The original documents are located in Box D9, folder "Ford Press Releases - Vietnam, 1965-1968" of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE February 17, 1965

#### STATEMENT BY THE

# JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Senator Dirksen
Senator Kuchel
Senator Hickenlooper
Senator Saltonstall
Senator Morton
Representative Ford
Representative Arends
Representative Byrnes
Representative Brown
Representative Wilson

It is undoubtedly difficult for the Communist capitals of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi -- where disagrement is not tolerated -- to understand that because Americans may differ on means to assure the complete independence of South Vietnam, there is no difference among us on the objective.

We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, want to make it clear we support President Johnson's recent order for strikes against Communist supply bases in North Vietnam. If we have any difference with the President in this respect, it is the belief these measure might have been used more frequently since the Bay of Tonkin decision last August and an even stronger policy formulated in the meantime.

These Communist-proclaimed "wars of liberation" are nothing more than a verbal cover for naked aggression. The Communists unmask this aggression when they "stage" mob demonstrations against American embassies as Free World resistance to their terrorist tactics in an independent nation is stepped up.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, Leader Thomas H. Kuchel, Whip Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chr. of the Policy Committee Leverett Saltonstall, Chr. of the Conference Thruston B. Morton, Chr. Republican Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER: The Republican National Chairman Dean Burch

# THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

# Press Release

Issued following a Leadership Meeting
March 4, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford, Jr.,

Leader

Leslie C. Arends, Whip

Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference

John J. Rhodes, Chr.
of the Policy Committee

Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member

Rules Committee

Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican

Congressional Committee

## IMMEDIATE RELEASE

# STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

In days past, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership have expressed support for a stiffened American military position in South Vietnam. At the very time we spoke, the Soviet and Red Chinese regimes were warning the United States against such action and promising the North Vietnamese increased military assistance. In many nations throughout the world, Communist agents were organizing riots and demonstrations against American diplomatic establishments in an all-out propaganda drive against the United States.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk has stated, as American policy, that there can be no negotiations on the  $^{\rm V}{\rm ietnamese}$  issue so long as the Communist nations promote aggression against South  $^{\rm V}{\rm ietnam}$ . We believe this a worthy policy. In fact, we advocated it.

We suggest that logic would have the United States carry this policy one step farther.

The Soviet Union has been espousing a policy of "peaceful co-existence." This policy was welcomed by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and numerous moves were made to demonstrate American readiness to respond, particularly in the fields of trade, communications and diplomatic relations.

Yet the fact remains that the Soviet Union and the other Communist nations have not diminished, but stepped up, their promotion of subversion in the neutral and free-world countries. South Vietnam is only the most glaring example. The continued supplying of Cuba, the subversion in South America, notably Venezuela, and in Africa, notably the Congo, and the ceaseless agitation throughout Southeast Asia, are typical.

The only thing peaceful about "peaceful co-existence" is the tible. In any relaxed relations, it is the United States that is supposed to do the relaxing. The Communist nations continuously outrage the rights of other nations. Too long have we heard the trumpet of retreat from those who seem to favor another Munich.

If we are not going to negotiate the Vietnamese question until the aggression against South Vietnam ceases, an equally necessary step would be to stop entertaining the overtures of the Communist nations for broader trade and diplomatic relations and to intensify our efforts to persuade our friends abroad to do the same, until the Communists have demonstrated their good faith in areas where not only freedom but life and death are at stake.

(Ford statement - page 2)

During the past three years the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have, under the so-called "peaceful co-existence" policy, made measurable gains in trade and diplomatic concessions from the United States while offering little in return. Here are some examples:

An agreement has been initialed for the establishment of a New York-Moscow air route which the Soviet Union has long sought.

An American-Soviet treaty has been negotiated, which now awaits Senate approval, that would give the Soviets consular offices they want in New York, Chicago and San Francisco in exchange for similar American consulates in Russia which would avail us little and only give the Communists more targets for mob violence.

Having purchased \$140 million worth of badly-needed U.S. wheat on which the American taxpayer paid \$44 million in subsidies so the Soviets could buy it far below our domestic price, Russia has now tought \$11 million in soybeans which the New York Times speculated might be going to Cuba.

In response to Communist bloc overtures for expanded trade,
President Johnson has named a committee to explore stepped-up sales,
and the Commerce Department's issuance of export licenses for sales to
Communist nations has been increasing steadily.

Even more significant, our government last month backed down completely on its widely-publicized call for the Soviet Union to pay up its assessments to the United Nations, and then compounded this loss of face by lifting a three-month freeze on voluntary contributions to the U.N. out of the U.S. Treasury.

From a standpoint of bargaining, we constantly give much and get little or nothing in deals with the Communist nations. We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, urge a "no concession-no deal" policy, meaning that the Communists must be ready to make concessions as the price of agreements with the United States. Until we and our allies arrive at such a policy, we can only expect more Koreas and Vietnams and an ever-widening circle of Communist subversion around the earth.

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The President is to be commended for his insistence on no retreat in Viet-Nam. But, there is a strong hint in his message dealing with Communist aggression in Southeast Asia and the fate of 15 million people of South Viet-Nam that he wants to buy peace. History proves that friendship, security and solid international relationships cannot be bought and sold with dollars in the geo-political market place when the Communists are involved.

The President's contention that the United States is ready for "unconditional discussions" sounds much like "negotiations," which must be carried on only from a position of strangth. Until we prove to the Communists that we mean business, it would be sheer folly to attempt a negotiated settlement.

I hope that the President, who has been given staunch support by Republican leadership in the past when he ordered stepped-up military operations against aggressor supply lines, realizes that the United States will end up in second place if we retreat under pressure or a meaningless settlement.

We all hope that peace will return soon in troubled and war-torn Viet-Nam, but peace with justice and security cannot be purchased with a billion American tax dollars.

Whether the conflict spreads depends upon the power-hungry Communist aggressors. If we use our military strength wisely and effectively, and if we get growing support from our Southeast Asia allies, the war in Viet-Nam can end without the loss of freedom for our allies or a retreat by the United States to Pearl Harbor.

If we are right in principle, which we are, use the power we have and persevere, freedom and security will prevail.

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Excerpts from a speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich)
"Foreign Policy"

April 1-?

Like capy

Congressional Republican Leadership will continue to support the President in his firm and resolute stand against Communist aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.

We favor measured, meaningful military steps, which have been ordered by the President. However, we would oppose wild, unbridled expansion of the conflict in Vietnam to chase an impossible fanatasy of unconditional Communist surrender.

Although everyone hopes for an end to the fighting, bloodshed and death on the jungle battlefields of Southeast Asia, negotiations on our part from a position of military weakness would mean surrender without meaning. It would mean American and South Vietnamese lives had been given in vain. It would mean the United States toppling from its position of world leadership into the bottomless canyon of mediocracy and weakness.

. . . .

Most members of Congress-Democrat and Republican-are not expected to have full knowledge of the inside, secret military day-by-day strategy of the war in Southeast Asia. Neither the public at large nor Congress has any idea at this time how far the Administration plans to stretch its military effort.

The combat decision-making rightfully belongs to the President as Commander-in-Chief. This is among the heavy burdens of his high office.

The President makes the military decisions, including targets to be bombed, the number of American troops to be committed on land and in the air. It takes a Presidential order to expand our efforts in Vietnam to a larger-scale ground and air war. He---and he alone---is responsible for military victories or defeats.

# # # #

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 13, 1965

Rep. Gerald Ford (R-Mich.), House Republican Minority Leader, today warned a visiting group of Brazilian editors that "unless current trends are checked, we are heading for an outbreak of Viet Nam-type guerilla wars in Latin America."

Ford said that "a vacillating hemispheric policy regarding the flow of subversive weapons and propaganda has set the stage for Communist guerilla aggression, under the guise of so-called 'National Liberation Fronts', throughout the Western Hemisphere.

"Cuba and Viet Nam have furnished the models for Communist guerilla aggression aimed at overthrowing existing pro-Western governments," Ford declared. 
And as our experience in these two countries has proven so painfully, economic aid by itself is not sufficient to check a subversive Communist campaign, financed and supplied from outside.

The House Minority Leader told the Brazilians, in Washington for the Fortalezo, Brazil Journalists Project, that current U.S. and hemispheric policy toward Castro Cuba " seems to be one of letting sleeping Communist wolves lie. "

"But we ought to know that the Communist wolf in Havana is very active,"
Ford said. "If the Red plan to create Viet Nam-type wars in Latin America
takes hold, Havana would serve as the Hanoi of the entire operation. It is
today the capital of Communist subversion in the heartland of the Free World."

Ford expressed hope that "Brazil will continue the progress it has made in recent months toward a return to stable and sound government."

