to decline further, a first order of business must be the creation of a House Select Committee on Export Controls, a move that has continuously been blocked by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. This Committee should maintain a continuing evaluation of all related developments, including trade in strategic goods.

We have long recommended urgent solution of our deteriorating balance of payments position -- a solution constructive for the rest of the world as well as for ourselves. The problem must be solved. In this critical area the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has failed utterly. Like sensible export controls, our balance of payments directly affects jobs for the American people and the health of American industry. We therefore urgently advocate these studies. The studies to which I refer are outlined in our appended statement.

We urge also, in the light of present world conditions, an objective reappraisal of the size and character of America's world-wide military and economic commitments. This recommendation is neither new nor partisan. It is urged by military experts and leaders of both parties. Its urgency is underscored by the sharp disagreement over it among the leaders of the President's party.

The Administration and its Democrat majorities in Congress cannot avoid responsibility for their continuing failure to act decisively on these problems so vital to every American citizen and family.

THE NEED FOR INVESTIGATION AND PUBLIC HEARINGS BY THE SENATE  
FINANCE COMMITTEE BY WAY OF LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT OF  
THE ADMINISTRATION OF U. S. CUSTOMS, TARIFF,  
AND TRADE AGREEMENTS LEGISLATION

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On January 18, 1967, the Chairman of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, the Honorable Russell B. Long, delivered an address before the Economic Club of New York in which he declared that "our trade policies need a thoroughly new look and some hard-headed American businessmen are needed to devote a great deal of independent thought and study to the overall program."

The Chairman also made a statement on the floor of the Senate on February 3 concerning our Nation's foreign trade policy in which he declared that the developments thus far in the Kennedy Round and dissatisfaction with the Antidumping Act and other customs and tariff matters "are dramatic evidence of the necessity for a thoroughgoing inquiry into our foreign economic policy during the 90th Congress." The Minority Leader of the Senate, in an address delivered in New York on December 3, also called attention to the need for Congress to "restore some semblance of fairness and balance to our foreign trade policy and procedures."

The principal Congressional attention to foreign economic policy in recent years has been centered on the delegation or extension of authority to the President to enter into trade agreements providing for a reduction in U. S. rates of duty.

A study of U. S. foreign trade data for recent years prompts the conclusion that the United States has not received actual reciprocity in trade benefits in trade agreement negotiations conducted under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Worse, it seems

clear that the Congress has been misled as to the actual status of our merchandise balance of trade.

*Misleading Reports of the Executive Branch  
Concerning the U. S. Balance of Trade*

According to reports released by the Department of Commerce on January 25, 1967, the Nation's balance of merchandise trade for the year 1966 showed an export surplus of \$3.4 billion, based on the following figures:

Exports of domestic merchandise (excluding defense shipments) .....	\$28,958.6 million
General imports of merchandise .....	<u>25,550.3 million</u>
Balance of merchandise trade .....	\$ 3,408.3 million

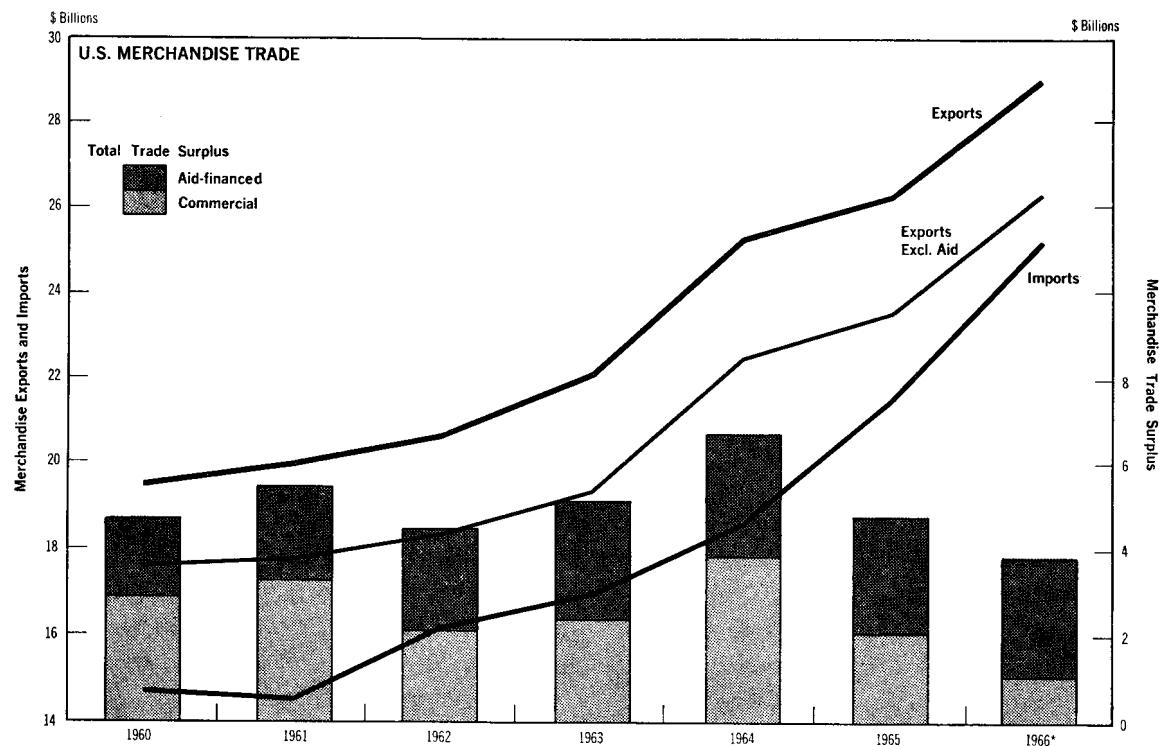
A substantial part of the exports, however, were noncommercial, being financed by the U. S. Government. For the first 9 months of 1966, exports financed by the U. S. Government totaled \$2,214 million.\* Estimating the fourth quarter of the year at the same rate as the first 3 quarters, the total of Government-financed exports for 1966 was approximately \$2,952 million. This compares with \$2,768 million Government-financed exports for the year 1965.

If these Government-financed exports are subtracted from the total exports reported by the Department of Commerce, the favorable trade balance, on a commercial basis, shrinks to \$456 million.

*The United States balance of trade on a commercial basis in 1966 was the lowest of the past seven years. This is shown by the following chart:*

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\* Merchandise exports financed by U. S. Government grants and capital outflows as reported by U. S. Dept. of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, December 1966, pp. 24, 25 (cf. line A 28, p. 25).



\*For 1966, data are averages for the first three quarters converted to annual rates. Aid-financed exports are those entailing U.S. government grants or loans.

SOURCE: Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, *The Morgan Guaranty Survey*, January 1967.

Even the \$456 million commercial export surplus figure is misleading. The practice of other nations is to record the value of their imports on a c.i.f. rather than an f.o.b. origin basis. Thus, if we are to compare the commercial balance of merchandise trade of the United States with that of other nations, our import figures should be converted to a c.i.f. basis.

On February 7, 1967, the Tariff Commission released data based on an analysis of import entry documents for the year 1965. As reported by the Commission, these data show that U. S. imports when

reported on a c.i.f. basis would be equal to 110% of the value as reported by the Department of Commerce. If this adjustment is made to the data for the year 1966, the true commercial balance of trade of the United States for comparison with that of other nations would appear to be as follows:

U. S. merchandise exports as reported by the Department of Commerce .....	\$28,958.6 million
Less U. S. Government-financed exports .....	<u>2,952.0 million</u>
<i>Commercial exports, net .....</i>	<i>\$26,006.6 million</i>
Imports, c.i.f. (110% of the value as reported by the Department of Commerce) ...	<u>\$28,105.3 million</u>
<i>U. S. balance of commercial merchandise trade .....</i>	<i>-\$2,098.7 million</i>

Thus, it would appear that the net result of the years of trade agreement negotiations conducted by the Executive Branch of the Government is a steady worsening of our commercial balance of trade and, for the year 1966, an actual deficit in the order of \$2 billion.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that our trade agreement negotiations in the past have not been reciprocal. The results appear contrary to the representations which have repeatedly been made by the Executive Department to the Congress in connection with foreign trade legislation. It would seem to be a matter of serious concern that the type of sweeping across-the-board reductions in duty being pursued by the United States in the Kennedy Round could have an even worse effect on the trade position of the United States in future years.

\* \* \* \* \*

Domestic industries have increasingly sought the intervention of the Congress in recent years against the disruptive effects of rapidly increasing imports, and they have called attention to the balance of payments consequences to the Nation of the trends of increasing imports and declining exports. The situation of these industries, including several of the Nation's basic industries, may indicate that in the administration of the customs, tariff, and trade agreements laws of the United States, there has been a lack of balance and a one-sidedness in judgment which has reduced the protective effects of our domestic customs, tariff, and trade agreements legislation for domestic industries while exaggerating or "liberalizing" the administration of these laws for the benefit of importers of foreign-produced goods.

A careful investigation of the administration of the laws in each of these vital areas, which in totality make up the legislative expression of our foreign economic policy, should be conducted and completed prior to any consideration of a renewal or enlargement of the President's authority to enter into trade agreements for the modification of U. S. duties or other customs provisions.

It would appear that the Committee on Finance may have an exceptional opportunity during the next several months to devote extended consideration to these topics. While corrective legislation

in the area of customs, tariffs, and trade agreements normally originates in the House of Representatives, an extremely useful service would be rendered to the Senate and the House if the Committee on Finance could take advantage of the present opportunity to carry out its responsibility for legislative oversight of the customs, tariff, and trade agreement laws of the United States by hearing, investigating, and reporting on the administration of these laws and the necessity or desirability, if any, of administrative reform including appropriate changes in the basic legislation itself.

Such a report should prove to be of exceptional value to both Houses of Congress in connection with any attention which the Committees and the Congress are called upon to give an extension of the Trade Expansion Act or replacement of the program defined by that Act with some other program responsive to the present and anticipated situation in the foreign commerce of the United States.

Accordingly, it is recommended that the Committee on Finance schedule public hearings on, and authorize appropriate staff investigation of, the following topics:

1. *THE PRENEGOTIATIONS SAFEGUARDS OF THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT (19 U.S.C. §§ 1814-1845): Repeal of Congressional Policy by Administrative Fiat.*

The Trade Expansion Act repealed the "peril point" provision of the trade agreements legislation under which the Tariff Commission as a prerequisite to trade agreement negotiations prior to the Kennedy Round investigated, determined, and reported to the President the extent to which the rates of duty on articles to be considered in the negotiations could be reduced without causing or threatening serious injury to domestic industries.

To allay the concern of domestic industries and members of the Congress concerned with their welfare, there was set forth in the Trade Expansion Act an elaborate procedure for public hearings and Tariff Commission advice to the President concerning the probable economic effect of modifications in U. S. duties. The President was required to receive and consider such advice prior to entering into trade agreement negotiations.

Notwithstanding these provisions and the assurances which accompanied their enactment, the Administration participated in a meeting of the Ministers of the GATT member countries in May of 1963 and agreed to a resolution providing for linear (across-the-board) reductions in duty of 50% on all industrial products subject only to a *bare minimum of exceptions*, which exceptions were subject to confrontation and justification, and excusable only on the grounds of overriding national interests.

