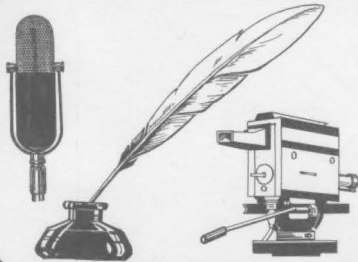


**The original documents are located in Box D6, folder “Ford Press Releases - Congress, 1967” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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

**NEWS  
 RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
 TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1967

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

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

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

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

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

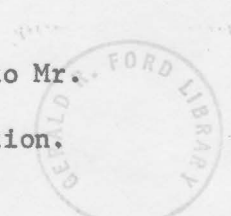
The Powell case raises questions involving the integrity of the U. S. House of Representatives and even justice for Mr. Powell. We can best resolve those questions by congressional investigation. We certainly should not duck them.

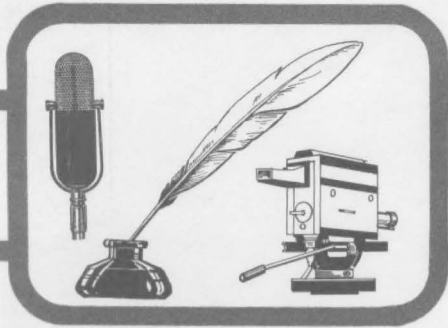
The charges made against Mr. Powell place the entire matter of a code of ethics for all House members before Congress and the Nation.

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

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

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



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Re: Cramer Apptmt.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
WEDNESDAY, JAN. 25, 1967

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Representatives of the Republican Governors Association are also on the Committee.

The Joint Senate and House Leadership, to which Cramer has also been appointed, formulates GOP policy in the Congress.

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

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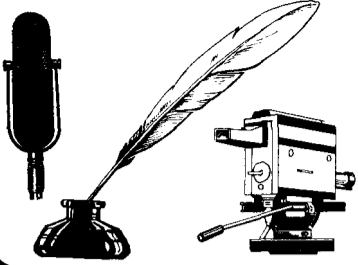
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CONGRESSMAN  
**GERALD R. FORD**  
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE AT 11 A.M.  
WED., FEB. 8, 1967

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REPUBLICAN BILLS INTRODUCED - 90TH CONGRESS

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

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

# # #



U. S. HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES

# REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

REP. JOHN J. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 140 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

10

8 February 1967

The House Republican Policy Committee urges the immediate establishment of a select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

This Committee should be composed of twelve Members divided evenly between the Majority and Minority parties. It should be empowered to recommend rules and regulations that it deems necessary to ensure proper standards of conduct by Members and by officers and employees of the House. It should have the authority to investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action and report violations of law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

In the closing hours of the 89th Congress, a select Committee on Standards and Conduct was established. This was an important first step. Now, without further delay, this Committee should be reestablished.

Over the past few years, a handful of highly publicized allegations of misconduct against a few Members of Congress and a few employees have cast a dark cloud over the entire Congress. As long as this House does not have an effective body that can investigate and resolve allegations of misconduct, the American people will continue to have serious questions regarding the integrity of the Members and their ability or willingness to ferret out those who are guilty of misconduct. Moreover, until such time as a Committee on Standards and Conduct is created and a code of ethics and standards of conduct are established, proceedings that are brought against an individual or a Member may be subject to attack on the basis that they are "witch hunts" or politically inspired.

Justice for those accused as well as the ever mounting public demand for the highest standards of personal conduct makes imperative the immediate establishment of an effective Committee on Standards and Conduct. We urge the Democratic Leadership to schedule this legislation without further delay.





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REP. JOHN J. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 140 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

10

8 February 1967

The House Republican Policy Committee urges the immediate consideration and enactment of the Election Reform Act of 1967 which has been sponsored and introduced by the Republican Members.

With each new disclosure at the recent Bobby Baker trial, the need for Election Reform legislation has been reemphasized and underlined. There is today a crisis of confidence with respect to campaign contributions. Election Reform legislation must be enacted well in advance of the 1968 election.

In the last Congress, the Republican Policy Committee adopted a statement urging the enactment of this legislation. The Republican Leadership introduced a bill that would modify and improve the Administration measure and the Republican Members of the House Administration Committee did everything in their power to get a meaningful and workable bill reported. As a result of their efforts, a bill that incorporate the major provisions of the Republican measure was reported by a Subcommittee. At the following meeting of the full committee, all Republican Members were present and ready to vote to report the bill for immediate Floor consideration. Unfortunately, the Democratic members would not join the Republicans so for that session of Congress, this important measure died.

The Election Reform Act of 1967 includes the following Republican proposals:

1. A five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission is established to receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures.
2. The Commission has been granted full and complete authority to enforce the provisions of the Act through appropriate investigation and audit. It is also authorized to make reports and statements available for public inspection and to prepare and publish summaries and reports.
3. Every candidate, and every political committee that accepts contributions or make expenditures of \$1,000 or more in any calendar year, is required to report all contributions and expenditures.
4. Donations of more than \$5,000 to any one candidate or committee in any single year are prohibited.
5. The present meaningless ceiling on total contributions to and expenditures by political committees is removed.
6. Campaign contributions by organizations or associations financially supported by a corporation, trade association or labor organization are prohibited.
7. Conventions, primaries and party caucuses have been placed under the reporting and disclosure provisions of the bill.
8. The disclosure of gifts or honorariums is required of candidates for the House and Senate as well as incumbents.

The appropriate studies regarding election reform have been completed. Detailed hearings have been held. The need for the legislation has been established. A good bill was reported in the last Congress. The time for legislative action has arrived. We urge the Democratic Leadership to schedule the Election Reform Act as one of the first pieces of legislation to receive Floor consideration.



February 23, 1967



U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

REP. JOHN T. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 140 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

## REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

Now, without further delay, an in-depth study of the Federal Government's bureaucratic sprawl must be undertaken. The House Republican Policy Committee urges the immediate consideration and enactment of legislation sponsored and introduced by Republican Members that would establish a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

There is today an administrative crisis within the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. Hastily enacted and often times competing programs have been stacked one upon another until it is impossible for State and local governments to know what is available for what purpose or even where to go for specific information. For example, five agencies of the Federal Government are presently involved in administering Federal programs for community water supply, sewers and sewage treatment facilities. There are more than 260 Federal programs bearing on poverty problems that are administered by 16 separate departments and agencies.

Since 1960, as reflected by the following chart, the number of Federal employees has increased by 13% and the Federal payroll by almost 50%:

Year	Federal Civilian Employment	
	Total Civilian Employment	Payroll (billions of \$'s)
1960	2,386,345	\$ 12.637
1961	2,372,445	13.648
1962	2,443,808	14.296
1963	2,493,374	15.347
1964	2,488,365	16.205
1965	2,479,489	17.239
1966	2,818,015	18.706

The run-away nature of the increase in Federal civilian employment was starkly dramatized by the actual results of a recent Presidential cutback order. In December 1965, President Johnson ordered a 1% cut (25,000 employees) to be achieved

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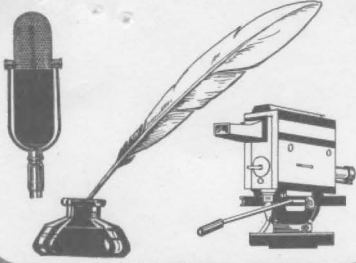
by June 30, 1966. However, as of June 30, 1966, the number of employees had risen by 192,000 instead of being reduced by 25,000.

In 1947, the Republican 80th Congress established the first Hoover Commission. In 1953, the Republican 83rd Congress established the second Hoover Commission. These Commissions contributed markedly to the ability of the Congress and the agencies themselves to improve efficiency and to eliminate duplication of Executive functions. Unfortunately, since the second Hoover Commission completed its work in 1955, there has been no overall study of the mushrooming agencies and departments of the Federal Government.

In recent years there has been a flood of poorly coordinated and often times conflicting statements and directives from the various Executive Departments and Agencies. The lack of communication and the absence of clear-cut lines of authority have, in certain instances, lead to embarrassing confusion, damaging contradictions and an apparent paralysis at the policy-making level of government. A new Commission could survey this problem and suggest ways to restore order, improve communications and coordinate decisions.

We believe that a major revision and reform of the Executive Branch is absolutely essential. Old departments and agencies that were created and organized to meet the problems of the first half of the 20th century should be carefully studied. It may be that certain agencies and departments should be phased-out or combined in order to achieve maximum efficiency at a minimum cost. However, changes of this type must be made on the basis of careful and thorough studies that are conducted well above partisan politics and inter-agency power fights. A sporadic or a piece-meal reorganization could mean more rather than fewer problems.

A Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the government could provide the thoughtful and careful reorganization that is so desperately needed. If the Commission had been in operation during the 89th Congress pursuant to the recommendations of the Policy Committee and the Republican Members of the House of Representatives, the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Transportation could have been an integral part of a general Executive Branch reorganization rather than just two isolated regroupings. Moreover, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's proposed merger of the Commerce and Labor Departments could now be considered within the framework of an overall study and broad recommendations rather than on the basis of quickly-garnered facts and surface appraisals.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

REMARKS BY MINORITY LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., ON HOUSE FLOOR, MARCH 9, 1967.

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

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

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

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

(MORE)

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

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

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

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

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

(MORE)

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

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

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

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

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

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I <sup>support the</sup> ~~am introducing the following~~ resolution and urge its prompt consideration and approval.

# # #  
( )



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 113

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No. 38

## House of Representatives

### "WE DEFEND THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE"

Remarks of Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R—Michigan) House Minority Leader

Mr. Speaker, as was anticipated, the former Member who was excluded from this body on two occasions by majorities of the magnitude of 6-to-1 and 3-to-1 has now challenged our action in the U.S. Court for the District of Columbia. It is, of course, the right of every citizen to seek redress of grievances, real or not, in the courts. But the question now is, what shall this House do about it?

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

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

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

Mr. Speaker, in Government as well as in engineering, the most solid and steady structure rests upon three equal bases. The framers of our Constitution, having

behind them the experience of the Roman Republic and of the British parliamentary evolution, as well as their colonial governments and the Articles of Confederation, wisely wrote into the Constitution the permanent and inviolable separation of Federal power among the coequal legislative, executive, and judicial branches. It is worth passing note that the Congress was established in the first article.

While, in general, legislative power is shared by the House and the Senate, and limits are placed upon it both by Executive powers and judicial precedents, the two legislative bodies have internal organizational powers that are separate and specific and are not, in my judgment, subject to any superior power. Among these is article I, section 5, which provides for the censure, punishment and, by a two-thirds vote, expulsion of a Member, and also states that—

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

In short, if this body is the judge in these matters, there cannot be any other judge nor any higher appeal. We did not legislate in H.R. 1 nor in H.R. 278—we rendered a judgment. That judgment is, in my view, final unless it is changed in the future by this House of Representatives. Neither the Senate, within the legislative branch, nor any court created by the Constitution or by the Congress in the judicial branch nor any officer of the executive branch, has any jurisdiction here.

Mr. Speaker, I can assert without reservation that one of the most fundamental and precious principles—perhaps the most important principle which has preserved the liberties of our people and insures the welfare of our posterity—is this constitutional provision of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial branches. It is true that at various periods of our history one branch or another has sought to overextend its power and authority. Every schoolboy knows how President Andrew Jackson declared:

John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it.

Nor has the Congress been guiltless. During the post-Civil War period, Representative Thaddeus Stevens, a Member of the House, thundered at President Johnson—Andrew Johnson—

Though the President is commander-in-chief, Congress is his commander, and God willing, he shall obey. . . . This is not a government of kings and satraps, but a government of the people, and Congress is the people.

But, fortunately, whenever any one of our three independent branches of Government has overreached itself, time and the lively conscience of the American people have redressed the balance.

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

President Johnson said:

No, I would have no comment on that matter, other than what you have been given before—that is a matter for the members of the House that is reserved for them by the Constitution.

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

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

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

If it is not quite true that Congress is the people, it is the closest thing to the people that we have—particularly here in the House of Representatives. So when we defend this House we defend the people's House. We have heard and

(over)



doubtless will continue to hear much argument as to whether we have the right to exclude a Member-elect from this body. I submit that this question already has been pleaded before the only court of competent jurisdiction under

the Constitution, the House of Representatives; and judgment has been passed by substantial majorities, on two rollcalls, that we do have that exclusive right and power. I believe this accords with the intent of the Founding Fathers

and the rules and precedents of the House. This judgment has been challenged and must be vigorously and ably defended. This is our simple duty to the past and to the future.