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich) on President's remarks at a News Conference April 27, 1965

The President's restatement that the United States intends to stay in Viet-Nam to help halt aggression by Communist attackers should be applauded.

I support the President's renewed pledge that we must stand firm in Viet-Nam to guarantee an eventual lasting peace. Congressional Republican leadership has supported the Administration's policy in that war-torn country while too many Democrats have openly attacked the President for his position.

It is gratifying to know that the President is critical of his critics, many of them in his own political empire.

The President has confirmed our earlier position that perhaps military action against aggressors in Viet-Nam was tardy. Unfortunately, our restraint was viewed as a weakness by the enemy. It is somewhat shameful that this strong country waited for more murders, more savage attacks against the peaceful citizenry of South Viet-Nam until we took an active part in beating down aggressors by attacking their supply lines and military installations.

Certainly, as the President said, we should seek to achieve a lasting peace in Viet-Nam, but not to the extent of buying it with a billion dollars in foreign aid under a program the Administration recommended earlier.

#### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Our Nation's fight against Communism in the Dominican Republic and Southeast Asia virtually demands that the President immediately come to Congress for a supplement to the military budget submitted to the House and Senate in January before the United States became involved in conflict in two hemisperes.

If we are to bolster our effort in fighting Communism in two hemisperes, it may require a revision of certain legislative programs, including a new look at the President's recommendations on overall fiscal policy and tax reduction.

I also urge that the United States recognize that the cause of the current strife and trouble in Latin America is Fidel Castro.

Latin America, in fact the Western Hemispere, will not be free of Communism's dangerous threat until the arsonist Fide Castro is eradicated. He is the "fire-starter" in the Dominican Republic.

At the same I suggest that President Johnson parry out the original fourpoint program which John F. Kennedy demanded in fighting Communism.

During the 1960 presidential campaign and at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, the late President insisted on: inspection of missile sites in Cuba, removal of all Soviet forces from Cuba, support of free Cuban forces both inside and outside of that country, and blocking be export of Communism in this hemispere rom Castro's bastion.

It makes no sense to fight Communism 6,000 miles away in Viet Nam or to rotect American lives in the Dominican Republic against aggression unless we take care of the generator of turbulence almost within sight of our country.

From the Offices of: Robert F. Ellsworth, 3rd District Kansas
Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, 5th District New Jersey

## FOR RELEASE THURSDAY A.M.'s MAY 13, 1965

## 15 Republicans Underscore Support For Administration's Policy in Southeast Asia

Republican Congressmen, in a letter issued yesterday, underscored Republican support of President Johnson's policy in Southeast Asia. In a letter to House Republican Leader Gerald Ford, the 15 Congressmen pointed to the unanimous Republican support in both Houses of Congress for the President's request for an additional \$700 million earmarked for Vietnam. The joint effort mentioned the Republican Party's "continuing dedication to its uninterrupted history of bipartisan support for United States policy in times of crisis."

The letter to Ford reminded "all those abroad who may hope that internal differences will sap American will and purpose in Vietnam, the unanimous Republican support of the President should make clear just how wrong they are," and that the Republican Party, despite differences with President Johnson, stands together in the determination to preserve the integrity of South Vietnam and the right of her people to be free.

/s/ Mark Andrews, N.Dak.

/s/ John F. Baldwin, Calif.

/s/ Alphonzo Bell, Calif.

/s/ William S. Broomfield, Mich.

/s/ Robert F. Ellsworth, Kan.

/s/ Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, N.J.

/s/ Frank J. Horton, N.Y.

/s/ William S. Mailliard, Calif.

/s/ Joseph M. McDade, Pa.

/s/ F. Bradford Morse, & Mass

/s/ Charles A. Mosher, Ohio

/s/ Howard W. Robison, N.Y.

/s/ Herman T. Schneebeli, Pa.

/s/ Garner E. Shriver, Kan.

/s/ Robert T. Stafford, Vt.

Text of Letter Follows

From the Offices of: Robert F. Ellsworth, 3rd, Kansas Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, 5th, New Jersey

#### FOR RELEASE THURSDAY A.M.'s

## MAY 13, 1965 PAGE TWO

The Honorable Gerald Ford House of Representatives Washington, D.C.

Dear Jerry:

We take great pride in the unanimous Republican vote in both Houses of the Congress in support of the President's request for \$700 million for U.S. policy in Vietnam. The message should be crystal clear:

- -- To President Johnson, Republican unanimity spoke of our Party's continuing dedication to its uninterrupted history of bipartisan support for United States policy in times of crisis.
- -- To all those abroad who may hope that internal differences will sap American will and purpose in Vietnam, the unanimous Republican support of the President should make clear just how wrong they are.
- -- And to those few here at home who demonstrate against the American presence in Vietnam the Republican Party has made clear that, whatever our differences with President Johnson, we stand together in the determination to preserve the integrity of South Vietnam and the right of her people to be free.

Republicans of course will jealously guard our right to disagree with the President and to criticize him publicly when he is wrong. We do not for one moment suggest that we agree fully with all phases of American policy or its implementation, even in Vietnam. But all people everywhere should have no doubt where we stand on the fundamental precepts of American policy in Southeast Asia:

- 1. We believe that the United States forces should remain in South Vietnam as long as the Communist aggression continues.
- 2. We believe that the United States cannot in good conscience abandon the Asian continent to Communist imperialist domination and that an American withdrawal from Vietnam in the present circumstances would undermine confidence in American leadership and encourage further tests of our will.
- 3. We believe that the limited air attacks against North Vietnam are justified because they require the North Vietnamese regime to pay a heavy price for the aggression it is waging, because they may impel the North Vietnamese to seek a negotiated settlement, and because they may limit the effectiveness of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam.

We believe that the surest road to peace and to constructive negotiations, in Vietnam and around the world, must inevitably begin with the willingness to meet agression whenever and wherever it occurs.

The only purpose of force is to secure a just peace. We share the President's reluctance to use forces in Vietnam, but we share also his determination to persevere in the search for a just peace.

Sincerely,



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JUNE 14, 1965 From the Office of Rep. Melvin R. Laird, R-Wis. 2246 Rayburn House Office Building Washington 25, D.C.

We may be dangerously close to ending any Republican support of our present Vietnam policy. This possibility exists because the American people do not know how far the Administration is prepared to go with large-scale use of ground forces in order to save face in Vietnam.

The American people deserve an answer to this question. The Republican party should base its future support on the nature of that answer.

In the absence of this answer, we can only conclude that present policy is aimed not at victory over the Communist insurgency nor at driving Communists out of South Vietnam but rather at some sort of negotiated settlement which would include Communist elements in a coalition' government.

If such is the objective of the Johnson Administration, then the charge can be levelled that this Administration is over-committing ground forces in this area of the world and needlessly exposing the lives of thousands of American boys.

In several public utterances, Administration spakesmen have implied that the ground force build-up in Vietnam is Eisenhower or Republican policy. Such an implication is just the opposite of the truth.

The Eisenhower-Dulles policy scrupulously doided a large-scale use of conventional ground forces in Southeast Asia. As a matter of fact, at the time President Eisenhower left office, there were only 773 members of the U.S. Military Mission in Vietnam and the situation at that time was much less critical than it is now although we have more than 50,000 American troops there today. Indications are that the American troop build-up in Vietnam could go as high as 100,000 American boys.

Wellover two years ago, interested free world Asian countries offered to assist United States efforts in that area of the world. This aid included the offer of ground troops and other assistance from such countries as South Korea, Formosa, and Thailand. This aid was rejected by the United States at that time.

Today, thousands of American boys are fighting a war and many are losing their lives because the United States government has failed on occasion after occasion to make the right decision at the right time.

If our objective is a negotiated settlement, it is time to use other means than the needless sacrifice of American lives to attain that objective. Once American troops are committed in any situation, a top priority objective must be to take those steps necessary to protect American lives and minimize the number of casualties.

One such step, already long overdue, is to retarget our bombing raids on more significant targets in North Vietnam. A major transportation and supply area is the port city of Haiphong. To continue to allow the unhindered flow of war materials in and out of that area only insures greater American casualties in future Viet Cong offensive sections.

Republicans:will continue to support President Johnson when his actions in the Vietnamese situation serve American and free world interests and when they do not needlessly waste or endanger American lives.

####

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, Leader Thomas H. Kuchel, Whip Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chr. of the Policy Committee Leverett Saltonstall, Chr. of the Conference Thruston B. Morton, Chr. Republican Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER: The Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss

# THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

# Press Release

Issued following a Joint leadership meeting

June 1 8 1965

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Leslie C. Arends, Whip
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
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### STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

# IMMEDIATE RELEASE

To date, the Republicans in the Congress have publicly supported the Administration's policy toward South Vietnam in the belief that it was in harmony with that enunciated by the Congress in Joint Resolution.

