

The original documents are located in Box D19, folder “Kansas Day, Topeka, KS, January 25, 1965” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

MINORITY LEADER

United States
House of Representatives

Gerry:

If this speech is to be used,
I recommend that excerpts from it be
released to the Washington press. The
excerpts would omit the local references
but would retain the emphasis on
a positive and constructive Republican
stance.

Bill

Congressman
Dole -
Bill Katz

Dorothy Davis



CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
Republican Conference
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

DRAFT OF SPEECH FOR MON. GERALD R. FORD FOR KANSAS DAY,
TOPEKA, KANSAS, January 29, 1965

I have come to this great Republican State to join with you in the observance of an historic occasion, but I have come to talk more of the future than of the past.

It is particularly fitting that I talk about the future of our Party in Kansas, the most Republican State in the Union. I think it is clear that you retained possession of this proud title in 1964 by electing the able and distinguished former Congressman Bill Avery as your Governor, by supporting him with Republican majorities in both houses of your Legislature, by filling all constitutional offices with Republicans, and by choosing an all-Republican Congressional delegation. I wish Michigan had a record like that.

Kansas has always had a special relationship with the Republican Party. It was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the dramatic struggle in turbulent Kansas that gave the final stimulus to the formation of the Republican Party in 1854. On the first Kansas Day -- the date of the admission of this state to the Union in 1861 -- the first Republican President was winding up his affairs in Springfield, Illinois, before moving to Washington for his inauguration. Kansas gave the Party a Presidential nominee in time of adversity in 1936 and in time of triumph in 1952 and 1956. Today Kansas gives the nation and the Republican



CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
Republican Conference
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

2. Kansas Day Speech

Party a Congressional delegation of superb quality in its two Senators, Frank Carlson and Jim Pearson, and my five House colleagues. Chet Mize, the Representative of this district will, I predict, be one of the ^{most} ~~more~~ distinguished and effective Members of Congress.

I began by saying that I would talk more of the future than of the past. But, in planning for the future, we Republicans cannot ignore the past. "Those who do not learn from the past are doomed to repeat it." We have learned a few things from past mistakes, and we are not going to repeat them.

We have learned that Party disunity is disastrous. In the Nation -- and in most of the states -- the Republican Party, being the minority party, can win elections only if Republican ranks hold fast. In most states we need non-Republican votes to win, but this vote from Independents and Democrats must be in addition to -- not in lieu of -- a solid Republican vote. A substantial defection by Republican voters makes the election of Republican candidates impossible.

The first task before us is to re-unite the Republican Party. It is a process that is now well under way. Let no Republican impede it. Let us avoid obsessive emphasis on the things that divide Republicans and let us concentrate on the beliefs which we all share. For the things Republicans agree on are far more numerous and basic than the things on which they disagree.

CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
Republican Conference
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

3. Kansas Day Speech

In the 89th Congress, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives will set an example of unity for the members of the Party. legislative record of the next two years. Right now a This unity will be manifested in the legislative program, which I am confident will commend the support of virtually all Republicans, is being hammered out. When completed it will provide convincing evidence that Republicans are united, that Republicans are keenly aware of urgent national problems, and that Republicans have constructive solutions for those problems.

We mean to do our duty as the representatives of approximately 43 per cent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as I conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being with fiscal responsibility.

I have never been able to accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility. Sometimes, it is true, our job is to oppose -- to say a flat "no" -- to the proposals and policies of a Democratic Administration. This is our role when the Administration proposes a measure that is destructive ^{of} ~~to~~ a goal such as freedom or security.

Most of the time, however, our job is of a different nature. Sometimes it is to work to perfect and modify an aspect of Administration policy while accepting ^{the} ~~one~~ policy in part. This is what we tried to do when we insisted on coupling restraint on Federal spending with the income tax cut of 1964.

CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
Republican Conference
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

4. Kansas Day Speech

Sometimes -- whenever we believe the Administration to be right -- our job is to give it wholehearted support. This we did when the President decided to retaliate against North Viet Nam for attacks on American vessels on the high seas last summer.

But even this is not the full measure of our responsibility. We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the Administration. We must take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the Administration's proposals are unwise. This we will do in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care for older people.