March 1, 1967

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely proud of the debate that has taken place here today. It has done great credit for the House of Representatives.

Unfortunately, during the course of this debate, statements have been made which would indicate, if not challenged, that this Congress has the power to exclude a Member-elect only if such Member-elect does not satisfy the three constitutional qualifications. I do not believe that the historical record or the precedents of this House support this conclusion. For example, the majority report in the Brigham H. Roberts case dealt with this problem in great detail. I believe the conclusion that they reached and the reasons for that conclusion are as valid and appropriate today as they were then. In this report in support of the conclusion that Congress did have the right to exclude, it was stated:

**FIRST—ON PRINCIPLE**

As to the first proposition, what is the argument on principle? We think it will be undoubted that every legislative body has unlimited control over its own methods of organization and the qualifications or disqualifications of its members, except as specifically limited by the organic law. We do not think that this proposition needs amplifying; it is axiomatic. It is apparent that every deliberative and legislative body must have supreme control over its own membership, except in so far as it may be specifically limited by a higher law; there is a distinction to be drawn between the legislative power of a legislative body and its organizing power, or those things which relate to its membership, and its control over the methods of performing its allotted work. That is to be distinguished from the legislative power to be expressed in its final results.

When our Constitution was framed there was practically no limit to the right and power, in these respects, of the English Parliament. Such power is necessary to the preservation of the body itself and to the dignity of its character. In England it was at one time admissible to permit the admission into the House of Commons of minors, of aliens, and of persons not inhabitants of the political subdivision in which they were elected. To this day it is well known that an inhabitant of London may be elected by a Scotch constituency, and a member has been elected by more than one constituency to the same Parliament.

The framers of the Constitution, familiar with these facts, proposed to prevent their happening in this country. They knew also that a similar latitude of choice had been exercised in the original colonies and in the States of the Federation, and it was proposed to put a stop to it so far as Congress was concerned. A very luminous argument was made on this subject by John Randolph in the House of Representatives in 1807.

We quote as follows from his remarks: "If the constitution had meant (as was contended) to have settled the qualifications of members, its words would have naturally run thus: 'Every person who has attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State from which he shall be chosen, shall be eligible to a seat in the House of Representatives.' But so far from fixing the

qualifications of members of that House, the constitution merely enumerated a few disqualifications within which the States were left to act.

"It is said to the States, you have been in the habit of electing young men below age; you shall send us none but such as are five and twenty. Some of you have elected persons just naturalized; you shall not elect any to this House who have not been some seven years citizens of the United States. Sometimes mere sojourners or transient persons have been clothed with legislative authority. You shall elect none whom your laws do not consider as inhabitants."

In pursuance of the idea in the mind of the framers of the Constitution, we have the peculiar words "no person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained, etc." How happy indeed are these words if we give them precisely the force and meaning for which we contend. How unhappy and how misleading, how impossible, in fact, to the masters of the English language who wrote them, if they were intended to exclude all other possible requirements or disqualifications. We might admit such construction if suitable language was difficult to find or frame; but note how easily such a purpose could have been served in fewer words and with unmistakable meaning. Thus, "Any person," or "a person," or "every person may be a Representative who shall have attained the age of twenty-five years," etc.

The provision seems to be worded designedly in the negative so as to prevent the suspicion that it was intended to be exclusive, and so as to prevent the application of the rule, "the expression of one thing is the exclusion of another." The immediately preceding clause is affirmative, and says: "The electors in each State shall have the qualifications," etc. With some show of propriety it can be claimed that this provision is exclusive. It at least does not have the negative form to condemn such construction.

Story says (Constitution, sec. 448):

"The truth is, that in order to ascertain how far an affirmative or negative proposition excludes or implies others, we must look to the nature of the provision, the subject-matter, the objects, and the scope of the instrument. These, and these only can properly determine the rule of construction. There can be no doubt that an affirmative grant of powers in many cases will imply an exclusion of all others."

It is a notable fact that in the first draft of this constitutional provision which provides for qualifications of Representatives in Congress, the language was affirmative and positive, and that when it was finally presented for adoption it appeared in the form in which we now find it.

The slight contemporaneous discussion in the Constitutional Convention was upon the provision in the affirmative form. Why was it changed in the negative? Surely not for the sake of euphony. And certainly not to make it more explicitly exclusive.

In the report of the committee of detail, submitting the first draft of the Constitution, this section read in the affirmative and as follows:

"Every member of the House of Representatives shall be of the age of 25 years at least; shall have been a citizen of the United States for at least three years before his election, and shall be at the time of his election a resident of the State in which shall be chosen."

In the discussion Mr. Dickinson opposed the section altogether, expressly because it

would be held exclusive, saying he—"was against any recitals of qualifications in the Constitution. It was impossible to make a complete one, and a partial one would, by implication, tie up the hands of the legislature from supplying omissions."

Mr. Wilson took the same view, saying: "Besides, a partial enumeration of cases will disable the legislature from disqualifying odious and dangerous characters."

The next day after this discussion, and when the clause respecting age, etc., had in its general sense, been informally approved, a proposed section respecting a property qualification was discussed. Mr. Wilson said (Madison Papers, vol. 5, p. 404) that he thought "it would be best, on the whole, to let the section go out; this particular power would constructively exclude every other power of regulating qualifications." What did Mr. Wilson mean if the result of the discussion in which he participated on the preceding day was to "constructively exclude every other power of regulating qualifications?"

In view of the objections urged by Dickinson and Wilson and their opinions as to the construction that would result and the consequences thereof the conclusion seems reasonable, if not absolutely irresistible, that the change from the affirmative to the negative form was intentionally made, and with the very purpose of obviating such objections, and hence that in being negatively stated it was considered by the convention that the particular qualifications mentioned would not be exclusive and would not render impossible the "disqualifying odious and dangerous characters" and would not prevent "supplying omissions."

This section was finally reported and adopted in the negative form in which it now appears. The report of the committee seems to have been elaborately discussed.

I believe it is also important to note that on four different occasions this House after long and careful consideration voted to exclude a Member-elect. This is a well-established procedure, and it was contemplated as a possible alternative by the resolution that I offered and which was adopted on opening day. It was contemplated at that time that the nine-member committee after carefully studying the facts could come back with one of four recommendations. The committee could recommend:

First. That the Member-elect be excluded.

Second. That the Member-elect be seated and then expulsion proceedings be commenced.

Third. That the Member-elect be seated and disciplined.

Fourth. That the Member-elect be seated unconditionally.

Also, as part of this resolution, the Member-elect was ordered to stand aside and not be seated pending the outcome of this investigation at the recommendation of the committee.

Therefore, the adoption of this resolution in and of itself asserted the right of Congress to exclude a Member-elect. When the resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote, the Member-elect was excluded for a period of 5 weeks, and he is excluded today pending the outcome of this debate.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--  
THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1967

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(MORE)



STATEMENT BY REP. FORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

He talked of priorities but he has established none.

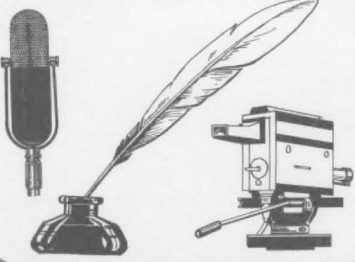
He spoke of new opportunities for Youth--chiefly expansion and strengthening of the Head Start program. That will come with Republican support. We've been urging it for two years.

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

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

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

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT--

*April 6, 1967*

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

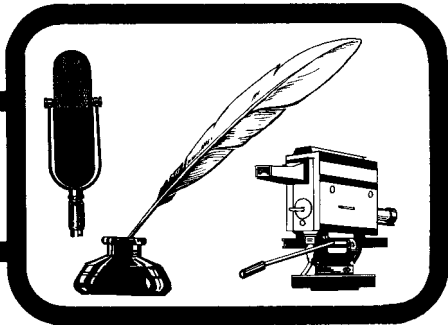
I applaud the action taken by the House Rules Committee in approving creation of a permanent Select Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for House Members.

This move is in line with a proposal pushed by the House Republican Leadership for more than a year and most recently advocated in the Republican State of the Union Message of last January 19th and a statement adopted by the House Republican Policy Committee last February 8.

I urge that we now move as quickly as possible to establish the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and to arm it with powers of enforcement. Such a committee will be worse than useless unless it is given sufficient enforcement authority.

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

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT--

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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 12, 1967

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

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

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

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

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

**NEWS  
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10 May 1967



U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES **REPUBLICAN POLICY** COMMITTEE

REP. JOHN J. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 140 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION

10

The awesome problems of today and the challenges of the 70's demand an efficient and effective Congress. Unless Congress is strengthened and new procedures and techniques developed, there is grave danger that the historic role of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the Executive may be dangerously diluted. Legislation is needed to update and modernize Congress.

During the 89th Congress, a bipartisan Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was established by unanimous vote of both the House and the Senate. This committee held 41 public hearings and received the views of 199 witnesses. The testimony together with the statements, documents and an index is set forth in 16 printed volumes totaling 2,435 pages.

On March 7, a bill was passed by the Senate which incorporated many of the Joint Committee recommendations. This bill, S-355, is now before the House Rules Committee. Unfortunately, there are disturbing indications that the Democratic Leadership with a 2 to 1 majority on the House Rules Committee may take no action in this important area. We believe there should be action.

The following major improvements are contained in this legislation:

1. The establishment of a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations with continuing authority to study the structure and procedures of Congress and to recommend additional reforms and changes.
2. The protection of the rights of the minority through the provision of additional committee staff, the right to present minority views and reports, the provision of equal time on conference reports, and the right to schedule witnesses during at least one day of Committee hearings.
3. The authorization of measures designed to assist Members of Congress in the performance of their Congressional duties. Such measures would include enlarging committee staffs, strengthening and improving the Legislative Reference Service, and authorizing committees to employ consultants on an interim basis in order to take advantage of expertise in various fields of knowledge.
4. The implementation of fiscal controls and budgetary reforms that would include a greater utilization of the General Accounting Office, a multiple-year financial projection of programs and the updating of the budget on June 1 of each year, and the testimony of responsible Executive Department officials before the Appropriations Committee of each House within 30 days after the budget is presented to Congress.

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5. The appointment of postmasters and rural carriers would be divorced from politics.
6. The establishment of a Bill of Rights for committees that would require announcement of record votes, permit the majority to compel the filing of a report or a bill, prohibit the use of proxies, and require the printing of committee rules at the beginning of each session.

The Republican Members of the House of Representatives long have been interested in Congressional reform. At the outset of the 89th Congress, a task force of the House Republicans on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing was appointed to study the matter of Congressional reform in depth. As a result of the work of this task force, a book entitled "We Propose: A Modern Congress" has been published. The conclusions and recommendations contained in this book were presented in full to the Joint Committee and many of the recommendations of the committee stemmed from the work of the task force.

We believe that the Lobbying Act of 1946 needs strengthening. Twenty years of experience has exposed a number of flaws in the present provisions. However, the Joint Committee was unable to consider this important problem in the depth and detail that is required and which should be afforded by the appropriate legislative committee. For example, this legislation fails completely to address itself to the problem of Executive Branch lobbying. Although the United States Code specifically prohibits the use of appropriated monies to influence Members of Congress "to favor or oppose, by vote or otherwise, any legislation or appropriation by Congress," substantial sums have been used for this purpose. In the past, long and detailed telegrams have been sent by Executive Department officials to Members of Congress urging their support of certain legislation. Similarly, long distance calls have been made and Members have been personally canvassed regarding their intentions with respect to a particular bill. The loophole that has been read into the present law to permit this type of activity must be corrected.

The expenditure of funds for the carrying-on of the federal government's activities and programs must be controlled and audited by the Congressional appropriation process. Under present procedures and practices, Congress has been handicapped and unable to fully perform its historic role in this important area. Information from the Executive has frequently been confusing rather than enlightening. Congress, limited as to staff and access to pertinent information, has been at the mercy of the Executive Department fiscal officers. All too often, Congress has tended to consider the President's Budget request in a perfunctory manner. This is particularly true when the same political party controls both Congress and the White House. Unless the Congressional budgetary process is strengthened, there is a real danger that the fiscal power of this country will be exercised by the Executive rather than by the Constitutionally designated representative of the people.