That objective, as defined last August, was "assisting the peoples of Southeast Asia to protect their freedom."

Now doubt is raised about this objective by recent remarks of the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. In a speech, timed so as to make it appear that it had Presidential approval, Senator Fulbright and some other Democrats may wish to redefine the objective for which American troops are being committed to conflict in South Vietnam in ever-increasing numbers.

The Senator calls for a "negotiated settlement involving major concessions by both sides."

Any who talk of concessions by the United States have an obligation to specify the kinds of concessions which they are prepared to advocate. They have an obligation, too, to indicate the limits beyond which concessions cannot be made.

Senator Fulbright suggests the Geneva Agreements of 1954 "in all their specifications" as a basis for settling the conflict in South Vietnam. But this Agreement, as Secretary Rusk acknowledged in 1962, contained a fatal flaw in providing veto power to the Communist member of the international commission established to supervise the execution of the terms of the Geneva settlement.

This mistake must be avoided in any future peace settlement. So must the mistake of establishing a coalition government with Communist participation for South Vietnam. Bitter experience should have taught us that such a coalition merely defers a Communist takeover.

To conclude an agreement with such provisions would violate the President's promise of April 7, 1965, "We will not withdraw under the cloak of a meaningless agreement."

We hope for negotiations among representatives of responsible sovereign governments which will both end the fighting in South Vietnam and preserve the independence of that nation. The United States cannot, without violating its word, settle for less. The meaningless Laotian settlement of 1962 should be a lesson to us at this time.

Of all the things that Senator Fulbright has had to say, none was more revealing than his criticism of the Eisenhower Administration for "encouraging" the South Vietnamese government to refuse to permit the holding of a nationwide election in Vietnam in 1956.

The refusal was amply justified if only because the kind of election envisaged by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 -- a free election -- could not have been held.

Anyone who thinks that a free election was possible in Communist North Vietnam knows little of how Communists operate and could have fallen into a Moscow-Peiping trap.

The criticism boils down to a complaint that the United States government failed to exert pressure on the South Vietnamese to surrender to the Communists nine years ago.

Such was not the policy then -- and veiled suggestions that it be the policy today should be emphatically repudiated.

The United States could not agree today -- any more than in 1956 -- to legitimatizing Communist control of all of Vietnam by the device of a Communist-style election.

The Eisenhower Administration labored to build out of the chaos in South Vietnam a durable economy, a progressive social order, and military strength.

That it achieved a considerable measure of success was attested to by several of Senator Fulbright's colleagues.

In February of 1960, Senator Mansfield's Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported, "By any measure, Vietnam has made great progress under President Ngo Dinh Diem in the improvement of internal security, in the creation of the forms and institutions of popularly responsible government where before few existed, and in the advancement of the welfare of the people of Vietnam."

Finally, a major policy paper, issued by the State Department in December 1961, stated flatly that "The years 1956 to 1960 produced something close to an economic miracle in South Vietnam . . . It is a report of progress over a few brief years equalled by few young countries."

Any attempt to equate overall conditions, including the United States military commitment, in South Vietnam in 1960 with conditions there today is a crude distortion of history.

FOR THE SENATE:

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The Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss rollogie obligation a to guiblod off threat of sauter of Justice

# THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

# Press Release

PRESIDING OFFICER:

Issued following a

Clarence J. Brown,

Ranking Member

justified if only because the

June 18-1965

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford. Leader Leslie C. Arends, Whip Melvin R. Laird, Chr. of the Conference John J. Rhodes, Chr. of the Policy Committee

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The United States could not agree today -- any more than in 1956 -- to legitimatizing Communist control of all of Vietnam by the device of a Communist-style election.

The Eisenhower Administration labored to build out of the chaos in South Vietnam a durable economy, a progressive social order, and military strength.

That it achieved a considerable measure of success was attested to by several of Senator Fulbright's colleagues.

In February of 1960, Senator Mansfield's Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported, "By any measure, Vietnam has made great progress under President Ngo Dinh Diem in the improvement of internal security, in the creation of the forms and institutions of popularly responsible government where before few existed, and in the advancement of the welfare of the people of Vietnam."

Finally, a major policy paper, issued by the State Department in December 1961, stated flatly that "The years 1956 to 1960 produced something close to an economic miracle in South Vietnam . . . It is a report of progress over a few brief years equalled by few young countries."

Any attempt to equate overall conditions, including the United States military commitment, in South Vietnam in 1960 with conditions there today is a crude distortion of history.

#### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Shocking events demand that the Administration immediately take the wraps off our military forces in Southeast Asia by unleashing devastating air and sea power against all significant military targets in North Viet Nam.

The execution of Army Sgt. Harold George Bennett, the threat to commit more murders, the reign of terror against innocent victims in Saigon, and the constant rebuffing of peace attempts starkly reveal the Communist intention for conquest without regard for human life.

I recommend President Johnson harden the U.S. attitude toward North Viet Nam, including full-scale air attacks on all significant Viet Cong military targets and a naval quarantine to cut off delivery of arms and supplies by sea.

In this deepening crisis the Administration cannot play geo-political fcotsie with the power-mad Communist leaders in Southeast Asia. It is the duty of the United States to make ruthless aggression in South Viet Nam so costly for the enemy that Hanoi leadership will join us at the peace table it now spurns.

If Communist aggression is to be stopped in its tracks and crushed, the Seventh Fleet must set up a quarantine against shipping that fattens the aggressor's war arsenal.

It is appalling to learn that 65 vessels have carried material to the Viet Cong. Free world nations receiving U.S. foreign aid, whose ships have called at North Viet Nam ports since Jenuary, must be given notice by a quarantine that we do not intend to allow this flow of offensive military material to the enemy.

For the United States to fight a massive land war in the swamps and jungles on the terms of the enemy is illogical. The U.S. must make its military attacks so successful on North Viet Nam that the Viet Cong will back off from the escalation of its aggression.

The time for a mighty United States military air offensive and the quarantining of North Viet Nam seaports is now---today; this crucial and critical hour.

# # #

Republicans will continue to disregard partisan considerations in foreign policy. We will be guided by the national interest.

Like Senator Arthur Vandenberg at the time of the Yalta Agreement, we will criticize Administration policy when it fails to serve the national interest. We will make constructive recommendations that will bolster the President's firmness.

No Republican has called this McNamara's war.

Several House Republicans, including myself, recently made the following points about Viet Nam:

- 1. The objectives of our Nation's policy must be the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Viet-Nammay live in peace and freedom. This means a government of their own choosing. This means freedom from aggression -- from within and from without.
- 2. We hope for negotiations to end the fighting -- to assure the freedom and independence of South Viet-Nam. LET ME CLARIFY ONE POINT -- the Communists are escalating the war. No American is. Moreover, Peiping and Hanoi spurn the negotiating table.
- 3. The United States cannot, without violating its word, agree to settlement which involves a coalition government with Communists. Such government makes a larger war inevitable at a later date. History proves a coalition government with Communists gives them unlimited veto power. Veto power scuttles any hope for permanent peace.
- 4. The Administration must not sacrifice the freedom and independence of South Viet Nam. To do so makes the loss of American lives purposeless. Some Democrats would abandon the free people of South Viet-Nam. The President must not yield to them.
- 5. In this crisis, some Republican leaders believe American air and sea power must be used more effectively in North Viet-Nam against significant military targets. We advocate greater Allied participation. We question the logic of committing U.S. ground forces on a large scale to fight a war in Southeast Asia.

Flecapy TIVES, ON

# STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON VIET NAM -- JULY 1, 1965

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SERALO SERVICES



# GERALD R. FORD

NEWS RELEASE

Statement by Gerald R. Ford, House Republican Leader, on Communist missile sites in North Viet Nam

July 7, 1965

A dangerous build-up of enemy missile strength in North Viet Nam demands immediate, effective United States air attacks against these significant military targets.

The construction of the missile sites is clear evidence of Communist escalation of the conflicto

Sites designed for firing surface-to-air missiles should be knocked out

by United States air superiority before the enemy uses the weapons against the

side of freedom. The sites are a threat to the lives of American military personnel.

I reaffirm my support of President Johnson's stand-firm policy against
Communist aggression. However, the State Department's report of an enemy missile
build-up indicates need for more effective air action against these significant
military targets as quickly as possible.

# # # #



# ON APPOINTMENT OF A NEW AMBASSADOR July 8, 1965

### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The appointment of a new United States ambassador in South Viet Nam at this critical time is very perplexing.

The President should give a clear, detailed explanation to the American people if this switch in high-level diplomatic assignments from General Maxwell Taylor to Ambassador Lodge means a change in the United States foreign policy of firmness against Communist aggression.



In the past ten days several speeches have been made by Democrats on the Floor of the Senate concerning Republican views on the war in Viet Nam.