Secondly, we must press for action to deal with the problems to which the Administration is blind or indifferent. This type of initiative has been taken by Republican Senators, notably John Williams of Delaware, in forcing unwilling Democrats to delve to the bottom of the Bobby Baker case. In another field of policy, Congressman Shriver performed this kind of service over the past two years as a member of a Republican task force of the House of Representatives which worked out a comprehensive proposal for eliminating the danger of Castro's Communism in Latin America.

Other examples can be cited from the record of the Kansas Members of Congress. Bob Dole worked valiantly to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from depressing market prices by dumping surplus grain.



CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
Republican Conference
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

5. Kansas Day Speech

Joe Skubitz fought to prevent beef imports from disrupting the market for domestic producers.

As I listened to the President's State of the Union message, I was astounded to hear so little about the farmer and his urgent problems. Only five lines of that address dealt with agriculture. The Congress to which this message was delivered must consider important legislation affecting Kansas and many other states since the present wheat and feed grain programs expire with the 1965 crop.

It seems that the problems of agriculture will have low priority in the legislative program of this Congress unless we Republicans work to correct this blind spot in the Administration's vision of our society.

This we shall do. Republicans in Congress are already working on legislation to establish truly voluntary programs for these important crops... programs which would improve farm income, strengthen market prices, and leave farm management decisions on the farm to be made by farmers -- where they belong.

These are the kind of things we Republicans were elected to do and these are the things we intend to do in 1965 and in 1966. And we shall write a Republican record which we can proudly submit to the American public in the election of 1966. In writing the record, Republicans of the House and Senate will be working in close collaboration with each other.



CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States

Republican Conference

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

6. Kansas Day Speech

We should explore problems and seek solutions with an open mind, unfettered by a narrow ^{dogmatism} ~~dogmatism~~. Where change from old positions is dictated by change of circumstances we should not hesitate to modify prior policy.

The Party of Lincoln must always be mindful of these words of his:

"THE DOGMAS OF THE QUIET PAST ARE INADEQUATE TO THE STORMY PRESENT. THE OCCASION IS PILED HIGH WITH DIFFICULTY AND WE MUST RISE WITH THE OCCASION. AS OUR CASE IS NEW, SO WE MUST THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW."

We intend to do our level best to see to it that Republicans get credit for their ideas and their achievements. One of the great handicaps under which our Party labors is the widespread impression that it is intellectually barren and that it is negative in outlook.

This impression would not be so widespread if Republicans tooted their horn more effectively and insistently.

It is a little known fact that the final form of the Manpower Development and Retraining Act of 1962 substantially reflected the proposals of Republican Congressman Charles E. Goodell of New York. This Act was, further, an outgrowth of the work of a Republican House Task Force, called Operation Employment, to which Congressman Bob Ellsworth (who is not here today because he is attending an international conference in London) made an outstanding contribution.

It is a little known fact that the Federal assistance granted to two-year community colleges in the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963

CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States

Republican Conference

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

7. Kansas Day Speech

is in that legislation because of the insistence of Republican Clifford Case of New Jersey.

It is a little known fact that relief from some part of the Federal income tax for those who pay educational expenses was proposed by the Republican Committee on Program and Progress in 1959, by the Republican Platform of 1960, by the Declaration of Republican Policy and Principle of 1962, and by the Republican Platform of 1964.

It is a little known fact that many Republicans in House and Senate, including Senator Goldwater, introduced legislation to provide such relief. I find it ironic that this approach to the problems of education is now associated by the press with the name of a Democratic Senator, who, three years ago, as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, was battling these Republican proposals.

It is a little known fact that Republicans sought for years to eliminate a variety of excise taxes, only to meet adamant resistance from the Administration, which this year has adopted this Republican policy.

It is a little known fact that Republicans down through the years gave overwhelming support to legislation to protect human rights and promote equality. More than 80 per cent of Republicans in Congress were supporting such proposals when a majority of the Democrats, including Lyndon Johnson, were voting against even one mildest protection of the right to vote. Without Republican initiative there would be no Civil Rights Act of 1964 - or of

CHAIRMAN
MELVIN R. LAIRD, M.C.
7TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
SECRETARY
RICHARD H. POFF, M.C.
6TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA
RESEARCH DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

MINORITY LEADER
GERALD R. FORD, M.C.
5TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM C. CRAMER, M.C.
12TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
Republican Conference
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

8. Kansas Day Speech

any other year - on the statute books.