Under the Constitution, Congress is the First Branch of Government. It is the central institution of the American Republic. In recent years, the enactment of a mass of open-ended legislation that grants broad and unrestrained power to the Executive Department has created an escalating bureaucracy that is in no way responsible to the voters of the Country. To restore the balance that is needed in our government, Congress must be revitalized.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 p.m.--  
Thursday, August 31, 1967

STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

Placed in the Congressional Record Thursday, August 31, 1967.

At the opening of this session, January 19, 1967, Senator Dirksen and I presented a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union. In my domestic portion of this presentation I outlined a 40-point program of constructive Republican proposals for consideration of the 90th Congress. (List attached.)

Thirty of these proposals were in the area of Republican alternatives to the tired Democratic approaches of the 1930's, reflecting philosophical and practical political differences. Ten were in the vital area of national security, where there is substantial agreement between knowledgeable Democrats and Republicans on key defense committees but very wide disagreement between Congress and the Executive Branch.

In reviewing the record of this Congress between the Lincoln's Birthday and the Labor Day recesses, in which the bulk of the legislative workload is usually done, Republicans can be gratified by the fact that most of our national security proposals have received bipartisan backing and approval in the Armed Services, Merchant Marine, Joint Atomic Energy and Appropriations committees from the whole House of Representatives. But the President and his Secretary of Defense continue to resist some of these recommendations, including the ever-more-urgent need to get going on an Anti-Ballistic-Missile Defense system.

Among the 30 practical, problem-solving Republican legislative proposals outside the defense field, the House has completed action on only eight, one of which bears a Republican label (the Cramer Anti-Riot Bill) and one of which was belatedly embraced by President Johnson (Restoration of the Investment Tax Credit.)

The other six House actions (though some have not passed the Senate) bear strong Republican imprints and embody the sentiments of a great majority of our citizens on matters deeply and directly concerning them. They are:

--Creation of a House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct,  
which would never have been approved except for the insistence of  
Republican members -- notably some of the 59 newly elected last

(more)

November -- in the wake of Democratic scandals in the Powell, Dodd and still-pending cases.

--A greatly improved and strengthened Social Security bill, increasing benefits to help our senior citizens resist the ravages of "Great Society" inflation, and providing needed new direction and constructive state control of welfare programs.

--A balanced package of crime prevention and law enforcement legislation, including the previously mentioned anti-riot bill, a companion bill guaranteeing Federal protection to civil rights workers in lawful exercise of Constitutional rights, amendments to the Law Enforcement Assistance Act strengthening the role of the States and local governments in upgrading law enforcement as a career, and establishing a National Institute of Law Enforcement for the dissemination of the latest methods of police science.

--Long overdue legislation giving veterans of the Vietnam War equal benefits with veterans of other conflicts, and increasing benefits to veterans' widows and children to keep up with rising costs of living.

Some progress or partial success can be reported on eight more of my Republican State of the Union proposals, so that we have made visible strides thus far in this session on 16 of the 30 non-defense programs.

1. Under constant pressure from Republican members, both in committee and on the floor, the House so far has trimmed the President's budget requests by about \$4 billion, although it has rejected additional economy efforts by the minority in many instances. Republican efforts to have the President submit a revised budget have been blocked, but the Administration has admitted that its initial estimates were unrealistic.

2. The Republican principle of rejecting categorical Federal aid, with its ever-burgeoning Washington bureaucracy and inability to adapt to local conditions, is winning converts daily. While our alternative of revenue sharing with the States and local governments has not been accepted across the board, the principle prevailed in the final House version of the Elementary and Secondary

(more)

Education Act and the Republican-amended Law Enforcement Assistance Act, and may still be applied to important pending legislation such as the comprehensive Health and Poverty bills.

3. The bipartisan Clean Elections and Campaign Reform bill (Ashmore-Goodell) now under consideration by the House Administration committee embodies the major Republican recommendations in this important area which demands action before the 1968 campaign year.

4. The Senate has effectively pigeonholed the Long Amendment calling for financing of national political campaigns through a checkoff of individual income tax dollars, which Republicans opposed.

5. Participation Sales as a devious device of deficit financing was not repealed, as we proposed, but the Debt Ceiling bill finally approved by the House does require honest reporting of such borrowings in future budgets.

6. The imaginative Republican plan for home ownership by low income Americans advanced in the Widnall-Percy bill has received attention in both Senate and House committees and is in some danger of being kidnapped by the Johnson Administration.

7. Our call for tax incentives to encourage reduction of air and water pollution was partially answered by restoration of the investment tax credit, though more action in this area is under study by Republican task forces.

8. Although the Republican reform package for the District of Columbia government was approved by the D. C. committee, the House rejected it in favor of the President's reorganization plan. However, Rep. Ancher Nelson's proposals for an elected school board and a delegate in the House of Representatives may yet win separate consideration.

There remain 14 of my 30 January 19 State of the Union proposals in the non-defense domestic category, and one of the ten in the area of national security, upon which no action has been taken by the House under its present Democratic control.

Republicans regret that no action has been taken on their proposal for a bipartisan, blue ribbon commission of the nation's best experts to re-examine our short and long-range national defense posture.

(more)

Among the most urgently-needed and possibly stalled programs are the bipartisan Congressional Reorganization bill, which has passed the Senate, and which under Republican recommendations would include an investigative committee controlled by the minority party.

Others pending in the House include the Opportunity Crusade which Republicans would substitute for the mismanaged Poverty War, and the Human Investment Act which also seeks to enlist private enterprise in job training programs.

Nothing has been finally done by this Congress on the subject of fair and equitable division of political time by radio and television, safeguards against unauthorized wiretapping with defined permissive limits in the public interest, prevention of national emergency strikes (except the stopgap action on the rail strike), and streamlining the Executive Branch through another Hoover-type Commission, all Republican-sponsored proposals.

Considering that we are still the minority by a 31-vote margin, I am encouraged that Republicans in the House have been able to accomplish as much as we have in translating the mandate of the American people last November into actual accomplishment, both through our increased strength on committees and on the floor. Certainly the vital legislative process has been restored in the 90th Congress and its advantages over the rubber-stamp record of the lopsided 89th Congress already are apparent. It remains obvious, however, that to really enact a constructive Republican program it will be necessary to win a majority in the House of Representatives next year. We are building a good record upon which to do just that.

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DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS IN JANUARY 1967 REPUBLICAN "STATE OF THE UNION"  
(Listed in order of mention in Ford speech)

1. Restore Investment Tax Credit
  2. Repeal Participation Sales
  3. Cut Non-essential Spending;  
Revise President's Budget
  4. Tax and Revenue Sharing; Block Grants
  5. National Commission on Urban  
Living
  6. District of Columbia Reforms
  7. Tax Credits for Higher Education  
Costs
  8. Improve Social Security & Increase  
Benefits
  9. Equalize Vietnam Veterans Benefits
  10. Revamp Poverty War--Opportunity  
Crusade
  11. Human Investment Act to Expand  
Job Training
  12. Home Ownership for Low-Income  
Families
  13. Executive Branch Reforms--Hoover-type  
Commission
  14. Merit System for Postmasters
  15. Fair Farm Prices in Marketplace
  16. Study National Emergency Strike Laws
  17. Congressional Reorganization
  18. House Ethics Committee
  19. Investigating Committee under Minority  
Control
  20. Clean Elections & Campaign Reform  
Law
  21. Repeal Long Amendment for  
Federal Financing of Major  
Party Campaigns
  22. \$100 Tax Deduction for Political  
Contributions
  23. Electoral College Reform
  24. Fair and Equitable Political Time  
on TV-Radio
  25. Forbid Interstate Travel to Incite  
Riots
  26. Protect Lawful Civil Rights  
Workers
  27. Safeguards on Wiretapping & Eves-  
dropping
  28. Curb Air and Water Pollution
  29. Upgrade Law Enforcement as Career
  30. National Institute of Law  
Enforcement
- NATIONAL SECURITY PROPOSALS
31. Blue Ribbon Commission to Re-  
examine national defense policies
  32. Modernize U.S. Navy and Nuclear  
propulsion
  33. Counter Threat of Enemy Missile  
Submarines
  34. Revive and Rebuild American Merchant  
Marine
  35. Upgrade Independent Maritime  
Administration
  36. Develop Advanced Manned Strategic  
Bomber
  37. Develop Improved Manned Inter-  
ceptor
  38. Strengthen Reserve and National  
Guard
  39. Eliminate Inequities in Draft
  40. Speed Anti-Ballistic Missile  
Defense



4 December 1967



U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

REP. JOHN J. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 140 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

## HOUSE REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS - FIRST SESSION, 90TH CONGRESS

In the First Session of the 90th Congress, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have compiled a remarkable record of achievement and progress. In Committee and on the House Floor, many legislative measures that update existing programs or establish a new and sound approach to problem solving at the Federal level have been developed or substantially improved through Republican efforts.

On January 19, 1967, the Minority Leader, Gerald R. Ford, presented the domestic portion of the Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union. In this Appraisal, there was presented a 40-point program of constructive Republican proposals for consideration by the 90th Congress. Thirty of these proposals were in the area of Republican alternatives to the tired and outdated approaches of the Johnson Administration and the Democratic Congressional Majority. This was admittedly an ambitious program, but it was a program that responded to the needs of the 60's and the challenges of the 70's.

Since the first of the year, the House Republican Policy Committee has held 29 meetings and adopted 30 policy statements. The discussion at these meetings and the action taken by the Committee have played an important part in formulating sound legislation and fostering the broadest possible public understanding of the Republican proposals. In the 30 policy statements, the Policy Committee: (a) Recommended ten affirmative measures to implement Republican programs; (b) Supported thirteen legislative proposals that provide solutions to major problems or basic improvements in present laws; (c) Proposed constructive changes and substantive improvements to five key measures; and (d) Twice opposed Debt Ceiling increases that failed to deal with nonessential spending and greater budget deficits.

In the 24 cases where a roll call vote was taken on the amendment or position supported by the Policy Committee, 96.1 percent of the Republican Members voting, voted in agreement with the Policy Committee. And in 18 cases, the bill or amendment supported by the Policy Committee was adopted by the House of Representatives.

The Policy Committee statements, and the positions that they contain, have been addressed to the vital issues and problems that presently challenge this country. They reflect hours of study and provide specific and workable suggestions for improving old programs or initiating needed new legislation. They express a determination that the basic changes and improvements demanded by the American people in the 1966 election shall be given at least a fair hearing and, if at all possible, enacted into law by this Congress.

## FIGHTING INFLATION AND WILD GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The First Session of the 90th Congress has witnessed a continuing battle by House Republicans against the spending policies of the Johnson Administration - spending policies that fed the inflationary fires, skyrocketed interest rates and dramatically increased an already swollen budgetary deficit.

The budget for fiscal 1958 totaled \$73.3 billion. Today the Federal government is spending at an annual rate in excess of \$140 billion. In the 5-year period of the Johnson Administration, the Federal government has spent \$60.487 billion more than it has taken in. The nondefense spending by the Federal government in 1960 was \$48.6 billion. The estimated nondefense spending for fiscal year 1963 is \$95.6 billion. And now, the Administration's January 1967 forecast of an \$8.7 billion deficit for fiscal 1968 has been shot upward by President Johnson to a staggering \$30 to \$35 billion.

The second and third installments on the grandiose Great Society programs that were hastily enacted by President Johnson and his rubber-stamp Democratic majority in the 89th Congress are now due. The combination of Great Society spending and increased defense expenditures has resulted in an inflationary spiral that has reached an annual rate of 4.4% and the cost of living has risen 12.6% since January 1961. Key interest rates are soaring out of control and may zoom to heights not reached since the 19th Century.

Despite the seriousness of the present situation, the Johnson Administration refused to cut back on nonessential spending and establish spending priorities. It waited until August 3, 1967 to request a tax increase and then offered dubious promises of future frugality. Only recently has President Johnson finally faced up to the fact that "the cruelest tax of all is the inflation tax." It was not until November 29, 1967, eleven days after the fateful devaluation of the British pound, that a specific plan for expenditure reduction was submitted to Congress by the Johnson Administration.