Complete, accurate and meaningful debate on this issue is needed. It should be encouraged. Anything less will confuse the American people and could mislead the enemy.

Republican leaders in the House and Senate have forthrightly supported the President in his firm actions against Communist aggression. We reaffirm that position today, but reserve the right to make constructive suggestions and to raise legitimate questions.

Does unwarranted speculation, does the twisting of words and phrases serve the national interest? Does unjustified name-calling add stature to this public dialogue?

No elected Republican office-holder to my knowledge has advocated "indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese" -- nor the bombing of targets other than those of significant military importance -- nor bombing of targets outside Viet Nam. Nor has any Republican opposed discussions leading to an honorable settlement at the proper time.

In these critical hours, significant events have come to the forefront.

- \* Revealing that the conflict in Southeast Asia is going badly for the side of freedom, the President sent the First Infantry Division into battle positions.
- \* Secretary of State Dean Rusk warns Red China and any other nation that by the decision to "get into this war" they must realize "the idea of sanctuary is dead."
- \* United States military manpower in Viet Nam grows to 71,000 with the prospects of substantially more ground troops being committed in that war-torn country.
- \* The Soviet Union warns it will step up military aid to the Communist aggressors in Viet Nam.
- \* At a delicate geo-political time a sudden switch in Ambassadors to Viet Nam is ordered by the President.
- \* Speculation grows that military Reservists will be recalled to active duty by the White House.

(more)

\*There is growing talk of the Administration planning to ask Congress for a larger defense budget.

\*Casualty lists grow in Viet Nam as the swamp and jungle war expands.

\*Red China's foreign minister Marshal Chen Yi expresses his hopes that the United States will send 2 million troops predicting "the bigger the intervention, the bigger the defeat will be" for free world forces.

\*Communist aggressor leaders spurn all efforts aimed at settlement.

\*The enemy's military arsenal grows as ships from some of our allies visit North Viet Nam ports unloading war-support cargoes for use against the free world effort to defeat Communist aggression.

\*Members of the President's own Democrat party create doubts by labeling our military effort "McNamara's war" and provide the enemy with damaging propaganda ammunition.

I urge the President to deliver a "state of the emergency" message to dispel the myths, to squelch or to confirm the speculation, to calm the growing uneasiness and unrest in the Nation.

Without violating national security, the President should bring the facts out of the shadows. I strongly recommend that he speak with the Nation without delay in this critical hour of history.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, Leader Thomas H. Kuchel, Whip Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chr. of the Policy Committee Leverett Saltonstall, Chr. of the Conference Thruston B. Morton, Chr. Republican Senatorial Committee Enterul decisions,

PRESIDING OFFICER: The Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss

# THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

# Press Release

Issued following a mind at cashlast I Leadership Meeting

July 15, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford, Leader Leslie C. Arends, Whip Melvin R. Laird, Chr. of the Conference John J. Rhodes, Chr. of the Policy Committee Clarence J. Brown, Ranking Member of mintelly in Vietnme by Rules Committee

> Bob Wilson, Chr. Republican Congressional Committee IMMEDIATE RELEASE

# STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

This is an appropriate time to speak of bipartisanship in foreign policy.

Bipartisanship signifies united support by the two major parties for such policy aims and means as are required for the security of the nation.

A bipartisan foreign policy imposes obligations on both the majority and the minority parties. For the majority party, it downsels frequent consultation with the minority as policy is formulated, and access for the minority to information needed to determine the wisdom of policy.

For the minority party it imposes an obligation to avoid carping about trivia. The minority should avoid the hypocrisy of complaining about measures which it would favor if it were in the position of policy maker. No administration should be blamed for events beyond its control.

Members of both parties must weigh all the consequences of public criticism. There is an obligation to demonstrate to both friend and foe that the American people are united in time of danger. There is an obligation to avoid furnishing grist for the propaganda mills of an enemy.

But bipartisan foreign policy has never meant a cessation of debate, of criticism, of suggestion. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who, more than any other public figure in his time, personified bipartisanship, said that bipartisan foreign policy "simply seeks national security ahead of partisan advantage." But, he added immediately, "Every foreign policy must be totally debated . . . and the 'loyal opposition' is under special obligation to see that this occurs."

Debate, then, should be encouraged. Only in the crucible of full and candid debate can the nation forge a foreign policy which will lead to the ends which all Americans seek to attain -- peace, freedom, and security. Only thus can public understanding and acceptance of foreign policy be achieved.

Bipartisanship in foreign policy demands that representatives of both parties give each other a respectful hearing, that both deal in facts, that both discuss genuine issues, that both avoid distortion and misrepresentation.

We pray that the national security decisions of the President may always be wise. If we must disagree with any of those decisions, we shall never question his sinceredesire for peace. We expect that responsible spokesmen for his party will credit us with similar motives.

Today the President is being called on to make fateful decisions. His efforts to end the fighting in Vietnam by negotiation have been spurned. President Johnson has now decided to increase substantially the commitment of American ground forces in the theater of conflict.

As the military commitment grows, the nation must be clear about its objectives, its responsibilities, and the consequences in Vietnam. This objective can only be the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam can live in peace, freedom, and security.

The objective can be attained only when aggression from within or without is brought to a halt.

The establishment of a coalition government with Communist participation in control of South Vietnam is incompatible with this objective.

Evacuation of American troops under an agreement to be policed by a commission including a Communist member with veto power over commission decisions would be incompatible with this objective.

The desire of the government and the people of the United States to negotiate a peace in Vietnam has been established beyond question. But a peace which would turn South Vietnam over to the Communists -- immediately or after some interval -- must be forthrightly rejected.

Any doubt as to the resoluteness of the United States in the pursuit of the objective of maintaining the freedom and independence of South Vietnam that has arisen is due to unfortunate statements of some Democrats.

Although we do not quarrel with the President in his invitation to the aggressors to negotiate without any pre-conditions, we doubt the wisdom of failing to make it clear that the United States is not going to agree to the kind of treaty and truce provisions that have made possible Communist take-overs in the past.

President Johnson has said that the United States will not withdraw from Vietnam under a meaningless agreement. We suggest that the President assure the nation that no agreement will be made which will make a mockery of the sacrifices already suffered by our American fighting men and the soldiers of South Vietnam.

July 19, 1965 State Jemergency merange statement M Gillerin

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, House Republican Leader on "State of the Emergency" message by the President

July 19, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The hard, bitter facts of the war in Viet Nam come more sharply into focus at this crucial time in our Nation's history.

- \* Enemy guerrillas take control of a vital highway that linked two United States military bases,
- \* Defense Secretary McNamara gets the word from high commanders in Saigon to rapidly expand the number of American combat troops in Viet Nam.
- \* An hour of decision nears for the President to decide whether
  he will call up military Reservists and National Guard divisions,
  However, the American people grow more concerned, more confused by the hour as
  the war situation for them becomes a nilitarre of speculation.

I have urged the President to deliver a "state of the emergency" message to the Nation. As the hours grow more critical, I gain recommend that the Commander-in-Chief candidly tell the Congress and the Nation what we are up against in Viet Nam today and what may be ahead.

The American people who face sacrifices should be given an accurate, honest appraisal within the confines of national security. The hour is getting late.

The Nation waits for a straight-from-the-shoulder message from the White House.

# # # # #



#### STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

House Republican Leader

On United States Air Attacks in North Viet Nam Against Missile Sites: July 27, 1965

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

In view of the anticipated high-level meeting at the White House within 24 hours it is inappropriate for me to comment at this time.

It seems to me that President Johnson should have the opportunity to make a full explanation of the facts to the Congress and to the American people. After such a statement, Republican Leadership will be in a position to comment.

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# # # # # #



# Republican National Committee

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

NATIONAL 8-6800

**NEWS** 



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Following Statement was Approved Unanimously by The Republican Coordinating Committee meeting in Washington, D. C. December 13, 1965

Questions are being raised both at home and abroad as to the devotion of the American people to peace. One cause of this confusion has been the inability of the Johnson Administration to establish a candid and consistently credible statement of our position in Viel Nam. Official statement of the Administration have been conflicting and repeatedly over optimistic. The Communists have skillfully exploited this inadequacy of our present leadership.

We Republicans believe that the people of South Viet Nam should have an opportunity to live their lives in peace under a government of their own choice free of Communist aggression.

We believe that our national objectives should be not the unconditional surrender of North Viet Nam, but unconditional freedom for the people of South Viet Nam and support of their struggle against aggression.

Our nation, with vigorous Republican support and leadership, has dedicated itself to successful resistance to Communist aggression through programs for Greece and Turkey; in Iran, Lebanon and Quemoy-Matsu; in Austria, Trieste and Guatemala, by timely action in the Dominican Republic, and today in Viet Nam.

