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"The Citizen and the Republican Party"

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

Much of the mail coming into my Congressional office from Michigan residents reflects a sense of frustration at the domestic and foreign policies of the present Administration and the question, "What can I do?" is often asked. It is an unfortunate thing when citizens of our nation begin to feel that their government has become a thing apart from them. While I ordinarily attempt to evaluate every problem and issue in terms of what is best for my constituents and for the Nation irrespective of party position, this year I have come to the conclusion that the only way the American people can have genuine peace with honor through strength abroad, and the only way they can enjoy prosperity in conjunction with their individual dignity and worth at home, is to elect a Republican Congress in the all-important elections of 1962.

Here in Michigan, as throughout the nation, there is a different approach among Republicans to some specific issues in domestic and foreign policy. However, there are areas of common agreement far surpassing the synthesis found in the other major political party today. As Senator Barry Goldwater, Governor Nelson Rockefeller and former Vice-President Richard Nixon can share a national platform on any topic with a common thread of basic agreements, so too can the most so-called "liberal" Republican in Michigan agree with the more "conservative" Republican as to the reasons why our party must be placed in charge of the future affairs of our state before bankruptcy and ruin become the legacy of future Michigan generations.

To me, the key principles which bind Republicans together are immeasurably more important than any disagreements which may tend to keep some apart. They include:

1. Freedom of the individual, with equal rights and opportunity for all, is the key to the greatness of our nation. While the state must fulfill its obligation to assist those of its citizens who are in genuine need, individual initiative and resourcefulness must be constantly encouraged.



2. A free enterprise economy is essential to the continuation of our free society. Thus, government regulation must foster and not hinder the growth of that economy and the development of new opportunities for employment.

3. The burden of taxation of Michigan and of the nation must be lightened where possible and practical. Reductions in taxes can be most effectively accomplished by the elimination of non-essential governmental expenditures. Economy in government at all levels must replace extravagance and waste.

4. Ever-increasing centralization of power and authority is entirely inconsistent with the preservation of our democratic way of life. Governmental authority must be decentralized. This can best be done if Michigan's state, county and local governments reassume their fundamental responsibilities to their citizens.

5. The United States of America must continue to be the bulwark of liberty throughout the world. Our leadership must be based not on the policy of meeting aggression on the terms of the aggressor, but rather by an effective military posture of mixed forces and the willingness to commit these forces where necessary to deter Soviet aggression anywhere in the world.

Thus the Republican party can not be characterized by words like "liberal" or "conservative". The late Senator Arthur Vandenberg once said, "What is a conservative? At one point the dictionary says 'one who seeks to prevent loss, decay or injury, and who protects and preserves.' In that sense, I want my party to be conservative. . . . But at another point the dictionary says that a conservative is 'one ~~not~~ opposed to change or progress.' In that sense I do not want my party to be conservative. If it is static, it will die."

In looking at the first eleven months of government under the New Frontier and the policies followed by the Republican leadership in Congress and in other national, state and local levels in our nation, I can point to several concrete examples of just why the Republican Party offers the best hope for the citizen--be he laborer, businessman, or in any other walk of life.



In Federal Aid to Education legislation, the Republican party has repeatedly endorsed efforts to allocate federal funds to those school districts where maximum need exists and where supreme local effort has been made in vain to solve problems on a local level. During the Eisenhower Administration, some such legislation was enacted, but the New Frontier advocated a completely new concept in education legislation which would make the federal government in principle responsible for education in every facet at every level of learning. HEW estimates that some 607,000 classrooms must be built during the decade of the 60's to take care of added enrollment, existing backlogs and replacement of obsolete facilities. At present, the average annual construction of new classrooms on a ~~private/enterprise/basis~~ local school district basis has reached almost 70,000--which would mean 100,000 more classrooms than ^{are} necessary under current construction conditions *during the next ten years.*

No provision was made in the 1961 legislative proposals of the Administration which would in any way reward those school districts which have themselves paid for needed improvements in their educational systems. As a matter of fact, the suspicion is that local school districts may reduce their efforts if general Federal aid to education were to become an actuality at this time. Here in Michigan we would particularly be injured if school districts or States which hold back on tax revenue in order to pirate our industry would be rewarded under these circumstances.

The advocates of general Federal aid for education have, in short, made no successful effort to justify current legislation on the basis of either need or local effort of both. Republicans wished only to aid the $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of the school districts of our nation in true need and those who had exerted all possible local effort.

Republicans in Congress also showed the varying philosophies between, rather than among, the political parties as far as the recession and anti-recession measures were concerned. After the sound and fury of the election campaign and preliminary pronouncement by Administration leaders about "the depths of the depression" and the firm action that had to be taken to bring prosperity to the American people once more, the actual experience of the American economy once more proved that the private enterprise system prevailed. We emerged from the recession without the aid of one ^{so called} anti-recession measure. Republicans

generally supported ADC extension and extension of unemployment compensation benefits as temporary stopgap remedies, but otherwise, had the justified faith that the economy would emerge of its own volition.