In an effort to stem the inflationary tide, House Republicans led the fight to cut nondefense spending. An increase in the public debt ceiling that sanctioned the Johnson Administration's dangerous and irresponsible approach to Federal spending and Budget deficits was opposed on three different occasions. On March 22, 1967 the Policy Committee urged the adoption of a Republican resolution that would return the 1968 Budget to the President and request that he indicate the places and amounts where he believes that reductions can be made. This resolution was pigeon-holed by the Democratic majority. However, a Republican proposal that imposed a \$131.5 billion limitation on government spending, except for added expenditures that might be necessary for Vietnam, and could lead to a spending reduction of at least \$5 billion, was adopted by the House of Representatives on October 18, 1967. And, as a result of Republican efforts, approximately \$4 billion has been pared from the Administration's request for new spending authority.

Republicans have made it abundantly clear that if the President is sincere about wanting a tax increase, he must take the first step toward reestablishing his fiscal credibility. He must cooperate in making a significant cut in the expenditure level of this government. (See February 8, March 22, June 7 and 21 and October 18, 1967 Policy Committee Statements).

#### THE CRISIS IN THE CITIES

Although billions and billions of dollars have been spent by an ever increasing Washington Bureaucracy, solutions have not been found to the many problems that face urban America. It is interesting to note that even liberal Democrats such as Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and now Director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Affairs, has stated that: "We must abandon the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington."



The Great Society program that is built around the concept of the categorical grants administered by huge federal bureaucracies has not delivered the goods. Waste, inefficiency and few real results have been the rule rather than the exception. In an effort to counter this trend, the Republican Members of Congress have advocated a system of block grants that encourages maximum state coordination and permits the states and localities to establish priorities and run their own programs with a minimum of federal interference.

The recently enacted Comprehensive Health Act provides one of the best examples of what can be done under the block grant approach. This Republican-sponsored and supported Act consolidated 16 separately administered public health programs and permitted the states to develop plans, establish priorities and coordinate local activities. Under this approach, the priority health problems in each State and community whether they stem from communicable disease, narcotics or rat infestation can be identified and programs designed to combat the problems established and properly funded. The bill will provide more than \$900 million for comprehensive health grants to the various States during the next three years. (See September 19, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

The House passed Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act as it was improved and perfected by Republican amendments, employs the block grant approach. It provides maximum state and local control over law enforcement and minimum federal interference. The Republican initiated and supported Air Quality Act encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by States. And the House adopted Meat Inspection Act establishes a viable Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program.

The principle of block grants also prevailed in the final House version of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In this legislation, a portion of the massive educational program has been returned to State control and planning. (See April 19 and August 2, 1967 Policy Committee Statements).

#### PUBLIC SAFETY - ASSISTING STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

This year alone urban rioting has caused more than \$100,000,000 in property damage. Cities, counties and states have spent millions in overtime for police and fire departments and calling up of National Guard units. More than 16,000 persons have been arrested during outbreaks of violence in 67 cities, more than 3,200 injured and 85 killed.

The current Uniform Crime Reports reveal that serious crime in the United States increased 11 percent in 1966 when compared with 1965. All Crime Index offenses showed substantial increases in volume. Crimes of violence were up 11 percent with a 9 percent increase in murder, 10 percent in aggravated assault, 10 percent in forcible rape, and 14 percent in robbery.

These statistics starkly dramatize the crisis in law enforcement in this country. The very ability of government to maintain law and order and to provide personal safety has been challenged as never before. Local law enforcement, criminal justice, techniques of correction and rehabilitation must be updated and improved.

In response to this challenge, Republican-sponsored legislation that would impose criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite a riot was enacted by the House of Representatives. This legislation represents the legitimate exercise of federal power under authority based on the Commerce Clause of the Constitution. Historically, certain types of conduct have been prohibited by federal statute when the facilities of interstate commerce are used. The Republican-sponsored anti-riot legislation follows this pattern of asserting Federal authority. The provisions of the bill supplement not supersede local law enforcement. By assuring federal jurisdiction over out-of-state inciters, state and local authorities are assisted in keeping the peace and protecting the public safety. (See July 12, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

Republicans also supported the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967. This legislation establishes a federal program to provide assistance to local law enforcement agencies. Key Republican amendments offered and adopted on the Floor of the House materially strengthened this bill. These amendments, which were supported by the National Governor's Conference, curb the unlimited power of the Attorney General and provide essential state coordination and control. Each state is authorized to develop a state-wide comprehensive law enforcement plan and establish a state agency to administer the plan. Once this plan is accepted, all federal assistance goes to the state agency which in turn distributes the aid to local law enforcement agencies. (See August 2, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

#### ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM

On August 9, 1967 the Republican Policy Committee urged the Johnson Administration to provide the American people with an effective anti-ballistic missile system. In calling for immediate action, the Committee noted: (a) The Soviets have been building and deploying their ABM system for some time. (b) The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously support the position that this country should now proceed to deploy. (c) Congress has appropriated sufficient funds for this purpose. (d) The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned, "A low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970's. At present we do not have an effective anti-ballistic missile system which could repel such a suicidal (for the Chinese) but nevertheless possible strike."

On September 19, 1967, the Johnson Administration finally heeded these warnings and announced that the United States this year would start building a \$5 billion missile defense system. The importance of this decision to go forward with the establishment of a defense against missiles has been underlined by the recent announcement that the Soviet has developed a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System that would cut the warning time of targets in America from 15 to 3 minutes. (See August 9, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

#### S.O.S. - S.O.S. - THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Deeply concerned that the Johnson Administration has permitted the American Maritime Industry to drift into a major crisis, the Policy Committee issued a call for immediate action and endorsed legislation sponsored by the Republican Members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee that would establish an independent Maritime Administration. It is both ironic and deeply disturbing that in a period

of continued American decline the other Maritime nations of the world are building up their merchant fleets. In 1963, the Russians constructed 115 ships while America launched 31. Between 1959 and 1963, the American fleet increased by 20 fewer ships than the Russians produced in the single year 1963.

In response to the Republican call to action, legislation establishing an independent Federal Maritime Administration was enacted by the House of Representatives. This legislation can facilitate the development of a forward-looking Maritime Program and help to bring an end to the present period of neglect, confusion and inactivity. Unless our shipbuilding effort is increased, our defense commitments throughout the world will be in jeopardy. Our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson Administration has scuttled. (See May 3 and October 11, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

#### CONGRESSIONAL REFORM AND REORGANIZATION

Unless Congress is strengthened and new procedures and techniques developed, the historic roll of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the Executive Branch may be dangerously diluted. The enactment of a mass of open-ended legislation has created an escalating bureaucracy that is in no way responsible to the voters of the country. Congress, limited as to staff and access to pertinent information, cannot adequately audit the mass of Federal activities and programs. A spittoon approach to the problems of a computerized society is no longer adequate. Early in the Session, the Policy Committee advocated legislation that would update and modernize Congress. This legislation would:

1. Establish a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations with continuing authority to study the structure and procedures of Congress and to recommend additional reforms and changes.
2. Protect the rights of the minority through the provision of additional committee staff and the right to present minority views and reports.
3. Authorize measures designed to assist Members of Congress in the performance of their Congressional duties.
4. Implement fiscal controls and budgetary reforms that would include a greater utilization of the General Accounting Office.
5. Establish a Bill of Rights for Congressional Committees.

The Policy Committee also urged the immediate establishment of a select committee on Congressional Standards and Conduct which would be provided with the authority to establish a code of ethics, investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action and report violations of law to the proper local and State authorities. Legislation has been enacted and a code of ethics is now being drafted. This is an important first step in recapturing the public confidence and respect that has been lost through the highly publicized allegations of misconduct against a few Members of Congress. (See February 8 and May 10, 1967 Policy Committee Statements).

## EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION

As a result of hastily enacted and often times competing programs that have been stacked one upon another, it is impossible for State and local officials to know what Federal programs are available for what purpose or even where to go for specific information. Moreover, old departments and agencies created and organized to meet the problems of the first half of the Twentieth Century are now woefully antiquated. In order to provide a careful and thoughtful study well above partisan politics and interagency power fights, the Policy Committee recommended the establishment of a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch similar to the first and second Hoover Commission.

This Commission would be empowered to conduct an in-depth study of the Federal Government's bureaucratic sprawl. It could probe a War on Poverty that now includes more than 260 Federal programs. An answer might even be found to a mushrooming Federal bureaucracy that defies a Presidential order to cut back by adding 192,000 employees to the rolls. Recently, the Johnson Administration has taken an important first step by announcing that it too will recommend the establishment of a Hoover-type Commission to help weed out obsolete government programs. (See February 23, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

## RESPONDING TO PUBLIC DEMANDS FOR CLEAN ELECTIONS

For some time, there has been general agreement that the laws dealing with election campaigns should be revised and updated. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act was enacted in 1925. The Hatch Act was passed 27 years ago. Recent studies such as the 1962 Report of President Kennedy's Commission on Campaign Costs reveal that present laws invite evasion and are filled with loopholes. Unless there is basic reform, public confidence in the election process will be impaired.

At the start of the 90th Congress, the Policy Committee urged the House Leadership to schedule the Election Reform Act as one of the first pieces of legislation to receive Floor consideration. Thereafter, with unanimous Republican support, an Election Reform Bill, H.R. 11233, was reported by the Subcommittee of the House Administration Committee on June 27, 1967. This is sound legislation. Through the incorporation of the following major Republican provisions, honest reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures and streamlined enforcement procedures would be ensured.

1. A five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission is established to receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures.
2. The Commission has been granted full and complete authority to enforce the provisions of the Act. It is also authorized to make reports and statements available for public inspection and to prepare and publish summaries and reports.
3. Candidates for Federal office, and political committees supporting such candidates, that accept contributions or make expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in any calendar year, are required to report contributions and expenditures.
4. Donations by an individual of more than \$5,000 to any candidate or any committee supporting such candidate in any calendar year are prohibited.

5. Campaign contributions by political action committees financially supported by a corporation, trade association or labor organization are regulated.

6. Conventions, primaries and party caucuses have been placed under the reporting and disclosure provisions of the bill.

7. The disclosure of gifts or honorariums of more than \$100 is required of candidates for the House and Senate as well as incumbents.

At a series of Committee meetings, Republican Members consistently urged that this important legislation be reported so that it could receive early Floor consideration. However, their efforts were met by delaying tactics and late in the Session, the Election Reform Bill did not even appear on the Administration's list of MUST legislation. Certainly, Congressional action cannot be delayed much longer if this legislation is to be in effect and operative during the 1968 campaigns. It must receive early consideration in the Second Session of Congress. The American public demands and deserves an election process that commands respect and confidence.

#### SKILL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

The Republican Members of Congress have long been interested in establishing a sound program that would solve this Nation's manpower problems by upgrading and developing the skills of our labor force. The Republican effort in this area began with Operation Employment in 1961-62. In this study by the Republican Policy Committee, leading authorities in the fields of education and on-the-job training were contacted for their comments and recommendations. The results of this study were incorporated into the Republican Proposed Manpower and Development Training Act of 1962 which was adopted in great part and enacted into law by the 37th Congress. This Act has proven to be an important step in a greatly expanded war on unemployment and underemployment. For example, from August 1962 to April 1967 there were 535,000 trainees enrolled in MDTA institutional training and 163,000 trainees enrolled in MDTA on-the-job training.

#### HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT

Despite the efforts that have been made under the MDTA and other costly Federal training programs, there remain today an estimated 2.7 million Americans who are chronically unemployed and hundreds of thousands of others who are underemployed. In order to meet this need, the Republicans in the House of Representatives have urged the immediate consideration of the Human Investment Act of 1967. This Act is designed to encourage on-the-job training by private industry and skill development by individuals. It would offer a tax credit toward certain specified expenses of programs designed to train prospective employees and to retrain current employees for more demanding jobs. It is a proven fact that the most effective employee trainer in the nation is private enterprise. The Human Investment Act would encourage employers throughout this country to develop and implement additional training programs that will equip thousands and thousands of individuals to cash in on the job opportunities that will be provided by the many technological changes and advances that are being developed and implemented by American industry.