Under our present policy in Viet Nam, there is a growing danger that the United States is becoming involved in an endless Korean-type jungle war.

A land war in Southeast Asia would be to the advantage of the Communists.



Since it appears that the major portion of North Vietnamese military supplies arrive by sea, our first objective should be to impose a Kennedy-type quarantine on North Viet Nam.

To accomplish our objectives we also recommend the maximum use of American conventional air and sea power against significant military targets.

Our purpose is and must be, once again to repel Communist aggression, to minimize American and Vietnamese casualties, and to bring about a swift and secure peace.



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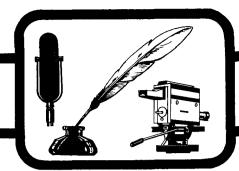
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# GERALD R. FORD

NEWS RELEASE

January 31, 1966
For immediate release

Statement by House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford of Michigan on resumption of bombing of North Vietnam.

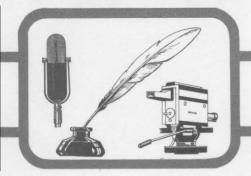
To protect the lives of 200,000 American troops in South Vietnam, the President had no other choice. For more than a month the United States had demonstrated its good faith in an effort to solve the conflict without further loss of life. It is clear that the Viet Cong and their Red Chinese allies want war. The United States must be united in this crisis.

(Statement on President's call for U.N. Security Council meeting)

I wholeheartedly support any action to take this grave matter before the United Nations and I hope the U.N. will fulfill its role in seeking peace.

# # #

Re Hawaii Conf. - LBJ





For immediate release Feb. 4, 1966

In response to inquiries regarding the President's sudden trip to Hawaii to meet with U.S. and South Vietnamese leaders, I can only comment at this time with the following statement.

All other Administration efforts having failed, we hope this conference will lead to a prompt honorable and lasting peace.

The American people and the Congress are entitled to know immediately the full facts that precipitated this crisis conference. What it means is anyone's guess. There certainly has been no information or adequate explanation given thus fer.

Under the circumstances there will be wild speculation ranging from an intensification of the conflict to outright appearement.

Pearl Harbor, where the United States suffered a tragic defeat, should be a sober reminder of the danger of miscalculating the enemy's intention.



Office Copy

House Republican Policy Committee John J. Rnodes, Chairman 140 Cannon House Office Bldg. Phone: 225-6168 Viet Nam

March 2, 1966 Inmediate Release

Republican Folicy Committee Statement on Viet Nam

The deep division within the Democratic Party over American policy in Viet Nam is prolonging the war, undermining the morale of our fighting men and encouraging the Communist aggressor. It has confused the people in other nations about the American purpose and has led North Viet Nam to believe that in time we may falter, that we do not have the necessary will or determination to win. As a result, the peace that this nation and the free world seeks has been delayed, the fighting intensified, and the threat of a major war deepened.

In an effort to please the conflicting elements in the Democratic Party, the Administration has had to dodge and shift. Its policy and position on Viet Nam continues to be marred by indecision, sudden change and frequent reinterpretation. Under the circumstances, it is little wonder that the enemy has been encouraged, our friends dismayed, and the "national unity that can do more to bring about peace negotiations than almost any other thing" delayed.

We, therefore, call upon the President to disavow those within his party who would divide this country as they have divided the Democratic Party. Certainly, as the President has stated, "there is much more that unites us than divides us." However, as long as the party in power cannot agree on such basic issues as whether Americans should be in Viet Nam at all, what our Nation is trying to achieve there and whether the right means are being used, there will continue to be uncertainties, misunderstandings and fears about the war in Viet Nam. America, indeed the world, is waiting for the President to take command of his party. Until this is done, the divisive debate will continue, the confusion will grow, and a peaceful solution will elude us.

Republicans are united in their support of the fighting men in Viet Nam. We also support a policy that will prevent the success of aggression and the forceful conquest of South Viet Nam by North Viet Nam.

In addition, we believe that the people of South Viet Nam should have an opportunity to live their lives in peace under a government of their own choice, free of Communist aggression.

Certainly, these objectives cannot be realized by admitting the Communists to a share of power in a coalition government. For this is "arsenic in the medicine," the "fox in the chicken coop." It would pave the way for a Communist takeover as surely as did the coalition governments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Hungary. Moreover, it would make a cruel and indefensible mockery of the sacrifices of the fighting men in Viet Nam.



Vietnam Medical



## GERALD R. FORD

NEWS RELEASE

For release Friday, March 18, 1966

WASHINGTON--Medical help for South Vietnamese civilians is woefully inadequate and the Administration must act quickly to meet that need, House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford declared today.

Ford said he has received reports of miserable conditions in Vietnam hospitals and in some cases "absolute filthiness" from a Grand Rapids, lichigan, orthopedic surgeon who has donated his services in Vietnam on three occasions and has just returned from a voluntary tour of duty there.

The sirgeon, Dr. Affred B. Swanson, told Ford he is "appalled by the lack of medical facilities in Vietnam."

"It's a national disgrace," Dr. Swanson declared.

Ford noted that Health-Education-Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner, now on a Vietnam tour, has found hospital conditions fully as shocking as Dr. Swanson has described them.

He pointed to a news dispatch from Banmethuot, South

Vietnam, telling how Gardner visited a 30-bed Banmethuot hos
pital ward with 70 men and women patients piled into it and

muttered to the hospital supervisor: "Impossible, impossible."

Gardner flew to the hospital, 170 miles north of Saigon, to see what medical and educational aid South Vietnam lacks.



Dr. Swanson charges that the Administration has talked for years about giving South Vietnam medical aid but hasn't done anything about it.

Ford said he will raise his voice again and again until the Administration acts. He said he hopes to have Dr.Swanson testify before the congressional committees concerned so they can learn what he has seen in Vietnam.

Of Administration officials, Dr. Swanson said:

"Their charts indicate they're doing a lot (about Vietnam's medical problems) but I've been there three times in four years, and there just haven't been any improvements."

He added:

"In a country that's burning and bleeding to death, it's fantastic we aren't doing more to save the lives of the civilian population. It's just plain wrong."

Dr. Swanson said there are many dedicated people providing medical aid in Vietnam but not enough of them.

At the same time, the lack of hospital bed space and other facilities is staggering, Dr. Swanson added.

Dr. Swanson estimated the need for new hospitals at 40 to 50 spotted throughout Vietnam.

He quoted the Vietnamese Army's surgeon general as saying they would cost \$300,000 to \$500,000 apiece and should be designed to include a civilian wing and an army wing with a common laboratory-surgical unit in the center.

(MORE)

"The President should ask Congress to appropriate funds for this program." Dr. Swanson said.

"Congress has just voted \$1.8 billion to replace aircraft shot down over Vietnam. If they would put the same amount of money into social reconstruction, the war would be a lot closer to being won."

"Even now the AID (Agency for International Development)

people over there could at least do something about the filthiness in the hospitals--at least get the walls scrubbed down

on a regular basis. But they won't do it, and their excuse is

that the Vietnamese don't do it and it's their problem.

"It's mostly a matter of the guy at the top (President Johnson) saying, 'Let's do something about this; and if there's anything you can do, we'll back you up.'"

Ford emphasized that Congress has just approved \$415 million in special economic aid for Vietnam. He suggested some of this money could be used to improve medical conditions there.

Dr. Swanson recalled that Vice-President Humphrey on his recent visit to Vietnam pledged help on two fronts--social as well as military. If the United States follows through, the surgeon continued, this should mean medical funds equal to the need.

Dr. Swanson currently is trying to put together a polio immunization program for Vietnam with private assistance coupled with the government's blessing.

(MORE)

He said all he needs to line up 1 million shots of polio vaccine, to transport it to Vietnam, and to get two deep freezers to store it is a letter of intent from Maj. Gen.James W. Humphreys, Jr., public health chief in Vietnam on loan to AID.

Polio is not an epidemic disease in Vietnam but the people are deathly afraid of it, Dr. Swanson said.

He wants to begin by immunizing the 500,000 children in the Saigon area.

# # # # # # #



### CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT, APRIL 18

President Johnson is going to have to make a big decision soon-whether to make greater use of our air and sea power or to send many more U. S. troops to Vietnam, maybe an additional 200,000 or more.

We apparently must make such a choice to achieve even a stalemate in Vietnam and to gain a cease-fire in a war that now looks like a war without end.

Infiltration of enemy troops from North Vietnam into the south has been officially estimated at 4,500 a month. How should we deal with this continued infiltration?

U. S. combat losses so far this year already have exceeded those for all of 1965--1,361 Army, Marine, Navy, and Air Force men killed in combat between January 1 and April 9 as compared with 1,342 men in all of last year.

This reflects the fact that there were only about 25,000 American troops in Vietnam last year at this time, while there now are more than 240,000 there.