This commitment was made by the Executive Branch approximately one year prior to the date upon which the Tariff Commission's report of the probable economic effect of reductions in duty was submitted to the President. This commitment was renewed at the meeting of Ministers in May of 1964 at about the time the President received the Commission's report, but clearly well in advance of the date on which he or his delegates could have seriously studied and evaluated the Commission's advice.

U. S. negotiators have publicly stated that the U. S. "exceptions" list was indeed kept to a "bare minimum," and that the United States expected to reduce this "bare minimum" even further in the course of the negotiations. Evidently, therefore, the policy of careful evaluation and selectivity in the determination of articles to be placed in the negotiations, understood and intended by the Congress as a prerequisite to negotiations, has been ignored, or taken so lightly as to amount to a virtual dead letter in the Trade Expansion Act.

2. *TARIFF ADJUSTMENT (19 U.S.C. §§ 1901, 1902, 1981, 1982): The Total Inoperativeness of the Escape Clause.*

At the urging of the Executive Branch, the Congress repealed the escape clause provision of the trade agreements legislation under which Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy had made a few highly selective withdrawals of tariff concessions found by the Tariff Commission to have caused or threatened serious injury to domestic industries, and substituted in its stead the so-called "adjustment assistance" provision of the TEA.

Under the 1962 Act, such assistance might take the form of tariff adjustment, assistance to workers in the form of extended periods of unemployment compensation and retraining and relocation allowances, or tax incentives or loans to firms requiring such help in order to transfer their activities to other lines of endeavor. The criteria for relief in any case was the same, a finding by the Tariff Commission that due in *major* part to a tariff concession imports had increased and were a *major* factor in causing or threatening serious injury to a domestic industry, group of workers, or firm.

Thus far in nineteen cases, involving nine industries, five groups of workers, and five firms, the Tariff Commission has uniformly refused to make the necessary findings and Administration officials have acknowledged that the criteria of the Act impose too severe a standard.

3. *CANCELLATION OF PAST ESCAPE CLAUSE RELIEF*  
[19 U.S.C. § 1981(c)(1)(A)]: *Has Administrative Policy Made a Sham of Fact-Finding?*

When the Trade Expansion Act became law, there were in effect a handful of cases in which tariff concessions had been wholly or partially withdrawn to correct the serious injury which domestic industries had suffered under rising imports. The Executive Branch has now canceled in whole or part all of these escape clause actions except two textile cases as a part of or prelude to the negotiations in the Kennedy Round.

The following industries are the victim of decisions which appear to have been based solely on negotiating policy rather than an objective consideration of the economic merits of the industry's case: clinical thermometers, stainless steel flatware, lead and zinc, flat glass, and jeweled watches.

4. *THE NATIONAL SECURITY AMENDMENT (19 U.S.C. § 1862):*  
*The Total Inoperativeness of the Finance Committee's Particular Remedy.*

In the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955, the Committee on Finance fashioned a particular remedy to permit the regulation of imports affecting basic industries in a manner consistent with the national security. This amendment was carried forward in the subsequent Extension Act of 1958.

More than 20 cases have been brought before the Office of Emergency Planning (and its predecessor agencies), made the investigating agency by the statute. In only one, petroleum and petroleum products,

acted upon during the Eisenhower Administration, has relief been granted. Though import competition has been found to be significant in the case of a number of industries suffering economic distress, the Office of Emergency Planning has in each instance "explained away" either the national security importance of these basic industries or of the imports as a contributing cause of the industry's distress. One case, textiles and textile manufactures, remains undecided after nearly six years.

In some instances the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning has cited the opinion of the State Department that import restrictions would affect the national security interests of the United States as seen in the international relations of the United States as a reason for denying relief.

Whereas the Finance Committee intended the national security provision as a remedy applicable to a number of basic industries, it has been converted through the policy imperatives of the Executive Branch into virtually a dead letter of the law.

5. *TARIFF COMMISSION INVESTIGATIONS AND REPORTS OF THE CUSTOMS LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES, TARIFF RELATIONS OF THE U. S. AND OTHER COUNTRIES, COST OF PRODUCTION AND OTHER FACTS PERTAINING TO COMPETITION BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PRODUCTS IN THE PRINCIPAL MARKETS OF THE UNITED STATES (19 U.S.C. § 1332).*

The Tariff Commission was established as a quasi-legislative body which would, through its investigations and reports, inform and assist the Congress in its consideration of tariff and trade legislation. To this end the Congress directed the Commission in Section 332 of the

Tariff Act of 1930 to carry out on a continuing basis a variety of investigations and to make reports thereon to the Congress on a variety of topics.

These relate to the effect of customs laws on the industry and labor of the United States, practices of foreign countries through commercial treaties, preferential provisions, economic alliances, export bounties, and preferential transportation rates, and dumping which affect competition between U. S. and foreign industries; costs of production of U. S. and foreign-produced articles including the import costs of articles competitive with U. S. production, and other facts bearing on competition between articles of U. S. and foreign origins in U. S. markets.

There has been little attention by the Commission to these responsibilities in recent years. As a result, the Congress has been disabled in considering customs, tariff, and trade agreement legislation. Not in recent years have the Chairman or members of the Tariff Commission been interrogated by the Committee on Finance of the Senate or the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. Information submitted in the name of the Commission to these Committees has frequently been in the form of unsigned memoranda which may not in fact represent the carefully considered judgment of the Commission's staff of industry specialists and of the Commissioners themselves.

In particular, the Commission's continuing responsibilities to investigate and report on the topics specified in Section 332 as a means of keeping the cognizant Committees of the Congress fully informed

of developments in customs, tariff, trade agreements, and foreign trade practices and competitive conditions between U. S. and foreign industries relating thereto have not been carried out. This makes it difficult for the Committees to become knowledgeable in these matters and to keep abreast of significant changes in the relationship of U. S. and foreign industries and the position of the United States in world trade.

The Congress has been placed in the position of reacting to initiatives from the Executive Branch or foreign countries and industries rather than being forehanded with legislation which would enable the United States to deal effectively with developments in world trade. The acute disparity between the growth rate of U. S. imports and U. S. exports and the sharp decline in the balance of trade of the United States, especially in trade conducted on a commercial basis, is one consequence of this situation.

\* \* \* \* \*

The rules for and manner of administration of customs valuation and of the basic remedies, such as antidumping and countervailing duties which are designed to prevent the circumvention or avoidance of the amount of duties intended by the Congress as revenue and domestic protection measures, have fully as great an impact on total duties collected as the numerical level of the rate of duty itself. Problems of administration in the customs valuation, antidumping, and countervailing duties areas match the seriousness of the negative record of

administration of the tariff adjustment provisions of the Trade Expansion Act in recent years.

1. *THE ANTIDUMPING ACT (19 U.S.C. § 160 et seq.):  
The Quality of Its Administration and Appropriate  
Amendments To Make the Act a More Effective Deterrent  
Against Unfair Practices in the Import Trade.*

Under the leadership of the then Senator Humphrey, a large number of the members of the Senate have in recent years requested substantial amendments in the substance and procedure of the Antidumping Act. In the 89th Congress, S. 2045, introduced by Mr. Hartke for himself and 31 other Senators, is representative of this effort.

2. *THE COUNTERVAILING DUTIES STATUTE (19 U.S.C. § 1303):  
Its Nonadministration and the Need for Legislative  
Direction to Restore the Act as a Check Against the  
Subsidization of Exports by Foreign Countries.*

The principal way in which foreign countries now pay or bestow, directly or indirectly, bounties or grants upon the production or export of articles imported into the United States is through the remission of the so-called value added or turnover taxes used by those governments as a principal means of raising tax revenues. By interpretation the Treasury Department is refraining from imposing countervailing duties in such instances contrary to the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in *Downs v. United States*, 187 U.S. 496, which held that a tax imposed upon the production of a commodity which is remitted upon the exportation of this commodity is, by whatever name the practice may be disguised, tantamount to a bounty upon exportation subject to countervailing duties.

3. *CUSTOMS VALUATION (19 U.S.C. §§ 1401a, 1402): Eleven Years' Experience Under the So-Called "Simplification" of Customs Valuation Rules; the Need to Reestablish Valuation Rules Designed to Check Undervaluation.*

Eleven years ago the Congress enacted the Customs Simplification Act of 1956 on the urging of the Executive Branch. Two basic changes were made: the use of the higher of foreign [home market] or export value was eliminated as the primary valuation basis, export value becoming the principal valuation base; and the terms used in defining the various valuation bases were themselves defined.

The use prior to 1956 of the higher of foreign or export value as the primary valuation base accomplished three important results: it was an automatic check against undervaluation; it provided the Customs Service with a continuous body of foreign price information, thereby facilitating the administration of the Antidumping Act; and it prevented foreign exporters from achieving a measure of control over the actual amount of duties collected in the United States since the price they charged for exports to the U. S. became the basis of valuation for customs purposes only where such price was higher than the internal market price.

(In other words, prior to 1956 it was more difficult for foreign exporters to manipulate both the home market and export price in order to predetermine U. S. duty collections than the situation which obtained after 1956 in which the exporter's actual price on goods sold to the United States tended to become the principal basis for customs valuation.)

When the Customs Simplification Act of 1956 was considered in the Senate, the then Majority Leader, Senator Lyndon Johnson, in presenting and explaining the bill, stated that "Treasury representatives advised the committee that there would likely be more effective enforcement of the antidumping law" under the new Act because "foreign value information would continue to be required on customs invoices" so that there would be available "the information needed to initiate full-scale investigations whenever dumping was indicated." (*Congressional Record*, July 18, 1956, p. 12064)

Unfortunately, following the enactment of the Customs Simplification Act of 1956, the administration of the Antidumping Act appears virtually to have collapsed inasmuch as there have been very few instances in which antidumping duties have been imposed notwithstanding many hundreds of complaints. In fact, there have been less than a dozen cases in which antidumping duties have actually been imposed out of several hundred complaints filed since 1956.

Equally disturbing in the opinion of domestic industries is the probability that customs personnel at the ports have, under pressure of the mounting workload of the sharply rising number of import transactions, settled into an administrative practice in which the price appearing on the commercial invoice covering the goods imported is accepted as evidence of the export value for customs valuation and duty purposes. This value is oftentimes significantly lower than home market prices which, under the definition of foreign value applicable prior to 1956, would as evidence of "foreign value" represent the basis for customs valuation for duty purposes.

17.

Thus it is strongly feared that domestic industries are being injured not only by the nonadministration of the Antidumping Act, but also by the reduction in the amounts of duties collected as a result of the acceptance of deflated prices as a basis for customs valuation under the export value rule.