## HELPING THOSE ON WELFARE

One of the most perplexing problems facing this country today is the welfare problem. We have second and third generation welfare families. Their business is welfare and the payments are so good that they cannot afford to go to work. A way must be found to get these individuals trained, into private employment and off the welfare rolls.

An important first step in the solution of this terribly complicated problem has been taken by the House of Representatives during this session of Congress. The House-adopted Social Security Act Amendments make a number of important changes in the program that provides Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In the last 10 years, this program has grown from 646,000 families that included 2.4 million recipients to 1.2 million families and nearly 5 million recipients. It is estimated that the amount of Federal funds allocated to this program will increase from \$1.46 billion to \$1.84 billion over the next five years unless constructive and concerted action is taken. In order to reduce the AFDC rolls by restoring more families to employment and self-reliance, the States would be required to:

1. Establish a program for each AFDC adult or older child not attending school which would equip them for work and place them in a job.
2. Establish community work and training programs throughout the State by July 1, 1969.
3. Provide that protective payments and vendor payments be made where appropriate to protect the welfare of children.
4. Furnish day-care services and other services to make it possible for adult members of the family to take training and employment.
5. Have an earnings exemption to provide incentives for work by AFDC recipients.

(See August 16, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

## UPDATING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

During the 89th Congress and again in the January Republican State of the Union Message, the Republican Leadership in the House of Representatives called for an immediate increase in social security benefits. Due to the Great Society inflation, many of our elderly citizens have been faced with a serious situation. Last year alone, the cost of living rose 3.3 percent. Cash benefits fell 7 percentage points behind the consumer price index. It is unfortunate that the Administration delayed action on this legislation for so long. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices.

The Republican supported Social Security Bill that has been adopted by the House, provides an across-the-board increase of 12 1/2 percent, increases the amount an individual may earn and still get full benefits, strengthens the benefit formula and improves the health insurance benefits.

Under the provisions of this bill, the amount that a person may earn and still get his benefits would be increased from \$1,500 to \$1,680 and the amount to which the \$1 for \$2 reduction would apply, would range from \$1,680 to \$2,880 a year. The amount a person may earn in one month would be increased from \$125 to \$140. Also, the number of days of hospitalization would be increased from 90 to 120 days. A patient would be permitted to submit his itemized bill directly to the insurance carrier for payment. And a physician no longer would be required to certify that a patient requires hospitalization at the time he enters or that a patient requires hospital out-patient services. (See August 16, 1967 Policy Committee Statements).

#### IMPROVING FEDERAL AND STATE MEAT INSPECTION

The Republican-supported Meat Inspection Act, establishes a cooperative Federal-State inspection system under which the Federal government assists the States in meeting their responsibilities to provide high quality meat inspection. Federal cooperation and assistance to the States includes program planning and technical and laboratory assistance as well as financial aid up to 50% of the total cost of the State program.

The prohibition against counterfeiting, forgery and other unauthorized use of official certificates, labels, and marking devices is clarified. The authority of the Department of Agriculture to regulate the marking, labeling and packaging of carcasses, meats and meat food products is clearly defined. The same standards that apply to meat and meat products produced and processed within the United States is extended to imported meat.

This legislation does not preempt the jurisdiction of the States over intra-state commerce. An amendment that would have virtually eliminated State inspection programs and assigned the responsibility of State and local health protection, at an additional annual cost of \$31.2 million, to the Federal government was rejected.

Under the provisions of this Act, a viable Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program is established. New protection is afforded to the consumer. This legislation strengthens and improves a meat packing and processing industry that has \$16 billion in annual gross sales and that provides \$13 billion in yearly sales of livestock to the American farmer. (See October 31, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

#### LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF OUR AIR HAS A HIGH PRIORITY

The Republican-supported Air Quality Act of 1967 encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It provides \$428 million over a three year period for air control research, studies, planning and grants to States and air pollution agencies.

Air pollution is no longer just a threat, it is a present menace to the health and well-being of the American people. Approximately 130 million tons of pollutants are discharged annually into the nation's atmosphere, an average of 1,400 pounds for each American. This pollution is a by-product of our highly developed economy. It stems from the rising number of motor vehicles, and from the trend toward

urbanization which concentrates the highest levels of pollution in the most populated areas. Economic and mechanical progress has meant the deterioration of our precious air supply. Smog, damage to health and property, and even death have resulted from the pollution of our air.

For some time, the Republican Party has recognized that steps must be taken to improve this nation's knowledge and technical capability to meet the air pollution problem. In his 1955 State of the Union Address, President Eisenhower urged the enactment of air pollution legislation. With the support of Republicans of both Houses of Congress, the first legislation in this field was enacted by the 84th Congress. The Air Quality Act materially strengthens and improves this basic legislation. (See October 25, 1967 Policy Committee Statement).

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENTS AND FLOOR VOTES

1. Feb. 8, 1967 - Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration and enactment of the ELECTION REFORM ACT OF 1967 which has been sponsored and introduced by Republican Members. This Act would establish a five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission which would receive, investigate and audit campaign contributions and expenditure reports and statements.
2. Feb. 8, 1967 - Adopted a statement urging the immediate establishment of a Select Committee on STANDARDS & CONDUCT. This twelve-member Committee would be empowered to recommend rules and regulations to insure proper standards of conduct by Members and officers and employees of the House. Also, it would have the authority to investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action and report violations of law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
H.Res. 418 (April 13, 1967)				
Final Passage:	175	0	12	100.0%

3. Feb. 8, 1967 - Opposed H.R. 4573 which would raise the DEBT CEILING to \$336 billion without making certain basic budgetary reforms. Urged the adoption of an amendment which would include as a part of the public debt, participation certificates sold as full faith and credit obligations. Also, urged the adoption of an amendment which would permit the Secretary of Treasury to save as much as \$50 million in annual interest payments by issuing up to \$6 billion long-term Treasury obligations on the same interest basis as short-term obligations.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Motion to Recommit:	153	23	11	86.9%
Final Passage:	2	173	12	98.8%



4. Feb. 23, 1967 - Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration and enactment of legislation sponsored and introduced by Republican Members that would establish a Commission on the REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT (new Hoover Commission).
5. Mar. 8, 1967 - Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration of legislation introduced by Republican Members that would eliminate political favoritism and insure the recognition and promotion of able and experienced career POSTAL EMPLOYEES.
6. Mar. 15, 1967 - Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration of THE HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT OF 1967. This Republican-sponsored legislation would encourage American business to invest in our number one resource - the American working man and woman. It would stimulate the initiation and expansion of job training and retraining programs by providing a tax credit for certain expenses of such programs.
7. Mar. 22, 1967 - Commended the Republican Members of the Joint Economic Committee for their excellent analysis and review of the 1967 ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT. Urged the enactment of a Republican Resolution that would return the 1968 Budget to the President and request that he indicate the places and amounts where he believes substantial reductions may be made.
8. Apr. 5, 1967 - Urged the updating and revision of the COPYRIGHT LAW, H.R. 2512. This law would insure that authors receive the encouragement they need to create and the remuneration they deserve for their creations.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	182	1	4	99.4%

9. Apr. 5, 1967 - Urged the creation of a bipartisan Congressional Committee on CAPTIVE NATIONS. There is an obligation to promote the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever they may be denied or threatened. If we are to consider building bridges to the East, such an effort should start with the people in the Captive Nations.
10. Apr. 19, 1967 - Urged basic reforms in the ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT. Under the present law, Federal support intended to improve Elementary and Secondary Education has been used to undermine State and local initiative and responsibility. Urged an amendment to provide block grants to the States for educational purposes. Such grants would replace the multiplicity of categorical grant-in-aid programs now in operation.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Block Grant Amendment:	154	26	7	85.5%

11. Apr. 26, 1967 - Adopted a statement regarding CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING which noted that the establishment of precise criteria for Congressional Redistricting is a matter for Congress. If Congress does not establish guidelines for the States to follow, the districts in 22 States or 297 Congressional districts may be ruled invalid. H.R. 2508 would provide Congressional standards for the States to follow in the establishment of districts for the election of representatives

to Congress.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Motion to Recommit:	158	3	26	98.1%
Final Passage:	141	15	31	90.3%

12. May 3, 1967 - Urged the prompt enactment of legislation to prohibit the deliberate and defiant DESECRATION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
H.R. 10480				
Final Passage:	175	0	12	100.0%

13. May 3, 1967 - Adopted a statement that warns of a national crisis in the AMERICAN MARITIME INDUSTRY that has been triggered by the neglect, confusion and general inability of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to meet the mounting maritime problem. Urged the revitalization and modernization of our shipbuilding industry so that the demands of the future can be met. Called for the development of a meaningful maritime policy that will incorporate a forward-looking ship replacement program.

14. May 10, 1967 - Adopted a statement which urged prompt action on the CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION LEGISLATION - S.355. The awesome problems of today and the challenges of the 70's demand an efficient and effective Congress. Unless Congress is strengthened, there is grave danger that the historic role of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the Executive may be dangerously diluted.

15. May 24, 1967 - Adopted a statement supporting the MILITARY SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1967 - S.1432. This legislation updates and improves the present Selective Service System in a number of important respects. It establishes uniform criteria for future undergraduate college student deferments.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	164	0	22	100.0%

16. June 7, 1967 - Adopted a statement in opposition to H.R. 10328 which would increase the PUBLIC DEBT CEILING by \$29 billion. Urged a cutback in nonessential spending and honest reporting of anticipated government expenditures. This must be done if we are to avoid a run-away economy that may lead to government control of wages, prices and credit as well as further increases in taxes.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	0	176	11	100.0%

17. June 14, 1967 - Adopted a statement on the RAILROAD LABOR DISPUTE LEGISLATION - H.J.RES. 559 pointing out that due to the vacillating performance of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, the country is faced with a tragic situation. Legislation must be enacted for in this period of international tensions and war, a chaotic nationwide railway strike cannot be permitted.

NO RECORD VOTE

18. June 21, 1967 - Opposed H.R. 10867 which would increase the borrowing authority of the Treasury to a maximum of \$365 billion. Urged the continuation of the present \$336 billion debt limit. This would be adequate to finance the government expenditures through September 30, 1967 and would afford the Johnson-Humphrey Administration another opportunity to review and reassess its fiscal policies and forward to Congress up-to-date and credible information regarding anticipated expenditures and revenues.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Motion to Recommit:	169	10	7	94.4%
Final Passage:	0	176	10	100.0%

19. July 12, 1967 - Urged the prompt enactment of ANTI-RIOT LEGISLATION, H.R. 421. This Republican-sponsored legislation would impose criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite a riot.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	180	4	2	97.8%

20. July 19, 1967 - Urged the House-Senate Conference on the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATION BILL to accept the key Republican amendments which were adopted on the Floor of the House. These amendments reduce the funds requested by NASA by \$201.4 million, establish an independent safety panel in NASA and require the Space Administration on its own initiative to keep Congress fully and currently informed of problem areas in the space effort.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Motion to Recommit:	157	20	9	88.7%

21. Aug. 2, 1967 - Adopted a statement with respect to the LAW ENFORCEMENT & CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1967, H.R. 5037 which urged the adoption of three key amendments. The States must be given the authority to coordinate applications for assistance and distribute aid to local law enforcement activities. An appropriate allocation formula should be adopted that would limit the Attorney General's unchecked discretion to distribute funds. A National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice which would be authorized to establish regional training institutes should be established.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Amendment that would grant authority to States:	172	4	10	98.8%
Final Passage:	173	1	12	99.4%

22. Aug. 9, 1967 - Urged the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to provide the American people with an effective ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM. The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously support the position that this country should deploy an Anti-Ballistic Missile System. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned, "A low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970's."