Meanwhile, the Administration and the majority leadership in the Congress enacted an Area Redevelopment bill which was one of the most ineffective and ill-conceived pieces of legislation emerging from the New Frontier. A housing bill equally expensive and ineffective in its long-range effects was passed, with a total of \$8.8 billion in back-door spending ~~pp~~ written into the bill. In its economic legislation, the 87th Congress consistently trampled traditional concepts of interstate commerce regulation, leaving the way open for new Federal water pollution enforcement provisions applying to all waters in every State, even though the pollution and its effects are entirely intrastate.

The results of this have been an expansion of governmental expenditures now and in the future. The American taxpayer, cheered by President Eisenhower's preliminary estimate showing a balanced budget for fiscal year 1962, looked up 9 months later and found that his equity in America had been rudely shaken by the following events:

1. Actions of Congress will lead to an increase of \$12.5 billion in new obligational authority over the estimates of former President Eisenhower for fiscal year 1962. Meanwhile, some \$19.5 billion in identifiable back-door spending was included in the authorization bills enacted during 1961, leaving a total of some \$113 billion as this session's contribution to Federal expenditures.

2. The cost of civilian employment in the executive branch of the Federal Government reached its all-time high at the end of fiscal year 1961. The total annual Federal expenditures for its civilian payroll reached \$13.6 billion, and an additional

16,700 employees joined the New Frontier in July, 1961, alone. The Administration ^{on} ~~then~~ *October* after browbeating the Congress for more & more spending from January to became penny wise and pound foolish in dismissing several security officials in the September. This "John Come-lately" appearance casts a shadow as to the State Department and in vetoing postal longevity legislation to try to recoup some of validity of the New Frontier efforts to save the taxpayers. After all Congress cut the the billions thrown away by unsound legislation mentioned above.

Kennedy budget by over \$2 billion. Much more could have been saved if this economy attitude that prevailed
3. A projected surplus of \$100 million for F.Y. 1961 was permitted to lapse to cash

a deficit of over \$3 billion--while a projected surplus of \$1.5 billion for F.Y. 1962 now turns out to be a deficit approaching \$7 billion. Action by Republicans and some

conservative Democrats did hold down spending somewhat. They rejected \$8 billion requested in back-door appropriations for foreign aid while holding to the concept of necessary long range foreign aid planning. A \$325 million school construction bill was defeated in the House. A gigantic agricultural bill, ^{a bureaucratic monstrosity,} ~~amounting to some \$12.15 billion~~ ~~annually~~ by Farm Bureau estimates, was rejected in Committee. However, the total 1961 Congressional authorizations for new obligational authority and back-door spending amounted to \$628 for every man, woman and child in the United States. This commits the citizens of Grand Rapids, Michigan, to some \$111 million and the citizens of Michigan to 4.9 billion dollars in spending merely through the actions of the New Frontier and the 87th Congress. What the taxpayers of our state could do with this money on a local level gives new directions to the imagination.

4. As the ranking Republican member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, I backed the Administration in its requests geared to giving us a stronger defense. While I would have preferred a foreign policy more along the lines of the past Republican Administration, which made amply clear the fact that we not only had appropriate weapons of retaliation but also that we would not hesitate to use them if the need arose, I felt that only through a position of strength could the United States successfully meet the challenge of atheistic Communism. However, I was disappointed that the Administration ^{but only} refused to hold down nondefense spending to ^{at least in part} compensate for this increase of almost \$6.5 billion in the defense budget since January.

We must guard not only against the Soviet threat in a military way, but we must also have an America which develops with determination its productive power. American can and must face up to the hard fact that if our free society is to be preserved, we as a nation can afford neither the luxury of inadequate defense nor an unsound economy stemming from habitual unbalanced budgets. This nation must reject the ~~fat~~ philosophy that our only choice in order to prevent military surrender to the Russians is to spend ourselves into an economic and political defeat.

On May 24, 1957, Khrushchev stated that "we do not intend to blow up the capitalist world with bombs. If we catch up with the United States in per capita production of meat,

butter and milk we will have hit the pillar of capitalism with the most powerful torpedo yet." Thus inflationary pressures resulting from defense spending for spending's sake or from unsound nondefense expenditures could cripple our economic and military strength alike.

The Republican Party, here in Michigan and in the nation, is geared toward a sound policy of fiscal responsibility at home while meeting the genuine needs of the American citizenry. In foreign policy, it advocates strength ^{militarily} ~~militarily~~, firmness diplomatically, and an understanding of our aims for victory in the Cold War among the American people. This is in refreshing and marked contrast with the policies of the other political party in America, which seeks to neglect the creeping hours of time to the extent that our Nation may someday be faced with the alternative of runaway inflation or rigid governmental controls domestically, and perhaps with an international crisis rendering our deterrent incredible and exposing ourselves to the onslaught of whatever minions communism deems to be expendable.

No label today can characterize either of our major political parties. However, the Republican party is liberal enough to march with the times and to dare new answers to new problems and to use the power and strength and initiative of Government to help citizens help themselves. It is conservative enough to apply to the issues of the day principles of our American republic as they are and not as some people wish they would be.

Edmund Burke once said that "the people never give up their liberties but under some delusion." The Republican Party seeks today to ~~banish~~ delusions which would blind American citizens to their stake in government, and, more importantly, to their government's stake in them. This is why a victory for our party, in the state and in the Nation, becomes so vital in 1962.



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