I could extend indefinitely this list of constructive Republican initiatives of the very recent past which have been largely overlooked by the public. No party can rest, however, on its past proposals or accomplishments.

The Republicans in Congress are looking ahead, as is your administration and legislature in Kansas. They have begun to do their part in the exciting work of rebuilding the Party into a more vigorous agency than it ever has been in the past. In this great task there is work for every Republican. Let us all get at it.



ADDRESS BY HON. GERALD R. FORD (R. MICH.)
REPUBLICAN LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT TOPEKA, KANSAS

January 29, 1965

The slogan of a political hootenanny during the current Kansas Day celebration described Topeka at this significant point in time as "a place to meet and greet your favorite friends."..... There is an obvious footnote, "enemies we don't need;" we have enough.

This message could be used as a slogan for Republican get-togethers everywhere.

Kansas, the most Republican State in the Nation, has shown its political friendship and allegiance with our Party in many ways.

Voters elected former Congressman ^{my very close personal friend} Bill Avery, as Governor last year, supporting him with Republican majorities in both houses of the Kansas Legislature, and filling all constitutional offices with Republicans.

^{9 further} Kansas has an All-Republican, and let me add, an ALL-American, delegation in Congress -- Senators Frank Carlson and Jim Pearson... Representatives Chet Mize, Bob Dole, Garner Shriver, Joe Skubitz and Bob Ellsworth.

Bob is attending an international ^{of function} conference in London tonight. He is one of the official United States representatives to attend



the late, revered
the funeral of Winston Churchill tomorrow.

I am delighted to be here this evening, meeting and greeting friends. It is not a time to discuss enemies, *be man our fate or look fearfully at the future.*

A friend of mine in Michigan -- a writer and philosopher -- has described this nation as a place "where a man can live deeper, reach higher, see farther, think bigger, and grow greater than anywhere else on earth."

The Republican Party -- starting at this moment -- must be dedicated to do just that. To accomplish the task, we need far more members in the ranks, more unity in the Party, the same courage, resourcefulness, creative ideas and readiness to work and earn our way as did the pioneers who stretched America from sea to shining sea with their minds and hands.

There are detailed jobs to be tackled immediately by the 89th Congress. Republicans must move ahead with vision, dedication, and wisdom to help guide our Nation toward the goals of freedom, security peace, and at the same time honestly advocating and effectively achieving federal fiscal responsibility.

As we move ahead on occasion
At times, Republicans in Congress should adamantly oppose both the



*EARN
Admit problems?*

*Wm. H. Hunt
Chicago
House*

the aims and methods of the Democratic Administration. On the other hand, there will be instances where Republicans can agree with the objectives of a Democratic program but oppose the method of solution because the

in contrast Republicans have a better proposal to solve an *national* admitted problem.

However, whenever, we believe a Democratic Administration is right, *and I emphasize*
"right" for America
 we should give wholehearted support.

As a footnote There may be times in this Congress when Republicans, individually and collectively, will be more helpful to the President than some or even many in the Democratic ranks.

& all Republicans
advised
For example I fully endorse the President's goals of greater efficiency in government and a less burdensome tax system. At the same time, I *deeply* regret that Mr. Johnson in his proposed new budget omitted any reference to fiscal responsibility.

✓ In the President's version of a budget he wants Congress to adopt, the planned, predicted deficit is \$5.3 BILLION. I insist that in these times of economic prosperity our federal government, which is really you and I and millions of others, has a moral obligation to pay its own way.

At the present rate of government spending, our children and generations to come will be ^{literally} buried under a financial load of multiplied carrying charges that can only adversely affect their way of life.

Republicans must vigorously take the initiative by:

1. Reversing the rapidly expanding trend of having too much federal control over States, cities, towns, small communities and counties. A leviathan federal government dwarfs and makes impotent local governments.
2. Hammering out rules that mean spending public money more wisely, by having a more efficient government living within its budget, with the result of both a balanced budget and lower federal taxes.
3. Battling for a foreign policy with one aim -- to encourage and assist all peoples of the world in the development of their greatest potential in a free and just society. The United States will help those nations where there is a will and a capacity for freedom plus a desire to have or earn responsibility in the family of nations.



Expanding on the first action -- that of putting the clamps on too much federal control -- I believe that centralism will be checked only when national leaders refuse to encourage the "easy way" of federal

assistance. *Too many of my Democratic friends who reluctantly promote & plan a bigger & bigger federal government do not realize that a government big enough etc.*

At the same time State and local leaders should assume the responsibility and privilege of local action and control.