Use of more air and sea firepower would seem preferable to sending more U. S. manpower to Vietnam. Let's try this before sending more of our boys into combat.

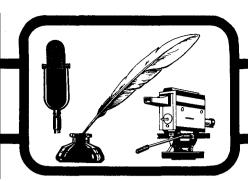
I feel use of more air and sea power could save thousands of American lives and hasten the accomplishing of our objective in Vietnam--to stop Communist aggression, persuade the enemy to agree to a negotiated settlement, and promote an honorable and lasting peace.

Is there a shortage of certain kinds of bombs in Vietnam? The Pentagon has acknowledged that our factories will not be turning out new 750-pound bombs until July and that meantime we're resorting to such things as buying back 5,570 750-pounders we sold to a West German fertilizer firm which wanted the nitrate from the explosives.

We find that the Pentagon sold these bombs to the West German firm for \$1.10 apiece two years ago and now is buying them back for \$21 apiece. That means the German firm is making a gross profit of \$102,124 on the deal--1,200 per cent profit.

If there is no shortage of 750-pound bombs, then I can't understand why the Defense Department would be willing to buy back its own bombs. Let the Pentagon explain that away.

I say such an incident substantiates my charge of mismanagement. I say it's a glaring example of mismanagement. And I'm sure the American people will feel the same way about it.



### GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT, APRIL 19, 1966

CBS News Correspondent Peter Kalisher, quoting what he described as an "unimpeachable" source, reported today from Saigon that "a dire lack of ammunition and explosives" has forced a cutback in U. S. Air Force sorties in South Vietnam from over 400 to less than 100 a day in the past week.

Yet the Defense Department keeps issuing denial after denial of any shortages in Vietnam.

I challenge the Pentagon to level with the American people. I demand that the American people be allowed to know just what is happening in Vietnam.

Kalisher states flatly that there is no bomb shortage in Vietnam but there is a shortage of the things that make bombs go off--fuses, pins, and timing devices. There is also a shortage of 20-milimeter cannon shells.

Why do we have to learn these things from "an unimpeachable source," obviously an American Air Force officer who naturally prefers to remain unidentified?

It should not be left to an unidentified but obviously honest officer to report that Air Force bombers have been taking off half-loaded in Vietnam since the middle of April and that only emergency missions and those in direct support of ground force operations are being flown.

Kalisher reports that the bomb parts shortage apparently is about to be met through shipments now on the way. But he notes that the parts are not in Vietnam now and describes the shortage as "foreseen but not avoided."

These are the hard facts about the conduct of the war in Vietnam. There is no reason for any U. S. officer to give out a false report concerning bomb parts shortages. It's time the Pentagon tore away the veil of secrecy.



### CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT-APRIL 21, 1966

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

A week ago, in reiterating that the Republican minority in the House had given the President every penny he has asked for defense purposes, I raised a question of serious shortages and inadequate advance planning by the civilian managers in the Penatagon which, according to widely publicized reports by reliable and patriotic Americans close to the scene, have been and still are hampering the stepped-up level of combat operations in Vietnam.

These reports, coincident with serious internal disturbances in that troubled country, came as something of a surprise to me, to a great many members of the Congress, of both parties, as well as to the millions of Americans we are here to represent. We had been told in October 1963, by Secretary of Defense McNamara, that most Americans would be out of South Vietnam by the end of 1965. We had been assured, again by Mr. McNamara early last year that neither more combat troops nor more money would be needed in South Vietnam. Late last year, the Defense Secretary returned from a personal inspection of the situation there to say, "We have stopped losing the war!" And we have been told ever since that the situation was improving day by day.

So it produced something of a sonic shock wave when suddenly the front pages of the newspapers and the radio and television newscasts were full of reports of internal unrest, attacks on Americans, and curtailment of combat operations against the Communist enemy. These were variously attributed to supply tieups, shortages of essential equipment, and civil disturbances in South Vietnam. Evidence mounted, and continues to mount, that the Pentagon planners were not adequately prepared to cope with the kind of limited, non-nuclear type of military operation for which they have supposedly been reorganizing since the end of the Eisenhower administration, with much fanfare about modern management methods.

When I raised the question of mismanagement, Mr. McNamara quickly--perhaps too quickly--sought to smother it by sheer weight of computer-like statistics. He called a quickie press conference that afternoon and personally declassified large areas of secret information about U. S. bomb loads and backlogs. This information was presumably classified on the grounds of national security and potential value to the enemy. It was not the first time he has removed the "secret" label when criticism of the Pentagon came too close for comfort.

#### REP. FORD STATEMENT - APRIL 21, 1966

In the course of Mr. McNamara's news conference to discredit his critics--who have never supposed or suggested that any of his mistakes were deliberate or dishonorable--the Secretary found himself partially confirming our concern. He admitted that the Air Force had to buy back 750-pound bombs which had originally cost U. S. taxpayers \$330 apiece, were sold as surplus to a West German fertilizer firm two years ago for \$1.70 apiece, and have now been recovered for \$21 apiece. If this is good management, I am mistaken about the meaning of the word. If there was no bomb shortage, was this transaction really necessary?

Mr. McNamara also denied there is any shipping shortage affecting Vietnam. Yet only last Monday there were reliable reports—one headlined "U. S. Again Short Of Viet Ships" from the April 18 Journal of Commerce—that the government is trying to get 20 or more additional vessels from private shipping companies. It is a known fact that ships have been stacked up for weeks as far away as Manila waiting to unload their Vietnam cargoes. Mr. McNamara cites figures on Post Exchange supplies delivered to Saigon in answer to allegations that our airmen haven't enough bombs.

He says there is no ship shortage, only shortages of dock facilities. I am not interested in playing word games, nor am I interested in playing politics with this serious situation. I am only interested—and I think every member of the House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, is also interested—in seeing that the billions for defense we have unhesitatingly voted is well and wisely spent and that every American sent 10,000 miles from home is given all the support and supplies he needs to protect himself, defend all of us, and bring the war to a swift and satisfactory end.

There has never been any doubt in my mind that every one of my colleagues in the House and Senate, regardless of party, agrees completely on this point. I am proud to see such distinguished Americans and distinguished Democrats as Senator Stennis say, as he did on a national television network last Sunday, that his Preparedness Subcommittee has found evidence of "mismanagement" in Pentagon planning for the war. I am encouraged to hear that Mr. McNamara conceded before the Fulbright committee that we have some "temporary dislocations of supplies" in South Vietnam because that means that he is going to do something about it. I am informed that he sent his chief of Air Force logistics to Saigon to investigate what he calls the non-existent bomb shortages and to eliminate them. That's what we want.

But I am deeply concerned that Mr. McNamara, in his Senate testimony yesterday, brushed off the concern of millions of patriotic Americans as "all this baloney."

I share this concern, and I shall continue to express it. I think such able members of Congress as Senator Stennis, Chairman Garmatz of the House Merchant Marine

REP. FORD STATEMENT - APRIL 21, 1966

Committee, and Congressman Otis Pike of the House Armed Services Committee share

it. I know that many responsible newsmen here, covering the Pentagon and sharing

risks with our fighting men in Vietnam will continue to express their concern

because that is our obligation to the American people.

Now here are just a few of the reports that have come in to corroborate the question I raised a week ago:

- 1. New York Times Correspondent Neil Sheehan, in a front page story from Saigon yesterday, reported that since April 6 "the number of Air Force attack sorties in South Vietnam has shrunk to about 43 per cent of its former level"-from 185 daily sorties dropping about 1000 bombs on Communist targets to an average of 83 sorties and 400 bombs. Rocket firings, according to this reliable report, have fallen even more spectacularly from 2800 a week to 98. Mr. Sheehan says further that our planes are being sent out against the enemy with light loads--which is another way of saying more American manpower is being exposed to combat risks with less firepower. The New York Times dispatch states that "Air Force officers in Vietnam have repeatedly warned the Pentagon over the last four months that munitions were not arriving fast enough to meet requirements" and so far they are still inadequate. This has nothing to do with recent civil disturbances at South Vietnamese ports nor with the internal distribution system of our fine military field commanders under Gen. Westmoreland, according to Mr. Sheehan's sources. This New York Times report was called to Mr. McNamara's attention in the Senate hearings yesterday and he called it "baloney."
- 2. Earlier, CBS News Correspondent Peter Kalischer, quoting what he called an "unimpeachable" source, reported from Saigon that "a dire lack of ammunition and explosives" has forced a cutback in U. S. Air Force sorties from over 400 to less than 100 per day. Kalischer said the critical shortage was not in bombs but in fuses and other key parts that make bombs usable. He also reported a shortage of 20-millimeter cannon shells and planes taking off half-loaded. "Only emergency missions and those in direct support of ground forces operations are being flown," CBS News said. This and other careful reports from trained war correspondents on the scene also, apparently, come under Mr. McNamara's category of "all this baloney."
- 3. The long-range menagement of our overall defense effort can be faulted for its failure to adequately anticipate the needs of the American Merchant Marine, a subject which we discussed at some length yesterday at the House Republican Policy Committee press conference. As recently as the start of this year, Mr. McNamara testified that our merchant fleet was adequate for our defense needs and reaffirmed his earlier preference for airlift. Yet this week the administration is reportedly trying to scrape up 20 or more additional U. S. flag carriers, and the current budget includes funds for replacement of only 9 to 13 of the World War II merchant ships that form the bulk of our dwindling merchant marine--now fallen to about 1000 vessels, mostly old, while the Soviet Union has 1500, mostly new, and 673 more building or on order. In this connection, I note that Mr. McNamara yesterday brushed off questions by the distinguished senator from Kansas, Senator Carlson, about the resale of surplus items by NATO nations. He said it was all "World War II equipment junk." It's a sad fact this is true of much of the Merchant Marine that he considers perfectly adequate. But our alarm over shipping is more "baloney."
- 4. The authoritative magazine, Aviation Week, in a series of articles by a Marine Corps Reserve pilot who spent two morths in Vietnam reports in technical detail on a wide range of ordnance and ammunition shortages, deficiencies and deterioration. The publication, Aviation Daily, in its April 19 issue semmed up the misstatements Mr. McNamara has made in recent weeks and concluded that "he has managed to almost meet himself coming back on some of the stories he has presented to the public."