For the past eleven years domestic industries have suffered a reduction in duty as a result of the change in customs valuation rules (in addition to the reductions in duty flowing from the tariff cuts carried out under the trade agreements program), without any real protection from dumping which a differential in price between home market and export prices classically entails.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

*Everett M. Dirksen  
of Illinois*

*Thomas H. Kuchel  
of California*

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of Iowa*

*Margaret Chase Smith  
of Maine*

*George Murphy  
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of North Dakota*

*Hugh Scott  
of Pennsylvania*

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

**FOR THE HOUSE  
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*Richard H. Poff  
of Virginia*

*William C. Cramer  
of Florida*

**Press Release**

April 20, 1967

**BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS**

Less than an hour ago, as you know, Representative Widnall of New Jersey and Senator Percy of Illinois held a press conference to present their jointly sponsored housing bill, which will be filed in the House and Senate today.

This bill, wholly Republican in origin, is co-sponsored by ~~50~~<sup>93</sup>  
~~36~~ Republican Representatives and ~~20~~ Republican Senators. It offers an original and admirable approach to the solution of one of America's most pressing problems -- that of fair, low-cost housing for both urban and rural areas through the application of private enterprise and government resources.

The principles represented by this measure have the full and enthusiastic endorsement of the Republican Leadership of the Congress.

We urge the Democrat Leadership and its majorities in the House and Senate to join us in pressing for the earliest possible consideration and enactment of this vital housing program.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
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**Press Release**

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**April 20, 1967**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

The term "creative Federalism" was expressed in 1962 by a Republican governor, Nelson Rockefeller of New York. It was appropriated by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and voiced by the President in a speech at Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1964 -- the same speech in which he first publicly uttered the impressive words, "Great Society". The gap between the Democrat and Republican concepts of "creative Federalism" is as wide as that between the poles.

It was another Democrat president, Woodrow Wilson, who wrote, "The question of the relationship of the states to the Federal government is the cardinal question of our constitutional system". It is indeed!

Unless and until the people and the Congress are given more practical and persuasive evidence of performance-in-partnership with the states by the Federal government, they will continue to view the Johnson-Humphrey concept of "creative Federalism" as nothing but "words, words, words". In this, as in so much else that relates to the credibility of this Administration, we are all from Missouri.

The main feature of this so-called "creative Federalism" appears to be a determination to establish direct Federal-local programs, bypassing the states and their governors and dealing, under Washington-controlled terms, with local authorities. This is neither "creative" nor is it "Federalism". It is instead cremative and is likely to consume us all.

Unless and until the Johnson-Humphrey Administration is prepared

to prove the sincerity of its use of the word "partnership", we will be skeptical.

Unless and until the Johnson-Humphrey Administration proves its willingness to cut non-essential Federal spending drastically and so to ease both the Federal and state tax burden on our people, we will be doubtful.

Unless and until the Johnson-Humphrey Administration is prepared to insist that its bureaucrats not only faithfully carry out the wishes of the people's representatives in Congress but, in doing so, cooperate fully and freely with State and local officials, credibility will remain in short supply.

We ask, in short, that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration stop voicing classic cliches. Instead, it should reduce spending. It should share revenues equitably with state and local governments. It should rein in its bureaucrats more tightly. It should release rigid, unnecessary controls.

Instead of promoting the "more perfect Union", the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's brand of "creative Federalism" will impair and imperil the "more perfect Union".

(more)

REPRESENTATIVE FORD

April 20, 1967

Federal financial assistance to state and local governments has more than doubled since 1960. It has risen from a total of nearly 7 billion dollars per year to nearly 15 billion dollars per year. The end of this "creative Federalism" is not in sight. The President himself has unabashedly predicted an expansion to \$60 billion in 5 years.

The ruthless extension of Federal authority, financing and control grows with every day that passes. With it grows the increased and corrosive dependence of our people on Washington. With it comes a corresponding shrinkage in their self-reliance, their freedom and their funds. "Spend and spend, borrow and borrow, control and control" appears to be a true definition of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's "creative Federalism". As Senator Dirksen has said, this phrase is nothing thus far but "words, words, words".

We would be in neglect of our duty as the loyal opposition, however, if we were not to admit that there are no rights without responsibilities. This is true for a state and a community as for an individual. The Republicans in Congress will continue to exert every possible effort, despite the Democrat majorities here, to reduce non-essential spending, promote a program of revenue sharing, tax credits, or functional bloc grants to free the energies of state and local governments, improve bureaucratic practices, eliminate unreasonable Federal controls and restore to our people in their homes, their towns and their cities the rights and the funds of which they are steadily being deprived.

Responsive and responsible state governments are essential to the working of a truly creative Federalism. From the 25 Republican governors now in office wonderfully encouraging evidence of this can be seen. No state, however, will deserve freedom from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's cremative Federalism unless it provides the same proof of performance.

We insist, in short, that "creative Federalism" be just that, where Washington is concerned. We expect, at the same time, that our people at home will re-assert their ability to take over in their own best interest. The Republicans in the Congress will continue to set the pace.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

**Press Release**

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of Florida*

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**May 25, 1967**

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

Russian guns, Russian bullets, Russian surface-to-air missiles, Russian MIGS, Communist machine guns and Communist mortars continue to kill and maim American fighting men and innocent civilians by the thousands in Viet Nam. Nevertheless, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration continues to urge that we trade with the enemy by "building bridges" between us and these Communist dealers in death.

There may be some who find it wholly consistent that Americans should fight for freedom and survival against Communist aggression on the one hand, while trading and dealing for Communist enrichment on the other. We do not. We will continue to oppose economic aid to an enemy whose global goal is the extinction of freedom.

Trade can be an instrument for world peace but only when applied in the hard-nosed tradition of the Yankee trader, not with the soft-headed hope that it will somehow sway dedicated Communist governments from their stated international goals. The extension of most-favored-nation tariff treatment to Communist East Europe in existing circumstances is unwarranted and unwise.

The reduction of export controls on East-West trade in so-called "non-strategic items" is dangerous, and Congress should carefully review this whole subject. It may well be that present controls should be tightened and certainly they should be more clearly defined by the elected representatives of the people.

Guaranteeing commercial credits to Communist governments is a form of economic foreign aid heretofore reserved for our friends.

Rep. Ford

May 25, 1967

Such a policy compels our own people, against their will, to encourage and strengthen Communism. It is illogical to do this while committing American lives to a Communist-supported war in Viet Nam.

The May Day order of the day issued by the Soviet Defense Minister, Marshall Andrei Grechko, accused the United States of "hatching sinister plots to spread aggression" in other parts of the world beyond Viet Nam. Anyone who has studied Soviet tactics knows that Moscow always accuses its adversary of doing what the Kremlin itself is plotting to do.

Since last May 1, violence and trouble clearly instigated by Communists have erupted almost on signal in widely scattered parts of the world -- in the Sea of Japan, along the 38th parallel in Korea, in Hongkong, and the Middle East. The open threat of intervention by the Soviet Union to support Nasser's reckless gamble in the Gulf of Aqaba gravely threatens world peace and gives little evidence of any Russian desire for "building bridges" to the Free World.

In my judgment the Soviet bloc has embarked on a bold and concerted effort to divert the attention of the United States and Western Europe from the grim struggle in Southeast Asia at a time when the NATO shield is softer than at any time since it was raised by former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

Surely it is no time to woo the Communist world with trade concessions. Let the Soviet Union and Eastern European Communist governments first convince us that they truly seek peace in Viet Nam, the Middle East and elsewhere. Until then we should refuse to be party to any mercenary deals in which the main advantage is with our avowed enemies.

We will support mutually-beneficial, really reciprocal political and economic agreements with Communist governments only when they prove beyond question, as they easily can, that their policies and actions are aimed at lasting peace, honorable settlement of the war in Viet Nam and the crisis in the Middle East, and abandonment of their support for so-called "wars of national liberation" against free and independent peoples.

Have you heard of a single Russian, who was reported as a casualty in Viet Nam? You haven't and you won't. What you see reported are American and South Vietnamese casualties. On May 18th, the U. S. Command reported that total American casualties were in excess of 70,000. This included 9,916 dead. South Vietnamese troop deaths exceed 46,000.

Here is the dreadful, current tabulation of our losses:

<u>U.S. DEATHS</u>	<u>U.S. WOUNDED</u>
6,237 Army	36,428 Army
907 Navy	1,523 Navy
3370 Marine	20,939 Marine
340 Air Force	1,153 Air Force
<u>9,916 Total</u>	<u>59,143 Total</u>
10,252	67,425
<u>Non-combatant</u>	
2,040 3,058	
<u>South Viet Nam deaths</u>	
46,626	

How were they killed? For the most part by Red Russian weapons and Red Chinese weapons in the hands of the Red Viet Cong. It's that simple. And there are more weapons to come.

Our airmen have shot down 71 Russian-built MIGS. It is estimated that another 350 MIGS are available for replacements. Our military reports that 2,450 Russian-built missiles have been fired at our planes. Tens of thousands of Russian-built and Chinese-built rifles and mortars have been found by our troops in the jungles, fields, and Viet Cong supply dumps. The weapons come from the Russians and their wretched Red allies. The victims of these weapons are young Americans and South Vietnamese. The instruments of death are Red-built. The dead, the amputees, the armless, the legless are Americans and South Vietnamese.

These are the people with whom we are asked to set up a partnership to "build bridges". These are the people to whom we are asked to turn the cheek of compassion and embark on a policy of East-West

(more)

trade. Is trade so sweet and profit so desirable as to be purchased at the price we now pay in death and agony? The volume of trade which might be developed would be a pittance compared with our gross national product. And how durable would such a bridge be when the trade-and-traffic which flows over it carries the taint of blood?

Whenever the ghastly business in Viet Nam comes to an end and the Reds are prepared to become reliable partners in peace, there will be time enough to talk about "building bridges".

How strange that the Reds are so interested in the American buck that they are ready to venture into the bridge-building business even with Yankee imperialists! We doubt however that the American people are so interested in a few rubles that they are willing to "build bridges" with American credit, American loans, American machine tools when the death cries from Viet Nam ring daily in their ears.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

*Leadership*  
*Press Release*

**FOR THE HOUSE  
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**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**July 13, 1967**

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman*  
*Ray C. Bliss*

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

**REPRESENTATIVE FORD:**

The guessing game continues over higher Federal income taxes sought by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. But meanwhile, there ~~200 million Americans are~~ isn't the slightest doubt that we are going to have higher invisible taxes -- the silent sales tax on everybody's paycheck and pension which economists call inflation.

Now we hear about an 8% instead of a 6% income tax surcharge. Under the steady escalation of consumer prices over the past year a family of four earning \$10,000 already has paid an invisible tax three times the ~~surcharge~~ <sup>Johnson</sup>. Most housewives realize this -- even if the bureaucrats do not!

The most recent official Price Index figures, those for the month of May, reveal the sharpest increase since last year. The Labor Department's own Bureau of Labor Statistics sees no likelihood of relief in the months to come. The chief of that Bureau predicts an additional two and one-half per cent price increase before <sup>too</sup> long.

Does the Johnson-Humphrey Administration know what is happening to us? Does the Johnson-Humphrey Administration <sup>really</sup> care? Does the Johnson-Humphrey Administration plan to take the steps necessary to protect the American people from these rapidly rising living costs, which will cancel out any wage increases, drain family budgets and shrink the pensions of the ~~aging~~ <sup>aged</sup> even further?