23. Aug. 16, 1967 - Supported H.R. 12080, the SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1967. This bill provides an across-the-board increase of 12 1/2 percent, increases the amount an individual may earn and still get full benefits, strengthens the benefit formula, improves the health insurance benefits, and requires the development of programs under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) that would insure that individuals receiving aid would be trained to enter the labor force as soon as possible.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	182	1	3	99.4%

24. Sept. 13, 1967 - Adopted a statement with respect to the APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENT OF 1967 AND AMENDMENTS TO THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965 - S.602 which urged that the Appalachian Region be retained in its present size, that the authorization be restricted to its current amount and that the amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act be deleted.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Amendment to reduce authorization by \$50 million:	146	14	26	91.2%
Motion to Recommit:	143	17	26	89.3%

25. Sept. 19, 1967 - Supported the PARTNERSHIP FOR HEALTH AMENDMENTS OF 1967 - H.P. 6418. This Republican sponsored and supported proposal provides \$892 million in comprehensive health grants to the States during the next three years. With these funds each State and locality will be able to zero in on its most serious public health problem whether it is due to rat infestation or some other cause.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	172	4	10	97.7%

26. Oct. 11, 1967 - Supported H.R. 159 which would CREATE AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL MARITIME ADMINISTRATION.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	162	5	19	97.0%

27. Oct. 18, 1967 - Adopted a statement supporting a reduction of at least \$5 billion in governmental expenditures. Urged that a spending ceiling be imposed so that the anticipated Budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 would be reduced from \$136.5 to \$131.5 billion.'

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
H.J.Res. 888 Spending Ceiling Amendment	171	9	6	95.0%

28. Oct. 25, 1967 - Supported the AIR QUALITY ACT OF 1967 - S.780. This legislation encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It provides \$362.3 million over a 3-year period for air control research, studies, planning and grants to States and air pollution agencies.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	161	0	25	100.0%

29. Oct. 31, 1967 - Supported the FEDERAL MEAT INSPECTION ACT, H.R. 12144. This legislation updates and revises the Act of March 4, 1907, the Horsemeat Act and the Imported Meat Act into a single new statute. It broadens the present meat inspection service by establishing a Federal-State Cooperative Meat Inspection Program. The Department of Agriculture is provided with authority to eliminate practices that could defraud consumers and endanger the public health.

	<u>YEA</u>	<u>NAY</u>	<u>NOT VOTING</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Final Passage:	179	1	6	99.4%

30. Nov. 8, 1967 - Urged the prompt consideration of CLEAN ELECTIONS LEGISLATION. On June 27, 1967, a bipartisan Election REform Bill, H.R. 11233 was reported by a Subcommittee of the House Administration Committee. This legislation contains the basic reforms advocated and supported by President Johnson and the Republican Congressional Leadership. With the next Presidential and Congressional elections less than one year away, Congressional action cannot be delayed if this legislation is to be in effect and operative during the 1968 Campaigns.

TOTAL AVERAGE	96.1%
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## House of Representatives

### HOUSE REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS—FIRST SESSION, 90TH CONGRESS

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in the first session of the 90th Congress, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have compiled a remarkable record of achievement and progress. In committee and on the House floor, many legislative measures that update existing programs or establish a new and sound approach to problem solving at the Federal level have been developed or substantially improved through Republican efforts.

On January 19, 1967, the minority leader, GERALD R. FORD, presented the domestic portion of the Republican appraisal of the state of the Union. In this appraisal, there was presented a 40-point program of constructive Republican proposals for consideration by the 90th Congress. Thirty of these proposals were in the area of Republican alternatives to the tired and outdated approaches of the Johnson administration and the Democratic congressional majority. This was admittedly an ambitious program, but it was a program that responded to the needs of the 1960's and the challenges of the 1970's.

Since the first of the year, the House Republican policy committee has held 29 meetings and adopted 30 policy statements. The discussion at these meetings and the action taken by the committee have played an important part in formulating sound legislation and fostering the broadest possible public understanding of the Republican proposals. In the 30 policy statements, the policy committee: First, recommended 10 affirmative measures to implement Republican programs; second, supported 13 legislative proposals that provide solutions to major problems or basic improvements in present laws; third, proposed constructive changes and substantive improvements to five key measures; and, fourth, twice opposed debt ceiling increases that failed to deal with nonessential spending and greater budget deficits.

In the 24 cases where a rollcall vote was taken on the amendment or position supported by the policy committee, 96.1 percent of the Republican Members voting, voted in agreement with the policy committee. And in 18 cases, the bill or amendment supported by the policy committee was adopted by the House of Representatives.

The policy committee statements, and the positions that they contain, have been addressed to the vital issues and problems that presently challenge this country. They reflect hours of study and provide specific and workable suggestions for improving old programs or initiating needed new legislation. They express a determination that the basic changes and improvements demanded by the American people in the 1966 election shall be given at least a fair hearing and, if at all possible, enacted into law by this Congress.

#### FIGHTING INFLATION AND WILD GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The first session of the 90th Congress has witnessed a continuing battle by House Republicans against the spending policies of the Johnson administration—spending policies that fed the inflationary fires, skyrocketed interest rates and dramatically increased an already swol-

len budgetary deficit.

The budget for fiscal 1958 totaled \$73.3 billion. Today the Federal Government is spending at an annual rate in excess of \$140 billion. In the 5-year period of the Johnson administration, the Federal Government has spent \$60.487 billion more than it has taken in. The non-defense spending by the Federal Government in 1960 was \$48.6 billion. The estimated nondefense spending for fiscal year 1968 is \$95.6 billion. And now, the administration's January 1967 forecast of an \$8.7 billion deficit for fiscal 1968 has been shot upward by President Johnson to a staggering \$30 to \$35 billion.

The second and third installments on the grandiose Great Society programs that were hastily enacted by President Johnson and his rubberstamp Democratic majority in the 89th Congress are now due. The combination of Great Society spending and increased defense expenditures has resulted in an inflationary spiral that has reached an annual rate of 4.4 percent and the cost of living has risen 12.6 percent since January 1961. Key interest rates are soaring out of control and may zoom to heights not reached since the 19th century.

Despite the seriousness of the present situation, the Johnson administration refused to cut back on nonessential spending and establish spending priorities. It waited until August 3, 1967, to request a tax increase and then offered dubious promises of future frugality. Only recently has President Johnson finally faced up to the fact that "the cruelest tax of all is the inflation tax." It was not until November 29, 1967, 11 days after the fateful devaluation of the British pound, that a specific plan for expenditure reduction was submitted to Congress by the Johnson administration.

In an effort to stem the inflationary tide, House Republicans led the fight to cut nondefense spending. An increase in the public debt ceiling that sanctioned the Johnson administration's dangerous and irresponsible approach to Federal spending and budget deficits was opposed on three different occasions. On March 22, 1967, the policy committee urged the adoption of a Republican resolution that would return the 1968 budget to the President and request that he indicate the places and amounts where he believes that reductions can be made. This resolution was pigeonholed by the Democratic majority. However, a Republican proposal that imposed a \$131.5 billion limitation on Government spending except for added expenditures that might be necessary for Vietnam, and could lead to a spending reduction of at least \$5 billion, was adopted by the House of Representatives on October 18, 1967. And, as a result of Republican efforts, approximately \$4 billion has been pared from the administration's request for new spending authority.

Republicans have made it abundantly clear that if the President is sincere about wanting a tax increase, he must take the first step toward reestablishing his fiscal credibility. He must cooperate in making a significant cut in the expenditure level of this Government—see February 8, March 22, June 7 and 21, and October 18, 1967, policy committee statements.

#### THE CRISIS IN THE CITIES

Although billions and billions of dollars have been spent by an ever-increas-

ing Washington bureaucracy, solutions have not been found to the many problems that face urban America. It is interesting to note that even liberal Democrats such as Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor and now director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Affairs, has stated that:

We must abandon the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington.

The Great Society program that is built around the concept of the categorical grants administered by huge Federal bureaucracies has not delivered the goods. Waste, inefficiency, and few real results have been the rule rather than the exception. In an effort to counter this trend, the Republican Members of Congress have advocated a system of block grants that encourages maximum State coordination and permits the States and localities to establish priorities and run their own programs with a minimum of Federal interference.

The recently enacted Comprehensive Health Act provides one of the best examples of what can be done under the block grant approach. This Republican-sponsored and supported act consolidated 16 separately administered public health programs and permitted the States to develop plans, establish priorities, and coordinate local activities. Under this approach, the priority health problems in each State and community whether they stem from communicable disease, narcotics, or rat infestation can be identified and programs designed to combat the problems established and properly funded. The bill will provide more than \$900 million for comprehensive health grants to the various States during the next 3 years. See September 19, 1967, policy committee statement.

The House-passed Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act as it was improved and perfected by Republican amendments, employs the block grant approach. It provides maximum State and local control over law enforcement and minimum Federal interference. The Republican initiated and supported Air Quality Act encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by States. And the House-adopted Meat Inspection Act establishes a viable Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program.

The principle of block grants also prevailed in the final House version of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In this legislation, a portion of the massive educational program has been returned to State control and planning. See April 19 and August 2, 1967, policy committee statements.

#### PUBLIC SAFETY—ASSISTING STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

This year alone urban rioting has caused more than \$100,000,000 in property damage. Cities, counties, and States have spent millions in overtime for police and fire departments and calling up of National Guard units. More than 16,000 persons have been arrested during outbreaks of violence in 67 cities, more than 3,200 injured and 85 killed.

The current "Uniform Crime Reports" reveal that serious crime in the United States increased 11 percent in 1966 when

compared with 1965. All crime index offenses showed substantial increases in volume. Crimes of violence were up 11 percent with a 9-percent increase in murder, 10 percent in aggravated assault, 10 percent in forcible rape, and 14 percent in robbery.

These statistics starkly dramatize the crisis in law enforcement in this country. The very ability of government to maintain law and order and to provide personal safety has been challenged as never before. Local law enforcement, criminal justice, techniques of correction and rehabilitation must be updated and improved.

In response to this challenge, Republican-sponsored legislation that would impose criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite a riot was enacted by the House of Representatives. This legislation represents the legitimate exercise of Federal power under authority based on the commerce clause of the Constitution. Historically, certain types of conduct have been prohibited by Federal statute when the facilities of interstate commerce are used. The Republican-sponsored antiriot legislation follows this pattern of asserting Federal authority. The provisions of the bill supplement not supersede local law enforcement. By assuring Federal jurisdiction over out-of-state inciters, State and local authorities are assisted in keeping the peace and protecting the public safety. See July 12, 1967, policy committee statement.

Republicans also supported the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967. This legislation establishes a Federal program to provide assistance to local law enforcement agencies. Key Republican amendments offered and adopted on the floor of the House materially strengthened this bill. These amendments, which were supported by the National Governor's Conference, curb the unlimited power of the Attorney General and provide essential State coordination and control. Each State is authorized to develop a state-wide comprehensive law enforcement plan and establish a State agency to administer the plan. Once this plan is accepted, all Federal assistance goes to the State agency which in turn distributes the aid to local law enforcement agencies. See August 2, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM

On August 9, 1967, the Republican policy committee urged the Johnson administration to provide the American people with an effective antiballistic missile system. In calling for immediate action, the committee noted: First, the Soviets have been building and deploying their ABM system for some time. Second, the Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously support the position that this country should now proceed to deploy. Third, Congress has appropriated sufficient funds for this purpose. Fourth, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned:

A low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communists against the United States by the early 1970's. At present we do not have an effective anti-ballistic missile system which could repel such a suicidal (for the Chinese) but nevertheless possible strike.

On September 19, 1967, the Johnson administration finally heeded these warnings and announced that the United States this year would start building a \$5 billion missile defense system. The importance of this decision to go forward with the establishment of a defense against missiles has been underlined by the recent announcement that the Soviet has developed a fractional orbital bombardment system that would cut the warning time of targets in America from 15 to 3 minutes. See August 9, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### S O S—S O S—THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Deeply concerned that the Johnson administration has permitted the American maritime industry to drift into a major crisis, the policy committee issued a call for immediate action and endorsed legislation sponsored by the Republican members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee that would establish an independent Maritime Administration. It is both ironic and deeply dis-

turbing that in a period of continued American decline the other maritime nations of the world are building up their merchant fleets. In 1963, the Russians constructed 115 ships while America launched 31. Between 1959 and 1963, the American fleet increased by 20 fewer ships than the Russians produced in the single year 1963.