Mr. McNamara has a great gift for figures. He is extremely agile in the use of words. As I said previously, I am not the least concerned with playing word games. I have not myself used the word "baloney" to characterize disagreements emong equally patriotic Americans. We in the minority in this Congress cannot

REP. FORD STATEMENT - APRIL 21, 1966

selectively declassify information which has been stamped "Secret" in order to substantiate the serious questions raised about the safety and support of our fighting men in Vietnam and the future security of our country.

We must therefore depend in large measure on the kind of responsible, independent reporters I have cited for firsthand information on the situation in Vietnam. I for one do not regard them as "baloney." Whether you call these examples mistakes of judgment, mismanagement, poor planning, faulty foresight, bad bungling or just plain goofs, I don't care. Whether they are "alarming" or "distressing" or "shocking" or whatever word you prefer-they are intolerable as long as they endanger any American soldier, airman, sailor, or marine. They are intolerable as long as we, by asking questions of the Pentagon and persisting after answers, can compel or speed up remedial action. This is the joint duty of the responsible press and the responsible representatives of the people. I intend and hope they intend to continue this duty. It is not "baloney."

## COLUMN FOR 5TH DISTRICT WEEKLIES, WRITTEN MAY 20, 1966 BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

WASHINGTON--My mail indicates that many people in the Fifth Congressional District are losing patience with the Vietnam War because the South Vietnamese have been fighting among themselves for weeks.

I cannot belp but feel there is a moral question involved in the Vietnam Warone which must be answered. That question is: How much longer will Americans be
willing to fight in Vietnam in the cause of freedom if the people whose freedom
the United States is protecting fight among themselves?

We made a commitment to help a legitimate government in Saigon thwart Communist aggression.

The government we now have in Saigon is not a legitimate government. It is a military junta, and Premier Ky obviously intends to remain in power through use of force for at least a year. He has frankly said so.

Our commitment to the South Vietnamese was to help them turn back the Communist aggressor.

Instead, South Vietnamese troops have been so busy fighting each other that for the third week in this war American casualties are greater than those of the South Vietnamese. This is true despite the fact that the South Vietnamese have nearly three times as many troops on the ground as we have.

President Johnson must bear at least some of the responsibility for the mess that has developed in Vietnam's internal affairs at the same time that our men are performing so brilliantly in combat.

Events in Vietnam may make our sacrifices there meaningless. What began as the fulfilling of an international commitment may become a great American tragedy.

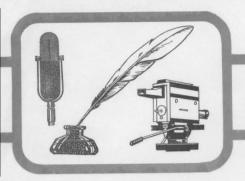
\* \* \*

The way prices have been rising this year, it's as though the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has imposed a 4 per cent income tax increase without your knowing it.

Another way to look at it is that it now costs you \$11.25 to buy the same basket of goods and services you could get for \$10 during the 1957-59 period when President Eisenhower was in the White House.

That's the meaning of the increases in consumer prices that have been reported by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics since the beginning of this year. The government's own figures tell us that inflation is here. But the Administration keeps on spending money as though it was going out of style, and that's the major cause of inflation.

Res AIR Y SEA POWER



### GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



#### FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT JUNE 29, 1966

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

For many, many months the National Republican Coordinating Committee of which I am a member has advocated more effective use of conventional U.S. air and sea power in Vietnam in the firm belief this would shorten the Vietnam War.

Finally the President has seen fit to order air strikes against oil supply depots near Hanoi and Haiphong. This raises the question...Why were these raids not carried out much earlier in the war?

Defense Secretary McNamara failed to answer this question satisfactorily at his news conference this morning. Yet McNamara himself said the raids on the oil depots will make it "far more difficult and far more costly for the North to continue the infiltration" of men and material which is the basis for continued fighting in the South.

The American people should demand to know of the Johnson Administration why the attacks on the petroleum depots were not made months ago. American casualties during this period have increased sharply.

The people also should ask the Administration why it continues to allow the shipping of military supplies into North Vietnam through the port of Haiphong.

The National Republican Coordinating Committee has backed basic Administration policy in Vietnam--that of helping South Vietnam thwart Communist aggression and terror.

But as long ago as last December 13 the GOP Coordinating Committee urged full use of conventional U.S. air and sea power against significant military targets in North Vietnam and recommended a Kennedy-type quarantine of Haiphong.

The Republican Coordinating Committee made these recommendations to minimize American and South Vietnamese casualties, to shorten the war, and to achieve a secure peace in Vietnam. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has been tardy in adopting these obviously sound military tactics.



FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen

of Illinois

Thomas H. Kuchel

of California

Bourke B. Hickenlooper

of Iowa

Leverett Saltonstall

of Massachusetts

Thruston B. Morton

The National Chairman

of Kentucky

Ray C. Bliss

### THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: Gerald R. Ford

Gerald R. Ford of Michigan

Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois

Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin

John J. Rhodes of Arizona

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Bob Wilson of California

Charles E. Goodell of New York

#### Press Release

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Issued following a Leadership Meeting and the bus smooth

August 25, 1966

#### IMMEDIATE RELEASE was a doequar and al adriesarger abneralmod abser

Never before in American history has this nation been involved in a war more difficult, more unpopular and so little understood.

Never before has any Administration been so frustrated in its foreign policy or, as it now appears, so uncertain as to the next step to be taken.

As you know, a proposal has been made, initially by the Foreign Minister of Thailand, recommending the convening of an all-Asian Conference to work toward a just and peaceful settlement of the war in Viet Nam.

Because the securing of a just and honorable peace is the clear desire of every loyal American, we believe that the proposal of an all-Asian Peace Conference deserves prompt and thorough consideration. To those who remind us needlessly that neither Communist China nor Communist North Viet Nam would attend such a Conference, we reply that neither would the United States be a participant, but we endorse unhesitatingly such a peace-seeking effort by all other Asian nations. That Asian Communists disapprove or would oppose such a Conference should not surprise nor discourage us nor should it impede such an endeavor by men of good-will elsewhere in Asia.

To those who recommend a reconvening of the Geneva Conference, we must insist that such an approach is no longer viable nor valid, because the approach must come from the Asian nations themselves. A peaceful and honorable settlement of the conflict in Viet Nam cannot now be originated, formulated or influenced by non-Asian interests. Only under Asian skies, under Asian auspicies, under Asian responsibility and guidance can such a move now be made with genuine hope of success.

The Republican Leadership emphasizes again its wholehearted support of our armed forces in Southeast Asia. We reaffirm our determination that Communist aggression in South Viet Nam shall be overcome and that peace with freedom shall be re-established in that troubled land.

Our encouragement and endorsement of the proposal of an all-Asian Peace Conference represents, in one respect, a new and important Republican foreign policy position. It emphasizes once more, however, our determination that the Republican Party shall continue strongly to maintain its historic and cherished position as the party of peace.

RE: V-N ELECTION



### GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE MONDAY, SEPT. 12, 1966

The large turnout of voters in Vietnam's election of a constitutional assembly lays the first stone in building a foundation for representative democracy in that war-torn land. Americans should be most gratified.

We may now expect that next year there will be elections in Vietnam to establish a representative government to run the country in place of the military junta which now controls it. This would be a most healthy development. It would serve to undercut the standing of the Vietcong with the people and likely would promote genuine support for the central government.