Mr. Ackley, the President's chief economic advisor, sees as solutions only a tax increase or what he calls "responsible use of

(con't)



MR. FORD

July 13, 1967

private wage and price restraint." On the latter point, Mr. Ackley appears to be an Alice in an economic wonderland.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration incredibly <sup>still</sup> refuses even to test-fire ~~the~~ best weapon for fighting inflation ~~it holds in its~~ ~~hands~~, common-sense cutting and prudent postponement of non-essential Federal spending. To this Administration, more domestic spending is the sure cure for everything, including its setbacks in last November's elections.

Higher inflation is here. Are higher income taxes just around the corner?

Therefore, our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President: More Inflation - More Debt - What Next?



SENATOR DIRKSEN

July 13, 1967

To spend beyond income means to go into debt. To go into debt means to borrow. To borrow means to add to the money supply. To increase the money supply means to add to the cost of goods and services. There is but one real answer -- to keep spending within income -- to live within our national means.

Very closely related to ballooning inflation is the national debt, which has now risen, with the approval of this Democrat-controlled Congress, to 326 billions. To call it the national debt is accurate. Equally accurate and much clearer is its right name -- the public debt -- for this is without any question whatsoever a debt the American public owes and, one day, must pay.

Next time you walk into a bank, take from the display rack at the counter a copy of that bank's balance sheet and statement of condition. You will immediately find listed among its principal items, "U.S. Government Bonds". How did the banks acquire these U. S. Government Bonds? They did it with the money deposited with them by you and by me! Make no mistake about it -- you and I, American citizens all, owe this incredible public debt!

The interest alone on this debt will soon be more than 14 billions. You and I -- the owners of the public debt -- will be paying over a billion dollars ~~per month~~ <sup>every 30 days</sup> in interest on it for years and years to come. Can you picture our grandchildren facing this debt, which they too will have to pay?

Unless and until the Johnson-Humphrey Administration is brought up short by the American people, inflation will stop creeping and will begin galloping!

Therefore, our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President: More inflation - More Debt - What Next?



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**PRESIDING:**

**The National Chairman**  
**Ray C. Bliss**

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
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*of Florida*

**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**August 3, 1967**

**STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN**

**RELEASE ON DELIVERY**

No person has a right to act against the public safety, anywhere, any time. There is no excuse -- ever -- for riot, arson and murder. On this Americans are agreed.

Americans also agree that:

When near-anarchy exists in this nation --

When trouble-makers defy the law, incite rioting, burning, pillaging and murder --

There must be action. Its urgency is extreme.

Punishment of those who break the law must be swift and decisive -- no matter who they may be.

The protection of life and property must be primary and total.

The re-enforcement of every arm of the law everywhere must be maximum. There can be no compromise with crime -- and crime is exactly what this is.

Republicans in Congress and across America call for firm, certain action at all levels and in total strength.

Explanations for this war in America's streets are many. Some may be well-founded. Others are not. To find the right answers is our first duty.

The Administration has named a "blue ribbon" commission to work to this end. This is not enough -- not nearly enough. Congress itself must act to determine promptly the causes and the cures of this frightful situation. The Congress -- for the people -- must provide the solutions.

(con't)

Our people must be made safe in their homes, at their jobs and on the streets.

Mr. Ford and I, with many of our colleagues, have filed a resolution calling for immediate creation of a Joint Committee of the Congress to investigate riots and violent civil disorder, with full powers necessary to this purpose.

Additional measures having similar objectives have been filed by others in Congress. The Government Operations Committee of the Senate may be named to take initial investigative action. Whatever is done must be done promptly, without partisanship. We are all in this boat together and the winds are raging.

We repeat, punishment must be swift for those who break the law -- whoever they may be. There must be no reward for those who riot and destroy.

BUT --

There must be found workable solutions to this unrest and violence that will permanently assure eradication of these evils.

There must be achieved a restoration of that strength-in-unity that has made America great and will keep America free.

August 3, 1967

The statements just made by Senator Dirksen have my complete and wholehearted support.

This war in our streets must be brought to the earliest possible end for the safety and benefit of every American citizen.

I am wholly confident that the Congress and, hopefully, the Administration, will promptly and accurately determine the root causes and enduring cures for this malignant social cancer.

The Republican Leadership of the Congress believes that there are immediate steps to be taken by all of us -- now. In our January appraisal of the State of the Union we urged several of these:

A total re-vamping and re-direction of the Poverty War -- where waste has been astronomical and administration ineffective. We said then and we repeat:

"We want an Opportunity Crusade that will enlist private enterprise and the States as effective partners of the Federal Government in this fight. We would give the children of poverty the very highest priority they deserve. As Republicans have urged for two years, Head Start requires follow-through in the early grades."

Creation of a new Industry Youth Corps "to provide private productive employment and training on the job".

The passage of a Human Investment Act "to induce employers to expand job opportunities for the unskilled".

The enlargement of "opportunities of low-income Americans for private home ownership".

Support for a system of tax sharing to return to the States and local governments a fixed percentage of personal income taxes without Federal control.

The elimination of the poverty of realistic ideas among Poverty War officials.

We believe that in vastly expanded educational opportunities and productive job training the earliest and best of these solutions will be found. A closer application of Federal resources to local needs is clearly necessary.

In help -- and self-help -- for this generation of Americans, in help -- and opportunity -- for the next generation -- we will find the answers we seek and must have.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

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**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**August 29, 1967**

**REPRESENTATIVE FORD:**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

The War at home -- the war against crime -- is being lost. The Administration appears to be in full retreat. The homes and the streets of America are no longer safe for our people. This is a frightful situation. Our people will no longer tolerate it. In the past six years the population of the United States has increased by 9% while crime has risen by 62%. The end is not in sight.

The Republicans in Congress demand that this Administration take the action required to protect our people in their homes, on the streets, at their jobs. To this end, we have proposed--and vigorously pushed -- bills which will provide the Administration with whatever tools it needs to do the job. We will continue to press this Administration and its top-heavy majority in Congress relentlessly, day after day after day. There can be no further Administration excuse for indecision, delay or evasion.

When a Rap Brown and a Stokeley Carmichael are allowed to run loose, to threaten law-abiding Americans with injury and death, it's time to slam the door on them and any like them -- and slam it hard!

In the 89th Congress, Republican efforts produced:

Reasonable extension and improvement of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, to assist local and state law enforcement officers;

New thinking regarding means to improve probation and parole service and defeat of Administration efforts to remove supervision of probation officers by Federal judges;

Creation of a Commission to fully revise and reform our Federal criminal laws.

Mr. Ford:

In the 90th Congress, Republican efforts have resulted in:

The rewriting through imperative amendments of the Administration's crime control bill, to further strengthen the hand of state and local governments in crime prevention, detection and prosecution;

Passage by the House of an Anti-Riot Bill, for prosecution of those who use the facilities of interstate commerce with intent to incite a riot;

Passage in the Senate of a bill to strengthen and clarify the review by Courts of Appeal of criminal sentences of Federal courts;

Introduction of a bill, the Criminal Activities Profits Act, to prohibit the use of illegal funds in legitimate business;

Introduction of a bill providing for electronic surveillance control, in order that the right of individual privacy might be fully protected while the national security is equally preserved;

Introduction of an Omnibus Criminal Procedures bill, to strengthen the hand of law enforcement officers and judges;

Introduction of a bill to establish in Congress a Joint Committee on Organized Crime.

These are only a few of the actions already taken by the Republicans in Congress for the protection of our people against organized crime, group violence, and individual crime.

In addition, there has been created a House Republican Task Force on Crime and a Republican Coordinating Committee Task Force on Crime. Each has been hard at work.

Finally, the 25 Republican governors across the nation have activated their "Action Plan", to inaugurate a new era of creative state leadership to meet the national crisis of social injustice and lawlessness.

No one has a right to shout "Fire!" in a theatre. No one has a right to incite riot, looting, destruction and murder. There is no such thing as the right to act against the public safety by any one, anywhere, any time.

Our people are frightened by the rampant crime of all types that is overwhelming the nation. The Congress can, if it follows Republican leadership, provide the tools for fighting crime that the Administration must use. We demand that the Congress and the Administration act -- now!

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN

August 29, 1967

Not a day passes without hundreds of reports of individual crimes against our people. Not a week passes without evidence of the vicious successes of organized crime from coast to coast. Never in our history have our people been so threatened. Never before has civil discipline been so lax. Never before has leadership been so lacking.

The law must be enforced. The law must be obeyed. The law must be respected. The great failure of our society is its inability to maintain law and order.

Respect for the law is the duty of the people. The enforcement of the law is the responsibility of the Administration. The means it requires for the purpose is the responsibility of the Congress.

We demand that this Congress, with its overwhelming Democratic majority, take immediately the steps we have proposed for Administration use.

We demand also that the Administration:

Apply without further delay the major recommendations of its own, hand-picked Crime Commission;

Cease to restrict our law enforcement officers in their proper use of the investigative tools they have at hand;

Furnish our law enforcement officers with the investigative tools they still require and which Republican-proposed legislation would provide;

Establish, as Republicans have long urged, a National Law Enforcement Institute, for research and training in prevention and prosecution of organized and individual crime and for the dissemination of the latest techniques in police science.

Sen. Dirksen

Finally, as presented in our Appraisal of the State of the Union in January of this year and earlier, we remind America's judges to uphold the rights of the law-abiding citizen with the same fervor as it upholds the rights of the accused.

By unanimous resolution, the recent Conference of Chief Justices, attended by jurists from 45 states, reasserted this principle and necessity. We applaud their action and commend it without reservation to every judge in the land. The protection of the good citizen is paramount and compelling. I submit that the strengthening of a good society is more important than the creation of a so-called "Great Society".

On an earlier day, in his war against an international criminal, a redoubtable Englishman besought the United States to "Give us the tools and we'll finish the job". In this hour, the Republicans in Congress are prepared to provide this Administration with whatever tools it now needs to grind organized and individual crime into the dust that our people might be safe.

We demand that it delay no longer.

We demand that it finish the job.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

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of Illinois*

*Thomas H. Kuchel  
of California*

*Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
of Iowa*

*Margaret Chase Smith  
of Maine*

*George Murphy  
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*Hugh Scott  
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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

**FOR THE HOUSE  
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**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**October 26, 1967**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP:  
The demonstrations that have taken place in Washington and across the nation in recent months have given the American people increasing and even frightening concern for the future. We share that concern, since never before in our history has lack of confidence in America's leadership been so evident.

We believe, very strongly, that the hour has now passed when firmness must continue to yield to tolerance in dealing with these violent few. They are unwilling to demonstrate peacefully. They are unwilling to debate without violence. They are permitted, nevertheless, to disturb the public peace, to endanger their fellow-citizens in their lives and property, and to undermine the very well-being of the nation itself by giving aid and comfort to our enemies.

We are well aware, as all Americans must be, of the Constitutional rights of freedom of speech and peaceable assembly which are so great a part of our treasured heritage. We are equally aware, however, that there is no right to act against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, any time -- for any reason.