Today among the giant issues is whether the excess concentration of Federal power and sovereignty is going to destroy State, local and individual freedom -- and responsibility.

State and local officials have the answer. Simply stated it is --
"We will do the job." Perhaps it must be one in partnership with a federal agency. But, if there is a will and capability on the local level, there is not reason to make the problem a federal monopoly with the octopus result caused by exclusive federal bureaucracy, red tape, and tainted dollars.

To enlarge on the President's 1966 budget, I know first of all that it requires long and careful study.

Congress will, as it has in the past, exercise its responsibilities to



determine that tax dollars are prudently and effectively spent. For example, last year the Congress successfully reduced President Johnson's "austere" budget by over \$3 billion, and all our people are better off *if not the White House* because the House and Senate ¹ meant what they said about economy in government.

To reach a clear understanding, we must dispel the myth that this budget is below \$100 billion. Including what is described as "new obligational authority," the budget totals \$106.4 billion. On top of that, the President now seeks \$6 billion in fiscal 1965 supplements.

The President's request for nearly 45,000 more employees in civilian agencies must have come as a surprise to many Americans, especially when there was an impression, obviously White House generated, that Mr. Johnson was really putting the squeeze on agencies to reduce civilian payrolls.

Last year when we adopted a tax cut bill, the Democratic majority inserted a pledge, now transparently clear as only another phony commitment, to give priority to balancing the budget and then to reducing



the debt.

The new budget doesn't line up with that promise -- an increase in revenue is more than matched by increased spending. And -- the debt goes up another \$5.6 billion.

Somehow, it seems to me, the Great Society cannot put three cars in every garage, two chickens in every pot, and more people on the payroll without spending more of your hard-earned tax dollars.

The President hints that this financial document would take us along the path to a balanced budget. But, based on the nonperformance of Democratic Administrations in the past, as I look ahead I see slow progress and a long, tortuous trail at the rate suggested in the proposed LBJ 1966 budget.

In the fiscal years 1962 through this budget for 1966, the Nation has or will have gone \$32.4 billion deeper in debt. Is this prudent and economical fiscal policy? Wet pants story . /KE

All members of Congress -- Democrats and Republicans alike --



should take a constructively skeptical look at the major features and issues in the President's budget. Fiscal integrity is so vital to America's future, Democrat and Republicans in Congress must cast aside partisanship in analyzing where, how, and to what extent Uncle Sam's dollars should be spent. Garner Shriver, who was recently appointed to the Committee on Appropriations, with his long experience in government fiscal matters, will be a watchdog for economy and responsibility in federal expenditures. *In his new job he will find* After ~~all~~, there was either incompetent estimating or political skullduggery last year in some areas of the Administration's budget.

Turning to foreign policy, a broad, involved and vital problem -- but one which must be solved ^{power} *with perseverance, principle & patience.*

Earlier, competent military strategists recommended, and I concurred, that Communist supply lines be blocked by American air and sea power in the Viet Nam area -- a place of war to which peace must return.

To prevent further ^{government} deterioration and to strengthen the military posture of our Viet Nam allies ^{this new military strategy} should be our first and hopefully the ultimate step.



Recent reports indicate the Democratic Administration -- I hope not too

with such new military tactics
late -- is moving ahead to meet the Communist challenge to freedom

in South Viet Nam.

A communist breakthrough in South East Asia would be disastrous to the military security of America. We must not retreat from principle.

There has been a lot of talk about the farmer and his urgent problems.

However, in the President's State of the Union message only five lines

of that address dealt with agriculture.

*stand on
or fear adversity
Americans must have
+ we never will*

Congress must consider crucial legislation affecting Kansas and

many other States -- in fact the entire economic stability of the Nation

-- since the present wheat and feed grain programs ^{*among others*} expire with the 1965
crop.

Republicans in Congress are working right now on legislation to
establish truly voluntary programs for these important crops -- the
goals are to improve farm income, strengthen market prices and leave more
farm management decisions to the farmers themselves.

Kansas members of Congress have pressed for action to deal with
these problems, which the Administration is either ignoring or ducking.

Bob Dole worked valiantly to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture
from depressing market prices by dumping surplus grain. Joe Skubitz



fought to prevent beef imports from disrupting the market for domestic

producers.