In response to the Republican call to action, legislation establishing an independent Federal Maritime Administration was enacted by the House of Representatives. This legislation can facilitate the development of a forward-looking maritime program and help to bring an end to the present period of neglect, confusion, and inactivity. Unless our shipbuilding effort is increased, our defense commitments throughout the world will be in jeopardy. Our national survival may depend upon the shipping that should be under construction but which the Johnson administration has scuttled—see May 3 and October 11, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### CONGRESSIONAL REFORM AND REORGANIZATION

Unless Congress is strengthened and new procedures and techniques developed, the historic roll of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the executive branch may be dangerously diluted. The enactment of a mass of open-ended legislation has created an escalating bureaucracy that is in no way responsible to the voters of the country. Congress, limited as to staff and access to pertinent information, cannot adequately audit the mass of Federal activities and programs. A spittoon approach to the problems of a computerized society is no longer adequate. Early in the session, the policy committee advocated legislation that would update and modernize Congress. This legislation would:

First. Establish a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations with continuing authority to study the structure and procedures of Congress and to recommend additional reforms and changes.

Second. Protect the rights of the minority through the provision of additional committee staff and the right to present minority views and reports.

Third. Authorize measures designed to assist Members of Congress in the performance of their congressional duties.

Fourth. Implement fiscal controls and budgetary reforms that would include a greater utilization of the General Accounting Office.

Fifth. Establish a bill of rights for congressional committees.

The policy committee also urged the immediate establishment of a Select Committee on Congressional Standards and Conduct which would be provided with the authority to establish a code of ethics, investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action, and report violations of law to the proper local and State authorities. Legislation has been enacted and a code of ethics is now being drafted. This is an important first step in recapturing the public confidence and respect that has been lost through the highly publicized allegations of misconduct against a few Members of Congress—see February 8 and May 10, 1967, policy committee statements.

#### EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION

As a result of hastily enacted and oftentimes competing programs that have been stacked one upon another, it is impossible for State and local officials to know what Federal programs are available for what purpose or even where to go for specific information. Moreover, old departments and agencies created and organized to meet the problems of the first half of the 20th century are now woefully antiquated. In order to provide a careful and thoughtful study well above partisan politics and interagency power fights, the policy committee recommended the establishment of a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch similar to the first and second Hoover Commissions.

This Commission would be empowered to conduct an in-depth study of the Federal Government's bureaucratic sprawl. It could probe a war on poverty that now includes more than 260 Federal programs. An answer might even be found to a mushrooming Federal bureaucracy that defies a Presidential order to cut back by adding 192,000 employees to the rolls. Recently, the Johnson administration has taken an important first step by an-

nouncing that it, too, will recommend the establishment of a Hoover-type commission to help weed out obsolete Government programs—see February 23, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### RESPONDING TO PUBLIC DEMANDS FOR CLEAN ELECTIONS

For some time, there has been general agreement that the laws dealing with election campaigns should be revised and updated. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act was enacted in 1925. The Hatch Act was passed 27 years ago. Recent studies such as the 1962 Report of President Kennedy's Commission on Campaign Costs reveal that present laws invite evasion and are filled with loopholes. Unless there is basic reform, public confidence in the election process will be impaired.

At the start of the 90th Congress, the policy committee urged the House leadership to schedule the Election Reform Act as one of the first pieces of legislation to receive floor consideration. Thereafter, with unanimous Republican support, an election reform bill, H.R. 11233, was reported by the subcommittee of the House Administration Committee on June 27, 1967. This is sound legislation. Through the incorporation of the following major Republican provisions, honest reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures and streamlined enforcement procedures would be insured:

First. A five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission is established to receive reports and statements regarding campaign contributions and expenditures.

Second. The Commission has been granted full and complete authority to enforce the provisions of the act. It is also authorized to make reports and statements available for public inspection and to prepare and publish summaries and reports.

Third. Candidates for Federal office, and political committees supporting such candidates, that accept contributions or make expenditures exceeding \$1,000 in any calendar year, are required to report contributions and expenditures.

Fourth. Donations by an individual of more than \$5,000 to any candidate or any committee supporting such candidates in any calendar year are prohibited.

Fifth. Campaign contributions by political action committees financially supported by a corporation, trade association or labor organization are regulated.

Sixth. Conventions, primaries, and party caucuses have been placed under the reporting and disclosure provisions of the bill.

Seventh. The disclosure of gifts or honorariums of more than \$100 is required of candidates for the House and Senate as well as incumbents.

At a series of committee meetings, Republican Members consistently urged that this important legislation be reported so that it could receive early floor consideration. However, their efforts were met by delaying tactics and late in the session, the election reform bill did not even appear on the administration's list of must legislation. Certainly, congressional action cannot be delayed much longer if this legislation is to be in effect and operative during the 1968 campaigns. It must receive early consideration in the second session of Congress. The American public demands and deserves an election process that commands respect and confidence.

#### SKILL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

The Republican Members of Congress have long been interested in establishing a sound program that would solve this Nation's manpower problems by upgrading and developing the skills of our labor force. The Republican effort in this area began with Operation Employment in 1961-62. In this study by the Republican policy committee, leading authorities in the fields of education and on-the-job training were contacted for their comments and recommendations. The results of this study were incorporated into the Republican-proposed Manpower and Development Training Act of 1962 which was adopted in great part and enacted into law by the 87th Congress. This act has proven to be an important step in a greatly expanded war on unemployment and underemployment. For example, from August 1962 to April 1967 there were 635,000 trainees enrolled in MDTA

institutional training and 163,000 trainees enrolled in MDTA on-the-job training.

#### HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT

Despite the efforts that have been made under the MDTA and other costly Federal training programs, there remain today an estimated 2.7 million Americans who are chronically unemployed and hundreds of thousands of others who are underemployed. In order to meet this need, the Republicans in the House of Representatives have urged the immediate consideration of the Human Investment Act of 1967. This act is designed to encourage on-the-job training by private industry and skill development by individuals. It would offer a tax credit toward certain specified expenses of programs designed to train prospective employees and to retrain current employees for more demanding jobs. It is a proven fact that the most effective employee trainer in the Nation is private enterprise. The Human Investment Act would encourage employers throughout this country to develop and implement additional training programs that will equip thousands and thousands of individuals to cash in on the job opportunities that will be provided by the many technological changes and advances that are being developed and implemented by American industry.

#### HELPING THOSE ON WELFARE

One of the most perplexing problems facing this country today is the welfare problem. We have second and third generation welfare families. Their business is welfare and the payments are so good that they cannot afford to go to work. A way must be found to get these individuals trained, into private employment and off the welfare rolls.

An important first step in the solution of this terribly complicated problem has been taken by the House of Representatives during this session of Congress. The House-adopted Social Security Act amendments make a number of important changes in the program that provides aid to families with dependent children—AFDC. In the last 10 years, this program has grown from 646,000 families that included 2.4 million recipients to 1.2 million families and nearly 5 million recipients. It is estimated that the amount of Federal funds allocated to this program will increase from \$1.46 billion to \$1.84 billion over the next 5 years unless constructive and concerted action is taken. In order to reduce the AFDC rolls by restoring more families to employment and self-reliance, the States would be required to:

First. Establish a program for each AFDC adult or older child not attending school which would equip them for work and place them in a job.

Second. Establish community work and training programs throughout the State by July 1, 1969.

Third. Provide that protective payments and vendor payments be made where appropriate to protect the welfare of children.

Fourth. Furnish day-care services and other services to make it possible for adult members of the family to take training and employment.

Fifth. Have an earnings exemption to provide incentives for work by AFDC recipients.

See August 16, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### UPDATING SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

During the 89th Congress and again in the January Republican state of the Union message, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives called for an immediate increase in social security benefits. Due to the Great Society inflation, many of our elderly citizens have been faced with a serious situation. Last year alone, the cost of living rose 3.3 percent. Cash benefits fell 7 percentage points behind the Consumer Price Index. It is unfortunate that the administration delayed action on this legislation for so long. There are nearly 40 million retired Americans who do not enjoy the benefit of rising wages and income to cope with rising prices.

The Republican-supported social security bill that has been adopted by the House, provides an across-the-board increase by 12½ percent, increases the amount an individual may earn and still get full benefits, strengthens the benefit formula and improves the health insur-

ance benefits.

Under the provisions of this bill, the amount that a person may earn and still get his benefits would be increased from \$1,500 to \$1,680 and the amount to which the \$1 for \$2 reduction would apply, would range from \$1,680 to \$2,880 a year. The amount a person may earn in 1 month would be increased from \$125 to \$140. Also, the number of days of hospitalization would be increased from 90 to 120 days. A patient would be permitted to submit his itemized bill directly to the insurance carrier for payment. And a physician no longer would be required to certify that a patient requires hospitalization at the time he enters or that a patient requires hospital outpatient services. See August 16, 1967, policy committee statements.

#### IMPROVING FEDERAL AND STATE MEAT INSPECTION

The Republican-supported Meat Inspection Act, establishes a cooperative Federal-State inspection system under which the Federal Government assists the States in meeting their responsibilities to provide high quality meat inspection. Federal cooperation and assistance to the States includes program planning and technical and laboratory assistance as well as financial aid up to 50 percent of the total cost of the State program.

The prohibition against counterfeiting, forgery, and other unauthorized use of official certificates, labels, and marking devices is clarified. The authority of the Department of Agriculture to regulate the marking, labeling and packaging of carcasses, meats, and meat food products is clearly defined. The same standards, that apply to meat and meat products produced and processed within the United States is extended to imported meat.

This legislation does not preempt the jurisdiction of the States over intrastate commerce. An amendment that would have virtually eliminated State inspection programs and assigned the responsibility of State and local health protection, at an additional annual cost of \$31.2 million, to the Federal Government was rejected.

Under the provisions of this act, a viable Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program is established. New protection is afforded to the consumer. This legislation strengthens and improves a meat packing and processing industry that has \$16 billion in annual gross sales and that provides \$13 billion in yearly sales of livestock to the American farmer—see October 31, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF OUR AIR HAS A HIGH PRIORITY

The Republican-supported Air Quality Act of 1967 encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It provides \$428 million over a 3-year period for air control research, studies, planning and grants to States and air pollution agencies.

Air pollution is no longer just a threat, it is a present menace to the health and well-being of the American people. Approximately 130 million tons of pollutants are discharged annually into the Nation's atmosphere, an average of 1,400 pounds for each American. This pollution is a byproduct of our highly developed economy. It stems from the rising number of motor vehicles, and from the trend toward urbanization which concentrates the highest levels of pollution in the most populated areas. Economic and mechanical progress has meant the deterioration of our precious air supply. Smog, damage to health and property, and even death have resulted from the pollution of our air.

For some time, the Republican Party has recognized that steps must be taken to improve this Nation's knowledge and technical capability to meet the air pollution problem. In his 1955 state of the Union address, President Eisenhower urged the enactment of air pollution legislation. With the support of Republicans of both Houses of Congress, the first legislation in this field was enacted by the 84th Congress. The Air Quality Act materially strengthens and improves this basic legislation. See October 25, 1967, policy committee statement.

#### REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENTS AND FLOOR VOTES

First. February 8, 1967: Adopted a

statement urging the immediate consideration and enactment of the Election Reform Act of 1967 which has been sponsored and introduced by Republican Members. This act would establish a five-member bipartisan Federal Elections Commission which would receive, investigate, and audit campaign contributions and expenditure reports and statements.

Second. February 8, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate establishment of a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct. This 12-member committee would be empowered to recommend rules and regulations to insure proper standards of conduct by Members and officers and employees of the House. Also, it would have the authority to investigate alleged breaches of conduct, recommend appropriate action and report violations of law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

H. Res. 418 (Apr. 13, 1967), final passage:

Yea	175
Nay	0
Not voting	12
Percentage	100

Third. February 8, 1967: Opposed H.R. 4573 which would raise the debt ceiling to \$336 billion without making certain basic budgetary reforms. Urged the adoption of an amendment which would include as a part of the public debt participation certificates sold as full faith and credit obligations. Also, urged the adoption of an amendment which would permit the Secretary of the Treasury to save as much as \$50 million in annual interest payments by issuing up to \$6 billion long-term Treasury obligations on the same interest basis as short-term obligations.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	153
Nay	23
Not voting	11
Percentage	86.9

Final passage:

Yea	2
Nay	173
Not voting	12
Percentage	98.8

Fourth. February 23, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration and enactment of legislation sponsored and introduced by Republican Members that would establish a Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government—new Hoover Commission.

Fifth. March 8, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration of legislation introduced by Republican Members that would eliminate political favoritism and insure the recognition and promotion of able and experienced career postal employees.