This nation had its origin in dissent. We have always believed in unlimited criticism -- in time of war and in time of peace. Free speech -- without violence -- must always be permitted and approved. But law-breaking and violence can never be condoned. Our country has prospered and survived as a democracy, in great part through peaceful, even if at times heated, discussion among men of good-will. Its future will be equally dependent upon the maintenance of this great tradition.

(con't)

Oct. 26, 1967

It is our conviction that it is the malcontent, the misguided and, yes, the malicious, who form the greatest part of these demonstrations. Fortunately, they represent only a very small fraction of our population. That there may be many others who share their views on particular issues is very possible. But it is these, and these alone, who see fit to breach the public peace, break the nation's laws, defy established authority, and destroy public property.

These wretched few can no longer be tolerated. They must be held in check hereafter and, when necessary, be brought to justice, legally but firmly by the scruff of their collective necks. The safety and the peace of mind of all decent, hard-working, law-abiding millions of other Americans must be preserved.

The first duty of those in authority -- in Washington and in every community throughout the land -- is the preservation of public order and the firm enforcement of the law. The rights and the privileges of those countless millions of good Americans who obey the law and keep the peace must be given priority above all others, at all times. Tolerance of marchers and demonstrators is all very well -- up to the point at which they defy the law and endanger the public safety. We call upon those in authority everywhere to enforce the law, with our full backing, in the public interest. We urge them to do so without undue concern hereafter as to the protests and whinings of these law-breakers, who have no regard whatever for the good of the community and who in our view, seek only publicity and selfish personal privilege.

We repeat, there is no right to act against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, any time -- for any reason.

It is the conviction of the Republican Leadership of the Congress -- and, we believe, of all good Americans everywhere -- that the law must be enforced and the safety of our people preserved. We pledge our utmost efforts to this end.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

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(con't)



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(S:mcg)

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**Press Release**

**Issued Following a  
Leadership Meeting**

**November 3, 1967**

**IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

**Mr. Dirksen.**

Contrary to the belief of some - particularly in the Johnson-Humphrey Administration - the endless spending of the American people's money is not the only answer to our many critical problems.

Only when common-sense - old-fashioned horse sense - is combined with prudent planning and calm, clear direction of Federal and State and local programs can we expect maximum results at minimum cost.

This has never been more painfully and expensively illustrated than in the waging of this alleged poverty war by the Administration's Office of Economic Opportunity, where politics takes priority over the poor.

Money alone - no matter how many tons of it - won't do the job. Only as this program is thoroughly overhauled legislatively and re-directed from top to bottom can we look for satisfactory results from it.

Neither the Senate nor the House have thus far done much more than tinker with the poverty problem. Only as those recommendations to be made by Republicans on the House Floor next week are adopted can we hope for a return to sanity and efficiency in this multi-million dollar effort.

The Democratic leadership in Congress remains reluctant to help us take these necessary steps in all our people's interest - especially that of the poor, who will benefit most.

Nevertheless, we shall do our best to help win the poverty war - in the Nation's best interest. We hope - very much - that every like-minded American, in and out of Congress, will stand up and be counted with us. Let us hear from you - loud and clear.



STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN FORD.

November 3, 1967

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration's poverty war was proclaimed with noble objectives - objectives which all good Americans have always shared. But it has been tragically weak, wasteful and ineffective in achieving those objectives.

Some of its programs - such as Head Start - have been worthwhile and deserve continuance. Too many others - such as the Job Corps - have, from the beginning, been woefully misdirected and very badly administered.

The Republicans in Congress are trying - as they have been for months - to correct the evils the so-called poverty war has spawned. We are working hard to prevent, in the months ahead, the reckless waste of millions of the taxpayers' dollars that has characterized this "war" from the start.

Next week, with new legislation to be offered on the Floor of the House, we Republicans will make yet another attempt to salvage the good in the poverty program and wholly eliminate the bad. Far better job training - more job opportunities - greatly improved educational programs - the full participation of private enterprise - greater state responsibility and direction. These are fundamental. These we will insist upon.

Present indications are that we will not have the support of the Democratic leadership in this constructive endeavor. They seem determined to maintain this program as it is - regardless of its weaknesses, regardless of its record of poor and top-heavy, national administration, regardless of its incredible waste of the American people's money and its failure to help the poor in any substantial way.

We Republicans, therefore, appeal to every American citizen to enlist in the fight to solve this problem by re-shaping and re-directing this massive endeavor. Wire, write or telephone your Representatives in Congress to take these firm, practical, prudent steps - now - to make of this poverty war something more than a terrible expensive exercise in marching up one hill and down another - endlessly - at the expense of and not for the benefit of the poor.



**FOR THE SENATE:**

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**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

**Press Release**

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*William C. Cramer  
of Florida*

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting**

November 16, 1967

MR. FORD.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

In the course of our Appraisal of the State of the Union last January, Senator Dirksen and I said: "Congress must also move ahead on the President's year-old pledge for a Clean Election Law. Such a law must be on the books before 1968."

Recently, the House Republican Policy Committee in a strong, clear statement also urged prompt consideration of clean elections legislation.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the need for passage of legislation of this kind. Immediate action is required of Congress if such reforms are to take effect and be operative during the 1968 campaigns.

It should be emphasized that this effort is genuinely bi-partisan. The several reforms spelled out have been advocated and supported by both the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Republican Leadership of the Congress.

It should be emphasized equally that public confidence in the electoral process will suffer seriously if this reform legislation is not enacted into public law.

The bill as originally proposed contained an encouraging number of desirable features. To these, the Republicans in Congress added major provisions of importance and practical value. It is for these reasons that, as the House Republican Policy Committee put it, "... we are surprised and dismayed that the Election Reform Bill does not now appear on the Administration's list of MUST legislation."

We hope - very much - that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Democratic majorities in the Congress have lost neither their wish nor their will that clean elections shall become a standard "to which the wise and honest can repair."

Therefore, Mr. President, our Question of the Week:

"Why the delay in assuring clean elections?"

Republicans in the Senate stand firmly beside those in the House of Representatives in their unqualified support of election reform.

Time, as never before, is of the essence if a measure of this kind is to be enacted into law and if its provisions are to be effective in the course of the campaign months just ahead.

Congress cannot ask of other Americans what it is not prepared itself to observe. Unless this Congress is prepared to take this necessary action in campaign reform, it cannot require of others that they toe-the-line in other regards. We must, in short, practice what we preach. We cannot, fairly, urge upon others the conduct of clean elections unless we make very certain that our own house is in order, unless we assure the American people that we are fully and willingly prepared to set rules of conduct for ourselves before we attempt to reform others.

As public office is a public trust, so anything that causes a loss of confidence in the seeking of public office and the conduct of it thereafter produces a steady erosion of faith in our free society.

Needless to say, morality cannot be legislated, ethics cannot be established by law. Political campaigning and political office holding can win public confidence and achieve the people's respect only as the individuals involved set a worthy example to all others.

Periodically, however, circumstances and the questionable practices of a few require review by the many. At such times, helpful legislation can often produce genuine improvement in the campaigning for office and the conduct of public affairs.

We are mystified by the passage of so many months since this bi-partisan legislation was first enthusiastically proposed.

Therefore, Mr. President, our Question of the Week:

"Why the delay in assuring clean elections?"

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**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
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**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
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**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership meeting**

**December 7, 1967**

**"THE STATE OF THE CONGRESS"**

**RELEASE ON DELIVERY  
12:30 pm. Dec. 7, 1967**

**Statement by Senator Dirksen:**

In our Appraisal of the State of the Union last January, Mr. Ford and I, speaking on behalf of the Republicans in Congress, assessed the situation in which we as a people then found ourselves, both at home and abroad. We refused, in concluding that assessment, to be dismayed or to despair. This, despite great provocation by this Administration since, we refuse to do now.

The sole objective of the Republicans in Congress in these past months, as over the years, has been the very best interests of all of the American people, at all times and on every issue. To help achieve those best interests we have had historic demands made upon us as the party of loyal opposition -- historic because we have been faced with certain problems unparalleled in the nation's annals, demands because they have compelled us from time to time to make harsh and unpleasant judgments and decisions in order that those best interests might be fully served and fully protected.

Most importantly, we have given unhesitating support to every requirement and need of our fighting forces in Southeast Asia and our armed services elsewhere in the world. This we will continue to do, however heavy the burden. Americans prepared to give their lives in conflict must be given by us every single item of weaponry and other support they may at any moment need -- and they will be.

The conduct of the conflict in Viet Nam is, as under our Constitution it must be, the full responsibility of the President in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief. Only he has the authority, only he has the duty, only he has the full information available for the execution of that responsibility.

The decisions made and to be made can and must be made by him and him alone.

In order, however, that his hand may be guided and strengthened in this, it is imperative that the most thoughtful discussion possible continue in the Congress and among our people to this end. Let it be emphasized anew, nevertheless, that as we search together for a solution to Viet Nam we demonstrate our unity of purpose by conducting such discussion in a fully free but a wholly orderly manner. Dissent is one thing; disagreement by violence is quite another. Dissent we encourage and approve. Violence, in any form and for whatever purpose, we condemn, now and hereafter.

We urge again that this Administration -- to a degree and with a vigor not yet evident -- look beyond Viet Nam and consider where we shall stand and with whom we shall sit when this conflict ceases. The Congress and the people have seen all too little evidence of genuine effort to explore and exploit the diplomatic opportunities available to us in this regard. Channels of diplomacy, economic and otherwise, still remain open for our use.

The Republicans in Congress have not been concerned alone with the war in Viet Nam. Other aspects of our foreign policy have been given equally sharp scrutiny. We have not hesitated to recommend or to implore an immediate re-shaping of it, whenever and wherever we have believed it necessary in the nation's interest.

In the Middle East -- a tinderbox of appalling nature -- Republicans have hoped for months for the adoption by the Administration of the atomic desalinization plan placed before it some time ago by Americans of unquestioned ability and patriotic purpose. We are now informed by the Department of State that this extraordinary project -- which might well change the entire atmosphere in the eastern Mediterranean -- is "not politically feasible". This we cannot believe. The proposal represents a thoughtful, practical instrument for peace without parallel in recent years. It might well provide the means of achieving political and economic stability in the Middle East. As Americans, we urge the retrieval and adoption of that proposal and its implementation at the earliest possible time.

In the American people's interest, we have continued to hold the line against a unilateral "building of bridges" with the Communist nations of the world. It is neither sensible nor safe to strengthen in the

(con't)

slightest degree the hand of an enemy which is at this moment striking down young Americans in Viet Nam -- and in every corner of the globe conspiring actively for the destruction of free America. Where and when, in the Senate as in the House, we have taken this stand, we have done so for this reason and no other. If, in the months to come, we should be given good and convincing reason to expect otherwise of the Communists, we shall be pleased indeed to reassess our own thinking in this somber regard.

The State of the Congress today is one of vexation and deep-seated concern as we look about us here at home. We see an Administration wholly blind in its belief that the enormous costs of the war in Viet Nam can and will be borne by our people while at the same time the Administration seeks unrestrained license to promote and finance multi-billion dollar social programs. These have in too many instances proved valueless or dangerous or both. Yet we are asked to support more and more such projects stamped out in the same socialistic mint.