Meantime the writing of a new constitution for Vietnam is a matter of greatest importance. Some of the proposals being considered include land reform aimed at granting all peasants the land they are presently working, a section restoring to villages the self-governing power which provincial chiefs have taken from them, and a provision giving the to-be-elected parliament the right to investigate activities of the executive branch of government.

The activities of the Vietnam constitutional assembly over the next six months should be quite constructive. If performance bears out promise, the people of Vietnam will be the gainers and the cause of world freedom will advance.





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Re: White Paper "= V-N

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD (R-Mich.), MINORITY LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, September 20, 1965.

#### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The report of the House Republican Planning and Research Committee, "The United States and the War in Vietnam," is being released at a time when this war is becoming as big for the United States as the Korean War ever was.

This report is a factual and objective recital of the relationship of our nation with Vietnam since 1950.

The facts which it contains raise questions which are on the minds of the public. Even as staunch a Democrat as Richard N. Goodwin, foreign policy adviser to both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, recognized public concern about the aspects of Vietnamese policy criticized in this document when he said, ... there has never been such intense and widespread deception and confusion as that which surrounds this war."

What Mr. Goodwin calls "deception and confusion" in relation to Vietnam is an issue of the 1956 campaign.

At the mid-term election, the voters will decide whether they want the Congress to exercise its responsibilities in the field of foreign policy more vigorously or want the Congress to be a docile instrument of the President -- weither effectively questioning, nor investigating, nor checking and restraining the executive branch.

The decision of the voters on these matters will have an important effect





#### **CONGRESSMAN** GERAL **FORD**

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 28, 1966

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

I hope the October meeting between President Johnson and a few Asian leaders improves prospects for peace in Vietnam, but I am inclined to doubt it. There is far more reason to believe that an all-Asian peace conference in which no western power would participate -- including the United States -- would have a far better chance to succeed.

The meeting as now planned has definite political overtones. It was announced by Philippine President Marcos. Yet it was Marcos who on September 21 urged an all-Asian peace conference in an appearance before the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Marcos peace proposal was focused on an all-Asian Peace Conference, with the Soviet Union to act as chief mediator in arranging U.S. - North Vietnamese peace talks. Now President Marcos has announced a U.S. - Asian Conference. It would be interesting, indeed, to learn the basis for this change in Mr. Marcos' position.

I had hoped Mr. Johnson would not mix domestic politics and honest endeavors for peace in Vietnam.

But I also expected that the President would make some gesture aimed at taking the heat off the Democrats on the Vietnam issue just prior to the Nov. 8 election.

It is ironic that the State Department spoke favorably of the all-Asian Peace Conference as espoused by Republican leaders but said it could not push the idea because this might kill it. The current move by Mr. Johnson undercuts the Republican peace proposal.

Since I do not believe the Manila meeting will lay the groundwork for peace talks with North Vietnam, I suggest the President use that opportunity to ease the U.S. burden in Vietnam. President Johnson might well use the occasion to persuade more of our Asian allies to increase their troop commitments in Vietnam so we will not be carrying so disproportionate a military load.



#### Republican National Committee

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

NATIONAL 8-6800

**NEWS** 



IMMEDIATE RELEASE October 3, 1966

Statement adopted by the Republican Coordinating Committee, meeting October 3, 1966:

#### VIETNAM AND THE MANILA CONFERENCE

President Johnson will meet with some of our Asian friends late this month at Manila and he will carry with him the good wishes of every American. The Republican Coordinating Committee makes no issue of the fact that this conference could as well have been held six months or a year ago. As we pledged in our statement of December 13, 1965, we will wholeheartedly and unanimously support every effort to defeat Communist aggression and to achieve an honorable peace whenever or wherever made

We earnestly hope the conference will result in practicable steps toward achieving such a peace. Meanwhile we trust that the conference will produce a significant increase in hilitary, economic and political support from our allies.

We insist that every practicable step toward winning the war be taken in support of the thousands of Americans now engaged in deadly combat. Their sacrifices must not be in vain.

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 CSTATEMENT BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

OF THE CONGRESS

Press Release

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

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Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin

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H. Allen Smith of California

Bob Wilson

of California Charles E. Goodell of New York

Richard H. Poff of Virginia

FOR RELEKSEan AN Cramer January 19, 1968

The Republican Leadership of the House and Senate calls upon the President to make known to the American people the background and political character of British writer and cameraman Felix Greene, producer of a film entitled "North Vietnam -- A Personal Report."

Greene's film, which is called a viewing must by the American Communist Party's offical newspaper "The Worker," will be shown on Jan. 22 by the National Educational Television network.

In order that the American people may properly judge the motivation behind the Greene film and the message it is intended to convey, it is essential that they have insight into the purposes of the producer. The Executive Branch of our government has full and reliable information about the background of Felix Greene. It is for this reason the Republican Leadership of the Congress demands that the White House publicly disclose relevant information it has on the producer of the film. The American public has the right to know.

In our view, Greene clearly is a propogandist for the Communist cause who seeks to portray the United States as the aggressor in the He also hopes to convince the American people that the North Vietnamese are a gallant little people who are being inhumanly butchered by the United States.

Radio Hanoi describes Greene's movie as "the first full-length film on the U.S. imperialists' crimes in their air raids against the DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam)."

"The Worker" comments: "Above all you will admire the spirit of liberty in that brave little country(North Vietnam)." "You must see this film," The Worker continues. "You will then realize, as perhaps never before, how foolish is President Johnson's claim that the demonstrations in this country prolong the Vietnamese resistence. The fact It is the heroic resistance by (North) Vietnam that is is the opposite. increasing the anti-warm demonstration of the Leadership John B. Fisher
The Republican Leadership believes that it is our duty to demand

that our government make known the "credentials," motives and purposes of the producer.



## CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD

NEWS RELEASE

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--January 23, 1968

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

The United States Government should demand that North Korea release the U.S. Navy intelligence ship, the Pueblo, forthwith. If the vessel was cruising in international waters, as was apparently the case, there is no justification whatever for the action taken by the North Koreans.

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### THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

Press Release

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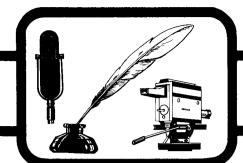
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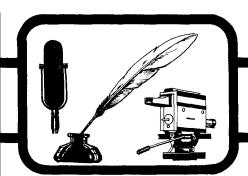
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# # #



### GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--April 1, 1968

All of the excitement generated by President Johnson's decision not to seek re-election has obscured the significance of his statements regarding Vietnam.

It seems clear to me that the President has made a major policy decision of great importance to the American people and to the world--namely, that it does not make sense for the United States to greatly increase its troop commitment in Vietnam. I applaud that decision. I think it is sound. I think it reflects a realization by the President that any future increases in allied troop strength in Vietnam should come from South Vietnamese manpower. I endorse that view.

I join the President in the hope that we can move toward an early and honorable peace in Vietnam. If, indeed, his order to halt the bombing of the North will not endanger our troops in the South and will lead to productive peace talks, then it is a good decision. However, it must be remembered that the United States suspended its bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong for 17 days without announcement prior to the Communist Tet offensive of Jan. 31. Hanoi's answer was a savage attack on some 30 South Vietnamese cities. The difference now is that the President's announcement has put Hanoi on center stage in the arena of world opinion.

Regrettably, if peace talks begin now, the United States and South Vietnam will be approaching the bargaining table at a time when most of South Vietnam's country-side is in Communist hands as a result of the Tet offensive.

I hope all Americans unite behind the President in his moves toward peace in Vietnam. But it is difficult to see how the President's decision not to seek reelection will dissolve the basic differences between the President's supporters and those individuals backing Sens. Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

It now can be expected that Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey will contend with Kennedy and McCarthy for the Democratic presidential nomination. There are those who will recall that when Sen. Kennedy first proposed a coalition government for South Vietnam with the Communists being given a share of the power, Humphrey said this was like putting the fox in the coop with the chickens.

So the scene has changed, but then again it has not changed. Unless the President and Vice-President Humphrey now favor a Kennedy-McCarthy type solution in Vietnam, the division within the Democratic Party remains.



# CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS RELEASE

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--May 3, 1968

#### Hanoi-Paris Comment

I am delighted that initial Vietnam peace talks now can get under way.

Paris is a good site from the standpoint that conditions will be favorable for complete press coverage. It is important that the American people be kept informed as to the progress--or lack of it--made during the talks. I hope that later we can move quickly from preliminary talks into genuine peace negotiations.

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#### Taxes and Spending

Republicans are dismayed that the President is apparently unwilling to agree to responsible compromise on spending and taxes. His adamant attitude is hardly the way to meet the fiscal crisis which confronts the Nation. There must be a solution that will be joined in by members of both parties who realize the gravity of the situation.