Sixth. March 15, 1967: Adopted a statement urging the immediate consideration of the Human Investment Act of 1967. This Republican-sponsored legislation would encourage American business to invest in our No. 1 resource—the American working man and woman. It would stimulate the initiation and expansion of job training and retraining programs by providing a tax credit for certain expenses of such programs.

Seventh. March 22, 1967: Commended the Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee for their excellent analysis and review of the 1967 Economic Report of the President. Urged the enactment of a Republican resolution that would return the 1968 budget to the President and request that he indicate the places and amounts where he believes substantial reductions may be made.

Eighth. April 5, 1967: Urged the updating and revision of the copyright law, H.R. 2512. This law would insure that authors receive the encouragement they need to create and the remuneration they deserve for their creations.

Final passage:

Yea	182
Nay	1
Not voting	4
Percentage	99.4

Ninth. April 5, 1967: Urged the creation of a bipartisan Congressional Committee on Captive Nations. There is an obligation to promote the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever they may be denied or threatened. If we are to consider building bridges to the East, such an effort should start with the people in the



captive nations.

Tenth. April 19, 1967: Urged basic reforms in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under the present law, Federal support intended to improve elementary and secondary education has been used to undermine State and local initiative and responsibility. Urged an amendment to provide block grants to the States for educational purposes. Such grants would replace the multiplicity of categorical grant-in-aid programs now in operation.

Block grant amendment:

Yea	154
Nay	26
Not voting	7
Percentage	85.5

Eleventh. April 26, 1967: Adopted a statement regarding congressional redistricting which noted that the establishment of precise criteria for congressional redistricting is a matter for Congress. If Congress does not establish guidelines for the State to follow, the districts in 22 States or 297 congressional districts may be ruled invalid. H.R. 2508 would provide congressional standards for the State to follow in the establishment of districts for the election of representatives to Congress.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	158
Nay	3
Not voting	26
Percentage	98.1

Final passage:

Yea	141
Nay	15
Not voting	31
Percentage	90.3

Twelfth. May 3, 1967: Urged the prompt enactment of legislation to prohibit the deliberate and defiant desecration of the American flag.

H.R. 10480 final passage:

Yea	175
Nay	0
Not voting	12
Percentage	100

Thirteenth. May 3, 1967: Adopted a statement that warns of a national crisis in the American maritime industry that has been triggered by the neglect, confusion, and general inability of the Johnson-Humphrey administration to meet the mounting maritime problem. Urged the revitalization and modernization of our shipbuilding industry so that the demands of the future can be met. Called for the development of a meaningful maritime policy that will incorporate a forward-looking ship replacement program.

Fourteenth. May 10, 1967: Adopted a statement which urged prompt action on the congressional reorganization legislation, S. 355. The awesome problems of today and the challenges of the 1970's demand an efficient and effective Congress. Unless Congress is strengthened, there is grave danger that the historic role of Congress as an essential check on the massive power of the Executive may be dangerously diluted.

Fifteenth. May 24, 1967: Adopted a statement supporting the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, S. 1432. This legislation updates and improves the present Selective Service System in a number of important respects. It establishes uniform criteria for future undergraduate college student deferments.

Final passage:

Yea	164
Nay	0
Not voting	22
Percentage	100

Sixteenth. June 7, 1967: Adopted a statement in opposition to H.R. 10328 which would increase the public debt ceiling by \$29 billion. Urged a cutback in nonessential spending and honest reporting of anticipated Government expenditures. This must be done if we are to avoid a runaway economy that may lead to Government control of wages, prices, and credit as well as further increases in taxes.

Final passage:

Yea	0
Nay	176
Not voting	11
Percentage	100

Seventeenth. June 14, 1967: Adopted a statement on the railroad labor dispute legislation, House Joint Resolution 559, pointing out that due to the vacillating performance of the Johnson-Humphrey administration, the country is faced with a tragic situation. Legislation must be enacted, for in this period of international tensions and war, a chaotic nationwide railway strike cannot be permitted. No

record vote.

Eighteenth. June 21, 1967: Opposed H.R. 10867 which would increase the borrowing authority of the Treasury to a maximum of \$365 billion. Urged the continuation of the present \$336 billion debt limit. This would be adequate to finance the Government expenditures through September 30, 1967, and would afford the Johnson-Humphrey administration another opportunity to review and reassess its fiscal policies and forward to Congress up-to-date and credible information regarding anticipated expenditures and revenues.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	169
Nay	10
Not voting	7
Percentage	94.4

Final passage:

Yea	0
Nay	176
Not voting	10
Percentage	100

Nineteenth. July 12, 1967: Urged the prompt enactment of anti-riot legislation, H.R. 421. This Republican-sponsored legislation would impose criminal penalties upon persons traveling in or using the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent to incite a riot.

Final passage:

Yea	180
Nay	4
Not voting	2
Percentage	97.8

Twentieth. July 19, 1967: Urged the House-Senate conference on the National Aeronautics and Space Administration authorization bill to accept the key Republican amendments which were adopted on the floor of the House. These amendments reduce the funds requested by NASA by \$201.4 million, establish an independent safety panel in NASA and require the Space Administration on its own initiative to keep Congress fully and currently informed of problem areas in the space effort.

Motion to recommit:

Yea	157
Nay	20
Not voting	9
Percentage	88.7

Twenty-first. August 2, 1967: Adopted a statement with respect to the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967, H.R. 5037 which urged the adoption of three key amendments. The States must be given the authority to coordinate applications for assistance and distribute aid to local law enforcement activities. An appropriate allocation formula should be adopted that would limit the Attorney General's unchecked discretion to distribute funds. A National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice which would be authorized to establish regional training institutes should be established.

Amendment that would grant authority to States:

Yea	172
Nay	4
Not voting	10
Percentage	98.8

Final passage:

Yea	173
Nay	1
Not voting	12
Percentage	99.4

Twenty-second. August 9, 1967: Urged the Johnson-Humphrey administration to provide the American people with an effective antiballistic missile system. The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously support the position that this country should deploy an antiballistic missile system. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has warned:

A low order of magnitude attack could possibly be launched by the Chinese Communist against the United States by the early 1970's.

Twenty-third. August 16, 1967: Supported H.R. 12080, the Social Security Amendments of 1967. This bill provides an across-the-board increase of 12½ percent, increases the amount an individual may earn and still get full benefits, strengthens the benefit formula, improves the health insurance benefits, and requires the development of programs under Aid to Families with Dependent Children—AFDC—that would insure that individuals receiving aid would be trained to enter the labor force as soon as possible.

Final passage:

Yea	182
Nay	1
Not voting	8
Percentage	99.4

Twenty-fourth. September 13, 1967: Adopted a statement with respect to the Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendment of 1967 and Amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, S. 602, which urged that the Appalachian region be retained in its present size, that the authorization be restricted to its current amount and that the amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act be deleted.

Amendment to reduce authorization by \$50 million:

Yea	146
Nay	14
Not voting	26
Percentage	91.2

Motion to recommit:

Yea	143
Nay	17
Not voting	26
Percentage	89.3

Twenty-fifth. September 19, 1967: Supported the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967—H.R. 6418. This Republican sponsored and supported proposal provides \$892 million in comprehensive health grants to the States during the next 3 years. With these funds each State and locality will be able to zero in on its most serious public health problem whether it is due to rat infestation or some other cause.

Final Passage:

Yea	172
Nay	4
Not voting	10
Percentage	97.7

Twenty-sixth. October 11, 1967: Supported H.R. 159 which would create an independent Federal Maritime Administration.

Final Passage:

Yea	162
Nay	5
Not voting	19
Percentage	97

Twenty-seventh. October 18, 1967: Adopted a statement supporting a reduction of at least \$5 billion in governmental expenditures. Urged that a spending ceiling be imposed so that the anticipated Budget expenditures for fiscal year 1968 would be reduced from \$136.5 to \$131.5 billion.

H.J. Res. 888—Spending ceiling amendment:

Yea	171
Nay	9
Not voting	6
Percentage	95

Twenty-eighth. October 25, 1967: Supported the Air Quality Act of 1967, S. 780. This legislation encourages the solution of air pollution problems on a regional basis in accordance with air quality standards and enforcement plans developed by the States. It provides \$362.3 million over a 3-year period for air control research, studies, planning, and grants to States and air pollution agencies.

Final passage:

Yea	161
Nay	0
Not voting	25
Percentage	100.0

Twenty-ninth. October 31, 1967: Supported the Federal Meat Inspection Act, H.R. 12144. This legislation updates and revises the act of March 4, 1907, the Horsemeat Act and the Imported Meat Act into a single new statute. It broadens the present meat inspection service by establishing a Federal-State cooperative meat inspection program. The Department of Agriculture is provided with authority to eliminate practices that could defraud consumers and endanger the public health.

Final passage:

Yea	179
Nay	1
Not voting	6
Percentage	99.4

Thirtieth. November 8, 1967: Urged the prompt consideration of clean elections legislation. On June 27, 1967, a bipartisan election reform bill, H.R. 11233, was reported by a subcommittee of the House Administration Committee. This legislation contains the basic reforms advocated and supported by President Johnson and the Republican congressional leadership. With the next presidential and congressional elections less than 1 year away, congressional action cannot be delayed if this legislation is to be in effect and operative during the 1968 campaigns.

Total average..... 96.1

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

## Press Release

Issued following a  
Leadership meeting

December 7, 1967

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

"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-

(con't)



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**

Press Release

Issued following a  
Leadership meeting

December 7, 1967

**FOR THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

*Gerald R. Ford  
of Michigan*

*Leslie C. Arends  
of Illinois*

*Melvin R. Laird  
of Wisconsin*

*John J. Rhodes  
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*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*

"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-

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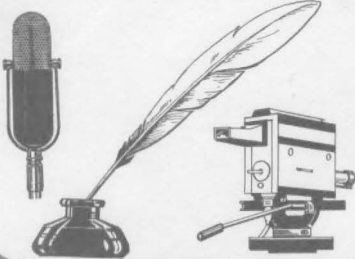


initiated Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Republican-proposed Human Investment Act of 1967;

(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.



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

**NEWS  
RELEASE**

-- FOR RELEASE UPON  
ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONGRESS --

END-OF-SESSION STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

The 90th Congress compiled a good record during its first year of existence.

It was constructive and productive--and, very importantly, it was responsible.

First of all, the Congress deserves a vote of taxpayer thanks for cutting federal spending this fiscal year by \$4.1 billion in an attack on inflation and high interest rates. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration still will incur a huge deficit, now estimated at \$19.8 billion, but without a Republican-led campaign to force spending cuts it would have been far worse.

Congress refused to go along with President Johnson's plans to increase income tax bills by 10 per cent. That was a wise decision. Not only are the American people already heavily burdened with taxes, but there is good reason to believe a federal income tax increase at this time might damage the economy.

The 90th Congress passed some good legislation. Republicans and Democrats together launched a massive, regional attack on air pollution, laid the groundwork through House action for a nationwide War on Crime, revamped and extended the Teacher Corps, greatly improved federal and state meat inspection, acted in the House to give more responsibility and control to the states in using federal school aid, passed a Comprehensive Health Act allowing states and local communities to use federal funds in line with their own priorities to fight rats, communicable diseases and drug addiction, increased Social Security benefits, sought to improve the operation of Medicare, tightened up on Medicaid, and revised the welfare laws to put able-bodied welfare recipients to work.

Where legislation was clearly in the national interest, Republicans joined hands with Democrats to pass it. House Republicans succeeded in giving some programs New Direction. We fought what we thought was bad for the country.

Republicans represented a unified force in the House. In the 24 instances where House Republican Policy stands were put to the test on a rollcall vote, 96 per cent of the Republican members present and voting supported the party policy position. On these 24 rollcalls, the GOP position prevailed 18 times.

The Democratic majority was so divided in the House this year that I am not surprised the President again is calling for a rubber-stamp-sized majority for his party in the Congress.

There were, of course, areas where Congress fell short. The President should have proposed and Congress should have approved a measure to improve our handling of national emergency strikes. Strong anti-crime legislation, as beefed up by House Republicans, should have been written into law this year. Election reform and congressional reform bills pushed by Republicans should have been passed but were sidetracked by House Democratic leaders. This should have been a Reform Congress.

But, on the whole, the 90th Congress did a good job.

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