At this very moment the international air is filled with conversation and concern regarding the "defense of the dollar" now that the British pound has been devalued. The record is crystal-clear that the socialistic experiments and experience of Great Britain in recent years have been the primary reason for the near collapse of her economy. A continuation and multiplication of the so-called Great Society's experiments could bring identical results here. Socialism and a sound economy simply will not mix. Despite our nation's enormous resources our economy cannot long stand such abuse.

Let me make it quite clear, as we have done repeatedly, that ours is not and has not been opposition for its own sake. The legislative record in both the Senate and the House is studded with Republican proposals for meeting our urban and other domestic needs, proposals which have found their counterparts in the programs of Republican Governors from coast to coast. The Congressional Record and the nation's news media have documented these regularly. Mr. Ford and the House Republican Policy Committee have recently provided the press and the public with a detailed and comprehensive review of House Republican accomplishments thus far in this session of the Congress. I shall, within a few days, present an equally thorough report of the efforts and achievements of the Republicans in the Senate.

(con't )

In summary, we Republicans in Congress have directed our efforts at home and abroad to making the most of our people's tax dollars in the achieving of maximum defense and sound economic progress. The mere spending of additional billions -- which seems to be this Administration's only talent -- will not, without sound economic planning, fully competent management and plain, old-fashioned horse sense, solve the fearful problems we face. Such a policy can achieve nothing but a total erosion of our people's confidence in their leadership and of their faith in our country's future.

In the months ahead, as in these months past, the Republicans in the Senate as in the House, will continue to hew to these policies and principles, convinced that the elections of 1966 gave us just this mandate, confident that the elections of 1968 will confirm it.

In the words of a latter-day Englishman, not of the socialistic breed: "Give us the tools and we'll finish the job".

"THE STATE OF THE CONGRESS"

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD

New direction -- new ideas -- new vigor. These the Republican Minority in the House have contributed in marked degree in this first session of the 90th Congress. Our chief interest and concern has been not only the best possible defense of the nation, the full support of our fighting forces in Southeast Asia and the cutting-back of reckless, wasteful non-essential Federal expenditure. Our equal interest and concern has been what lies ahead of us as a people -- what course our government will take -- or be forced to take -- in the years immediately ahead.

Last January, in offering my domestic Appraisal of the State of the Union, I listed, on behalf of the Republicans in the House, 40 specific recommendations for action. These were not merely alternatives to proposals made by others. They were, in greater part, specific program proposals. 30 of these were purely domestic in nature; 10 related to our national defense. As of this date, in the House, we have made visible and heartening progress with 24 of these. This has resulted in great part from 96% Republican solidarity on roll call votes in support of House Policy Committee positions. As a Minority, we consider this a good record and we intend to improve upon it in the months ahead.

The heart and core of our united Republican effort has been the sharp cutting-back of Federal expenditures for non-essential purposes. Our position in this has not changed. And we are not convinced by belated promises of this Administration to take action in this direction. Our original and continuing position was and is that Federal expenditures should be reduced not less than 5 billion dollars in this fiscal year. We know that it can be done, if the Administration truly wishes it.

In the course of these debt-propelled Sixties, Federal spending has run wild. This Administration has shown no concern whatever as to the crushing burden its socialistic policies and programs have placed upon our people. And for this Administration to use the war in Viet Nam as an excuse is unfair and unworthy. While defense spending has risen by 68% since 1960, non-defense spending has increased 97% -- from 48.6 billion in fiscal 1960 to an estimated 95.6 billion for fiscal 1968.

(con't)

Let it be recorded here and now -- as on many occasions past -- that we Republicans are more than willing, indeed anxious, to provide for Americans in need at home to the full extent that the nation's resources and economy make it prudently possible. To us, the word "prudently" means simply: with a decent, common sense regard for what we and our children and their children can afford. The economic chaos which this Administration's policies and practices now threaten to produce will undermine and destroy America just as surely as will our enemies at home and abroad, if permitted to do so.

Consistent, in the American tradition, with our stand against government waste and extravagance has been our effort, encouragingly successful in this Congress, to transfer some measure of responsibility and control of the people's affairs from Washington to our states and communities. We are greatly heartened by our success, even though a Minority, in shifting a sizeable number of the so-called Great Society's programs away from the Federal bureaucracies and their categorical grants to our state and local officials through the Republican system of block grants. These make it possible for those at home, who know the problems best, to solve them with greatest speed and effect. The Comprehensive Health Act, the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Air Quality Act and the Meat Inspection Act, in their final House versions, provide concrete examples of this new direction and approach.

Last Monday, the House Republican Policy Committee published a detailed and comprehensive documentation of these House Republican accomplishments. I commend that release to your attention and review, now and in the months to come.

In 1966, the American people strengthened the Republican Minority in the House with unmistakable emphasis. We interpreted those results as a mandate to put a check-rein on this willful, wasteful Administration, to review and, where desirable, to modify its run-away programs and projects and to initiate proposals of our own that would restore sense and balance to public service. We believe our record to date represents a faithful response to that mandate for new direction -- new ideas -- new vigor.

(con't)

If, as I am confident we will, we continue to produce the Republican solidarity and good sense on major legislative items that we have thus far, we shall have done the American people a signal service and they will know it. Knowing it, they will, we feel certain, add to our Republican strength by their action at the polls next year.

In summary, our objectives and our accomplishments thus far in this Congress have been these:

(1) Full support of our armed services in Southeast Asia and elsewhere throughout the world;

✓ (2) Insistence that this Administration, to the extent that it may still be able to do so, succeed in Viet Nam or be prepared to yield to a Republican Administration whose new direction, new ideas and new vigor might well offer our people and the world a more probable prospect of peace;

(3) Insistence upon the immediate establishment of a bi-partisan, blue ribbon commission of America's best experts to re-examine our short and long range defense posture in this time of national peril;

(4) To bring about a substantial reduction in non-essential Federal spending and to insist upon even greater reduction -- an objective in which we have the full and encouraging support of the distinguished Democratic Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee;

(5) To demand that this Administration's abuse of the American farmer cease and cease now -- and that its inflation-blind indifference to the American consumer come to an abrupt halt;

(6) To resist, until such satisfactory further reductions have been written into law, the Administration's proposed tax increase;

(7) To demand of this Administration whole-hearted backing of the initiative already taken by Republicans in Congress to make our streets and homes safe for our people;

(8) The continuing transfer of governmental authority, responsibility and control from Washington to the states and individual communities by the system of block grants already successfully initiated in a number of legislative areas;

(9) More and more to establish active, practical, effective co-operation between government and the private sector, as in the Republican-

initiated Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Republican-proposed Human Investment Act of 1967;

(10) To continue to urge the reorganization and reform of the Congress, in order that it might better and more swiftly serve the needs of the American people and beyond this to assure by next year clean and orderly elections for all Federal offices.

The record of this Democratic-controlled Congress to date is far from impressive. Where it has succeeded in meeting our people's basic needs, it has done so in greatest part through Minority solidarity and singleness of purpose.

Our people deserve an effective, productive Congress. Republicans are determined they shall have it. We are fully prepared to do everything in our power to meet our people's fundamental needs -- in defense and in human well-being. In so doing, we are resolved to maintain that national economic good health required to guarantee the continuance of such services to ourselves and our posterity.

**FOR THE SENATE:**

*Everett M. Dirksen  
of Illinois*

*Thomas H. Kuchel  
of California*

*Bourke B. Hickenlooper  
of Iowa*

*Margaret Chase Smith  
of Maine*

*George Murphy  
of California*

*Milton R. Young  
of North Dakota*

*Hugh Scott  
of Pennsylvania*

**PRESIDING:**

*The National Chairman  
Ray C. Bliss*

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP  
OF THE CONGRESS**

**FOR THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

*Gerald R. Ford  
of Michigan*

*Leslie C. Arends  
of Illinois*

*Melvin R. Laird  
of Wisconsin*

*John J. Rhodes  
of Arizona*

*H. Allen Smith  
of California*

*Bob Wilson  
of California*

*Charles E. Goodell  
of New York*

*Richard H. Poff  
of Virginia*

*William C. Cramer  
of Florida*

**Press Release**

**Issued following a  
Leadership Meeting  
December 13, 1967**

**Release at will**

We have today sent the following telegram to the presidents of the three national television networks --

Mr. Leonard H. Goldenson, ABC  
Dr. Frank Stanton, CBS  
Mr. Julian Goodman, NBC

"In view of the partisan and political content and tone of President Johnson's address from the AFL-CIO Convention in Miami Beach last night, as televised nationally over your network, we demand an equal opportunity for reply under the same conditions -- the same hour, the same number of minutes -- prior to the end of this week.

We make this demand under and in furtherance of the fairness doctrine as interpreted and applied by the Federal Communications Commission."

The Republican Leadership Reply  
to The President  
ABC, CBS, NBC Television Networks  
December 15, 1967

SEN. DIRKSEN: Fellow citizens, I'm Senator Dirksen, the Republican Leader in the United States Senate, and sitting here with me is Gerald Ford, Congressman Ford of Michigan, the Republican Leader in the House of Representatives. We are here because we made a request to the networks to let us make something of a response to the address that was delivered by the President in Miami earlier this week.

Let me take occasion now to thank the networks for the very prompt response they made to our request, and we're deeply grateful and really appreciative for this opportunity.

Now, the President made what I might characterize as a 3-prong speech. First, he recited all the benefits that had been voted, and then he proceeded to castigate the Republican Party. Then he spoke about Vietnam. Of course it's this matter of castigation more than anything else that has excited us a little bit, to the point where we thought a response ought to be made.

Now, I thought it was impressive as a speech in this sense, and I can best illustrate it by the new bride when she made her first attempt at baking biscuits. When the young husband tried them and made such an agonized face she was filled with dismay and she said did I put something in that made them like this, or that I left out? And he said, oh darling, it's what you left out that made them taste like this. So it was what was left out of that speech that really rang the bell with me.

Now, you remember, he spoke about those wooden soldiers in Vietnam. He spoke about the wooden soldiers and the status quo. And of course I'll have something to say about status quo a little bit later, but I just want



-2-

to point out to you when you talk about those wooden Republican soldiers, don't forget those are the soldiers who have been standing behind the President doing all this difficulty in Vietnam. His own troops of course have been pelting and pummeling him on the Senate floor and on TV and in committee sessions, but generally speaking, the wooden soldiers have not only been sustaining the Commander-in-Chief, but we have been sustaining the live soldiers in Vietnam, which is infinitely more important.

Now I'd like to hear a little something from my distinguished associate here, Gerald Ford.

MR. FORD: Well, Senator Dirksen, I'm sure you and I agree that this 90th Congress in 1967 has been a good Congress. The President himself recognized that and said this has been a productive Congress and Senator Mike Mansfield, the Democratic Leader in the Senate, just the other day said that this had been a good, decent, respectable Congress, and I agree with him 100 percent.

I think we've made a very impressive record in this session of the Congress, and I like to believe and I think it's a fact that this Congress has made a good record, primarily because the American people sent to the Congress in November 1966, 47 more Republicans in the House of Representatives and even you got a few more troops in the United States Senate.

I can recall very vividly in the middle of the 1965 session of the 89th Congress that Senator Mansfield made this appraisal of the last Congress. Senator Mansfield said that the Congress had passed a lot of major bills too hastily with too many loopholes and too many rough corners, and particularly it had violated any assessment of the current and ultimate cost of these programs. That was a pretty bad record, the 89th Congress.



Now that Congress didn't heed the advice of Senator Mansfield and so the American voters in November 1966 made some changes and I think the changes have been for the good because this Congress has passed for the first time a spending limitation that reduces the budget by law that President Johnson sent to the Congress. This Congress has also passed a good Social Security Bill that gives greater benefits to our senior citizens without opposing the onerous taxes that President Johnson recommended. This Congress has also passed a good comprehensive health act; it's called the "Partnership In Health Act" that gives to the states the money and tools to attack the problem of narcotic addiction, rat eradication and other matters. This Congress has also passed a law to give clean meat to the American people and I must say that the Republicans have supported all of these bills, practically 99 percent.

We passed a Clean Air Act with Republican support of 100 percent. We passed a bill, <sup>an</sup> Flammable Fabrics Bill, with 100 percent Republican support. This has been a Congress that's been productive from the point of view of the consumer, the tax payer and others. If I could just take a minute to talk about the House of Representatives with our 47 new members. We passed eight strong measures that I think are indicative of what the American people want. We passed a Criminal Law Enforcement and Justice Act. We took the President's rather mild and meek bill and made it a meaningful legislation with 99 percent Republican support. We passed a Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act, again 99 percent of the Republicans supported it. We passed Federal Anti-Riot Legislation with a 99 percent Republican vote. We passed Adult Education Legislation. We passed a law that would prevent the desecration of the American Flag. We passed



legislation for equal benefits for the veterans of the Vietnam War, and we passed legislation establishing an Independent Maritime Administration to help bolster our maritime forces throughout the world. We put curbs on nondefense expenditure.

Senator, this is a good Congress and it's because the American people made some changes from the last one.

SEN. DIRKSEN: Jerry, I've got to get back to the bride's biscuits and what was left out. Has it occurred to you that the President never mentioned farmers once in that speech. If he did, I haven't found it. And yet here are the tillers of the soil all over the country who have been struggling with prices that are way below parity, probably the lowest in a great many years, and at the same time they've got the problem of inflated prices for the machinery they have to buy and all the things you have to use when you're running a farm enterprise. Isn't it rather singular that somehow that was left out of the biscuits; I don't know why. He didn't say much about foreign aid.

Well, for the first time, this Congress has really come to grips with foreign aid in a great big way, and I think in so doing they were responsive to the country. Why, we've been at this business for 22 years and last year I toted up the total amount. We've spent about 140 billion dollars. Now it was time for a look-see. We all thought so, and the House of Representatives particularly thought so and really put its teeth into it. They came off first best in the struggle with the Senate. Now we finished action on that and it's down to manageable proportions, what a Senator once referred to as "frying size," probably the smallest amount for foreign aid in at least 20 years.

Now nothing was said very much about that. That was simply



left out of the biscuits.

But I must get around now to this question of debt and this question of the deficit. You see, the debt goes up and crime goes up, the value of gold seems to go down, purchasing power of the money goes down. Now Jerry you've been active in this whole fiscal field and you may like to say something about debt and deficits and about the budget. I see you have the budget here.

MR. FORD: Ev, we Republicans are against the status quo on the handling of our Federal fiscal affairs. We are soldiers fighting the Johnson Administration's inflation, the Johnson Administration high interest rates. We believe the American people deserve a better deal. Ev, I brought with me a dollar bill. Since a Republican left the White House about seven years ago, the purchasing power of this dollar bill has gone down 13 percent.

Just to give you another indication, the cost of living in 1966 went up 3.3 percent. The cost of living this year, everyone estimates, will probably be close to 4 percent, and in the next year it appears that the cost of living might even be higher than that.

Well, I think the American people deserve a better break and we as Republicans are fighting to do something about inflation, the higher and higher cost of living and the high interest rates. Talking about high interest rates, let me point out that just a week or so ago our Government, Uncle Sam, sold Federal securities and paid 6.4 percent interest, the highest in 100 years. Now this problem is created, I think, by the fact that the Administration has failed to manage effectively and responsibly our Federal taxes and our Federal expenditures.

I do have in my hand a copy of the Federal Budget for 1968, that's



this fiscal year. We think the mismanagement of this budget had precipitated high interest rates, inflation, but let me point out the problem that we face in the Congress. When the President submitted this budget to us in January he said the deficit would be 8.1 billion dollars. In August he finally conceded that the deficit would be 29 billion dollars and just a few weeks ago the President (I think quite irresponsively) said the deficit might reach as high as 35 billion dollars.

The trouble is we just cannot believe the mathematics that they submit to us every year in January, and the situation was almost as bad/as <sup>this year</sup> it was last year. But you know, with all the errors they've made in that budget, I often wonder what would happen, Ev, to a taxpayer if he made those kind of mistakes on his Federal Income Tax Return. I think any ordinary taxpayer would really be in trouble.

Now when we come right down to it, the Republicans for the last three years have tried to make specific, constructive recommendations to attack inflation and high interest rates. The Coordinating Committee, of which both you and I are members, recommended in 1965 a 9-point program to straighten out the fiscal problems that we face. The Coordinating Committee in April 1966 made a 13-point recommendation to fight inflation, high interest rates. We in the House of Representatives have been trying to cut Federal expenditures as you have in the Senate. We believe we have a better solution to the problems facing this nation, the loss in purchasing power. We believe it's better to reduce expenditures than to pass the President's tax increase.

SEN. DIRKSEN: In his speech, Jerry, the President said "I shall advance." Well, if you're going to complete that thought so far as we're

concerned, we too like to advance, but not continually on borrowed money and a big deficit which is the hole in the doughnut, and a constantly rising debt. I remember some years ago I was on a platform in New York with three governors and one got up and said wouldn't it be wonderful if our great, great grandchildren could be here tonight and help us celebrate as we spend their money, the money that they're going to have to pay back with a high interest rate. That would really be something now.

MR. FORD: Do you realize, (I'm sure you do) Senator, that in the last 6 or 7 years since a Republican left the White House, there have been accumulated deficits in the Federal Government of over 60 billion dollars.

SEN. DIRKSEN: I'm fully aware of it. But Jerry I can't forget now, since we have to watch the time a little, we have to be thinking not only of those wooden soldiers who've been standing up behind the live soldiers in Vietnam, 475,000, but I think of that buggy that the President referred to. That buggy that was running downhill. Well, you know it's rather interesting to contemplate that old buggy and even thinking of old dobbin in front of that buggy because all this session we've been struggling with our buggy to pull that 500 horsepower "great society" special out of the fiscal mudhole, just exactly as you described it a moment ago. So let them make light of the wooden soldiers and that buggy, but it comes in very useful when we get into a hole.

But now you mentioned status quo a moment ago. He said the wooden soldiers of the status quo. Well I heard two fellows talking about this and one said, Joe what is that business, that status quo. Well, he said, Sam, that's Latin for the fix we're in and are we in a fix? Well you can recite them as well as I can: the imbalance of payments runs into the billions down, down, down and it's a terribly serious business right now.

Our gold is down 4½ billion since 1961 and they're talking now about taking the gold cover off the Federal Reserve notes. But the debt goes up while the gold goes down.

MR. FORD: And prices go up.

SEN. DIRKSEN: Yeah, and crime goes up.

MR. FORD: May I say a word about crime, Senator? I think it's interesting to point out the problem we face in crime. In the last 8 years our population has gone up 10 percent, but in the last 8 years the crime in this country has gone up 67 percent. The FBI reported just the other day that crime in this country has gone up in 9 months of 1967, 15 percent. Of course we're all familiar with the 120 or more riots in our major metropolitan areas in 1967, where I think 118 people lost their lives, where millions and millions of dollars in damage was done to public and private property. Yes, we're against this kind of a status quo. The Republicans are righting to do something about the crime problem.

Now the President early this year sent up a bill to try and have the Federal Government involve itself in the crime problem. Well, the House of Representatives under Republican Leadership threw out the President's crime bill and we passed a meaningful piece of legislation that does away with the President's demand which was in effect for a Federal police force under the control of the Attorney General. Our bill, as we passed it, does give to the states Federal funds and Federal guidance, providing each state does have a state plan coordinating the local police organizations with the state police organizations. We think that the Republican answer to crime is a constructive one. I'm proud to say that 99 percent of the Republicans in the House supported this bill, rather than the one that the President



recommended.

SEN. DIRKSEN: Jerry, I would put in there: the bill is pending over in the Senate Judiciary Committee. We believe it's subject to further improvement. We believe we ought to deal with the so-called Miranda case, the Mallory rule passed on by the Supreme Court, because the law enforcing authorities in this country, the policemen and the sheriffs, have got to have something more than an equal break with the criminal, and we're determined that it's going to be a better bill than what we've had heretofore.

Now there's one thing I don't want to get away from. I notice (and I have the speech here) and speaking now about these wooden soldiers, "they close their ears and ranks; vote after vote lined up like wooden soldiers of the status quo; 93 percent voted to kill this, 90 percent to kill that, 66 percent to kill this." Well somebody ought to tell the whole story. This is another one of those things that was left out of the biscuits because when you vote on a motion to send a bill back to Committee, it's not to kill it; it's to improve it, and let the Committee work its will and do it rather than try to amend the bill oft times that may/prefix in character on the Senate floor. Am I right or am I wrong?

MR. FORD: You're absolutely correct, Senator. We've talked about the good things this Congress has done, primarily, we believe, because of the increased numbers of the Republican Party that the American people in 33 states sent to us to help us in this battle against the Johnson Administration's status quo. But the job of this Congress is not yet completed. We think this Congress should write a good record as a reform Congress. For example, we believe that there should be clean election legislation. We've been operating in this country for a number of years with antiquate, out-dated election legislation. In the House of Representatives the Republicans have

really carried the ball to try and get meaningful, effective legislation so we could have clean Federal elections in the Presidential race, in the Senate races and in the House races. We believe that there should be strict disclosure as to funds received by candidates and to the expenditures that are made on behalf of a candidate.

Unfortunately, under existing law that is not the case. We strongly disagree with the President's proposal which is to finance elections out of the Federal Treasury. We think that's the wrong way to get the public interested in good Government.

SEN. DIRKSEN: Jerry, that's another item that did not go in the biscuits because we struggled with that in the Senate Finance Committee for the longest time and it hasn't hit the light of day yet in the form of a public law. I'm rather confident that it won't before we get all through.

Now there's one other thing on which I think a comment is forthcoming. They talked about these wooden soldiers. You've got 47 new members in that last election and certainly they probably were a little aggrieved by that. You may want to make a little comment about it because if I were a freshman Congressman, had done my best, stood by what I thought was the interest of the country and my Party as well, I wouldn't like that kind of a comment at all. So what do you want to say about your 47 new troops that you've got over there last year?

MR. FORD: Well, Ev, they're attractive, they're articulate, they're vigorous, they've got lots of good ideas. One of the things that they pushed the hardest on (and I'm proud of their efforts and of the results), they said we should establish in the House of Representatives a code of ethics for members of Congress. They took the lead in getting the Congress, or the

House of Representatives, to establish a committee on official conduct. That committee, as a result of the efforts on our side and the help of Democrats, has put together and is about to announce a code of ethics for members of the House of Representatives. We think this is overdue, necessary and I think it will be effective.

This new group of Republicans, Ev, they're a very vigorous lot. They sometimes come up with ideas that should have been thought of before and believe me, they're a very helpful group when we challenge the status quo of the Johnson Administration on fiscal matters, on crime and law enforcement, on other matters. I just hope that in the next election the American people will send to us an additional 31 Republicans in the House of Representatives, so that we can continue the job of trying to straighten out some of the basic problems, to try and get away from the status quo that we're in today.

SEN. DIRKSEN: Jerry, that hints to me another thing, that isn't too often thought about when they assess and appraise a Congress. Sometimes there are intangibles that are extremely important, and I think there are some in this Congress. First we had what you might call the moral problem of dealing with human conduct in its broadest aspect, and we took action. In your body on the Powell matter and our body on the Dodd matter. But there's another thing. You remember they refer to Congress so often as a rubber stamp Congress. For the first time in years this has been the assertive, aggressive Congress that has really gone to bat to retrieve its Constitutional position. Don't forget, when they wrote that Constitution they made the Legislative Branch first. That's Article 1 in the Constitution. There was a reason for it. President Monroe said that's the core of Government, and it is the core of Government with all these powers, and it's the exclusive law-making branch



and has exclusive power over the purse and they're about to retrieve it and take it back and to exercise it. That is one of the intangibles.

There are others just as well and I do not let to see those go by when they go to assessing a Congress and add up the total and say well this is what we passed and this is how much it cost and this group got that and this group got that and that group got that. We're interested in what the country got and generally speaking in the vitality of the country and its survival in an anxious hour of the world.

MR. FORD: This is not a rubber stamp Congress. The last Congress was President Johnson's Congress, but Ev, this is the Christmas season and only minutes ago President Johnson turned the lights on on the White House Christmas tree on behalf of all Americans. We didn't agree and frankly we didn't like the President's unfair assessment of the 90th Congress in 1967, but now that we have set the record straight, there's something far more important I would like to say.

As Republicans we're not only proud of the work that we've done in this session of the Congress just ending, we're real proud of the Congress itself. With increased strength as Republicans, we have immensely improved the quality of laws under which all Americans live and we continue to play our proper part in the Constitutional process. We hope the President and the Judicial Branch will do the same. We're proud of the way representative democracy works and we'll keep on fighting to make it work. We're proud of America and we have faith in American, and with new Republican leadership in the White House and Republican majorities in the Congress, we pledge our countrymen that everyone can really be proud of being American. Let's never forget that we're all Americans.



On that note, Ev, Merry Christmas to you, Mr. President, and  
Merry Christmas to everybody who may be listening or watching. This great,  
good, compassionate and charitable land has been good to all of us.

SEN. DIRKSEN: One thought. You know, Lincoln once wrote to an  
old friend and he borrowed from Chronicles this thing. He said "sometimes  
it's well to stand still and see the salvation of God."

Sen. Dirkson

"In the first part of His speech, the President catalogued innumerable benefits to be given all our people. But what happens to all those benefits if the dollar slips in its purchasing power and value? There are any number of fiscal authorities who fairly wring their hands about this -- like the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He and other people knowledgeable in that field are worried that the dollar may drop to a 40 cent value or even further before we get through. What do you think is doing to happen then to all those benefits that the President listed?"

"The President referred to the 'status quo' which to me and a good many others is Latin for 'the fix we are in'. The 345 billion dollar debt is an example. That's a 'status quo'. The probable 30 billion dollar debt as well. That's a 'status quo'. The increase in crime across the country, in the cities, in the suburbs, in the rural areas. That's a 'status quo'. These and many others are glaring examples of the 'fix we are in'."

"As for that old Republican buggy he referred to, I've been thinking and I've remembered all of his appeals and all his Administration's efforts directed to the Republican side of the Congress to have this buggy pull his chromium-plated five-hundred-horse-power 'Great Society Special' out of the mud. He may make light of the old buggy but it gets no dirt in its carburetor, it gets no flat tires its sparkplugs never fail and its motor never gets out of whak. 'Get a horse!' Maybe there is something in that old saying."

"That this has been a productive Congress is one point at least on which we can agree with the President, but for entirely different reasons. It was a productive Congress, not only for what it has done but for what it hasn't done. I make the point that when you keep bad legislation off the books, or when you modify it very sharply in the public interest that that's a real service and it makes a productive Congress. It was a productive Congress. It was a productive Congress because the Congress asserted itself as no other Congress has done in a long time. It's been determined to recapture its Constitutional place in the sun because the Constitution makes it the exclusive law-making body in the government and it has the exclusive power of the purse."

EXCERPTS FROM COMMENTS OF SENATOR DIRKSEN IN THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT -- ABC, CBS, NBC TELEVISION NETWORKS -- DECEMBER 15, 1967, 7 to 7:30 p.m.

RELEASE 7 pm DECEMBER 15, 1967

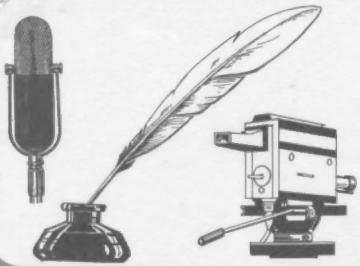
"The President's speech in Miami brought to mind a little story about the bride who made her first biscuits and when her husband tried them with an agonizing expression, she was filled with dismay. She said, "Did I put something in that I shouldn't have?" "Oh, darling," he said, "it isn't what you put in, it's what you left out." So this speech was impressive, somewhat at least, for what it left out."

"I wonder if it had occurred to the President that these wooden soldiers, as he called us, are the same Congressional soldiers that stood squarely behind our soldiers on the line when many of his own troops in the House and Senate were flaying him day after day on Viet Nam -- not only in the House and Senate, but over TV and radio. These soldiers of his didn't give their Commander-in-Chief much comfort!"

"Still another area in which the 'wooden soldiers' have done a good job is that of law enforcement. The Crime Control Bill the Administration wanted was blocked simply because it would have given the Attorney General a whole hatful of money to distribute to law enforcement agencies, but virtually cutting out the Governors and authorities at the state level. Is that any way to bring about law enforcement in this country?"

"Again, it's not what the President said, it's what he didn't say that was really impressive, such as the subject of foreign aid. I think that both the Congress and the country -- the taxpayers -- have had an abiding interest in the 140 billion dollars of our money that we have doled out on foreign aid and have decided that something ought to be done about it: the smallest foreign aid appropriation bill in the last 20 years. This is to the credit of the Congress and, I think, to the comfort of the country. The President's speech didn't make note of this."

"I noticed other glaring omissions of his. I found no reference to the public debt or to the probable deficit of 30 billion dollars this year. Deficit, you know, is that ducky word for spending more than you take in. Nor did I find any reference to his tax increase proposal, which started out on such an adventurous career and came to naught."



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 P. M., EST--  
Friday, December 15, 1967

Excerpts from the comments of Representative Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., House Republican Leader, on the Republican Leadership of the Congress' reply to President Johnson over ABC, CBS and NBC Television Networks, 7:00 to 7:30 P.M., EST, December 15, 1967.

This Congress has been a good Congress. President Johnson admits it has been a productive Congress. His Majority Leader in the Senate, Senator Mansfield, says the record of this Congress has been "good, decent and respectable," and I agree, as I'm sure Senator Dirksen does.

Congress in 1967 has been productive and constructive, primarily because the voters of the nation in November 1966 gave us a net gain of 47 Republicans in the House and additional strength in the Senate. These new Republicans came from 33 states--from the length and breadth of America. They are attractive, articulate young men and women who are responsive to their voters and who are fighting hard for constructive solutions to the Nation's problems at home and abroad.

This Congress with 50 more Republicans has produced this record:

(1) Spending Limitations -- Totaling more than \$4 billion from the

President's budget for fiscal 1968. This effort to curb runaway inflation and avoid another tax increase succeeded only because of virtually solid Republican support.

(2) Social Security Improvements -- More benefits for Senior Citizens

who have been hurt by Johnson-Humphrey inflation--without the additional payroll taxes on working citizens that President Johnson wanted. 99% of House Republicans supported this legislation.

(3) Comprehensive Health Legislation -- A partnership for health bill

providing funds for the federal government and the states to attack rats and other pests, narcotics addiction, etc. 98% of Republicans supported this legislation.

(4) Clean Meat Inspection Law -- 99½% of Republicans supported.

(more)



(5) A Flamable Products Control Bill to Protect Families and Children from Deadly Garments, Toys and Home Products -- 100% Republican support.

(6) A Law to Clean up the Air We Breathe -- 100% Republican support.

In the House of Representatives this session, with Republicans reinforced and on the march, we have passed many forward-looking and much-needed bills. Here are eight of them:

(1) A Law Enforcementand Criminal Justice Assistance Act -- Modified to permit state and local agencies to play their right-ful role -- 99% Republican support.

(2) Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Legislation -- 99½% Republican support.

(3) Federal Anti-Riot Legislation -- 99% Republican support.

(4) Adult Education Legislation -- 100% Republican support.

(5) Law to Stop Desecration of the American Flag -- 100% Republican support.

(6) Equal Benefits for Vietnam Veterans and Their Families -- 100% Republican support.

(7) Independent Maritime Administration Legislation -- Opposed by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration but backed by 97% of House Republicans to try to salvage the neglected U.S. Merchant Marine.

(8) Curbs on Excessive Non-Defense Spending -- Federal spending in 1960 under the last Republican Administration was \$48.6 billion. Estimated non-defense spending for fiscal 1968 is nearly double that figure--\$95.6 billion. The accumulative federal deficit since President Johnson entered the White House is expected to exceed \$60 billion. As a result, the U.S. dollar is in trouble abroad and buys less and less at home.

Ev, this is the Christmas season, and only minutes ago President Johnson turned the lights on the White House Christmas tree on behalf of all Americans. Now that we've set the record straight, there's something far more important I'd like to say. As Republicans, we're not only proud of the work we've done in the session just ending, we're proud of the Congress itself. With increased strength we have immensely improved the quality of laws under which all Americans live, and we intend to continue to play our proper part in the constitutional process of government. We hope the President and the Judicial Branch will play theirs. We're proud of the way representative democracy works, and we'll keep on fighting to make it work. We're proud of America and have faith in America, and with new Republican leadership in the White House and Republican Majorities in the Congress we pledge our countrymen that everyone can be really proud of being an American. Let's never forget that we are all Americans and on that note, Merry Christmas to you, Mr. President, and Merry Christmas to everybody in this great, good, compassionate and charitable land.

Good night.