And now Chet Mize a new member of the important Committee on Banking & Currency will be an able watchdog of administration credit & monetary policies.

We intend to do our level best to see to it that Republicans

get credit for their ideas and achievements.

Too often we have failed to let the voters know what we have done.

Here is a short list of some little-known facts about Republican

accomplishments:

*The final form of the Manpower and Retraining Act of 1962

substantially reflected the proposals of Republican Congressman

~~Congressman~~ Charles E. Goodell of New York. This Act was an

outgrowth of work by a Republican House task force, called

"Operation Employment," to which Congressman Bob Ellsworth of

Kansas made an outstanding contribution.

*The Federal assistance granted to two-year community colleges

in the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is in that

legislation because of the insistence of Republicans, Clifford

Case of New Jersey and Bob Griffin of Michigan.



*The Republican platform proposed relief from some part of the Federal income tax for those paying educational expenses.

*Our Party sought for years to do away with a variety of excise taxes, but bumped into ^{rigid, unbending} ₁ opposition from the Administration.

Belatedly in 1965 our Democratic friends have latched on to this Republican policy.

*Republicans through the years gave overwhelming support to legislation aimed at protecting human rights and promoting equality.

Without Republican initiative there would have been no Civil Rights Act of 1964.

*This week, there is a Republican plan to ^{virtually eliminate} ~~lighten~~ the burden of the cost of health care for senior citizens. This program will provide for comprehensive health insurance for all persons age 65 and over on a uniform basis through the Nation. The program will be entirely voluntary. The cost will be shared by the persons taking part in the plan, and the federal government.

This fresh, new approach is more equitable than the Administration's

widely-publicized compulsory Medicare proposal financed by a *regressive*



¹²
In those faced with prolonged, catastrophic illness.
payroll tax with minimum benefits. The Republican plan will NOT

endanger the Social Security system. It is ^{glorious} fair and voluntary.

The decision to participate is the choice of an individual.

In the near future, there will be more Republican ideas presented
our citizens
to ~~the States~~ and in Congress. Many of them will challenge Administration

Admittedly
propaganda. There are serious problems at home and abroad that should
1
challenge the ingenuity of all Americans. Democrats have no monopoly on

ideas that will lead to the solution of these problems. Republicans in

& will
all walks of life must generate ideas which will be better solutions to
1
these difficulties that plague us domestically and internationally.

Right now
1 Four Republican task forces are hard at work in the areas of Agri-
culture, economic opportunity, Congressional reform and the implementation
of the 1964 Party Platform.

more



I aimed to speak plainly and forthrightly tonight in Kansas, a State which had a dramatic role in the formation of the Republican Party over a century ago.

The past is history. We learn, sometimes the hard way, from what has gone on before. With that knowledge and experience, we are ^{teaching} ~~tasking~~ the jobs of today, tomorrow and the future. And, this must be an effort

within the two-party frame work. A strong, prosperous, just and honest

One party governments do not work behind the iron + bamboo curtain + multiple party nations founder in
 American desperately needs a strong two-party system. But, the *chaos*
 Republican Party must earn the trust and confidence of the American

people by its program and performance.

Republicans may now be outnumbered on Capitol Hill, but we are rising to meet the challenge with ideas, with energy, with unity,. In so doing, we can and we must give more depth and meaning to the lives of our countrymen and the people of the world.

I have come to this great Republican state to join with you in the observance of an historic occasion, but I have come to talk more of the future than of the past.

My colleagues in the House of Representatives from this state tell me that Kansas is the most Republican state in the Union. I think it is clear that you retained possession of this proud title in 1964 by electing the able and distinguished former Congressman Bill Avery as your governor, by supporting him with Republican majorities in both houses of your legislature, by filling all constitutional offices with Republicans, and by choosing an all-Republican Congressional delegation. I wish Michigan had a record like that.

Kansas has a special relationship with the Republican Party. It was the dramatic struggle in Bloody Kansas and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act that gave the final stimulus to the formation of the Republican Party in 1854. On the first Kansas Day -- the date of the admission of this state to the Union in 1861 -- a rawboned country lawyer was winding up his affairs in Springfield, Illinois, before moving to Washington as the nation's first Republican President. Kansas gave the Party a presidential nominee in time of adversity in 1936 and in time of triumph in 1952 and 1956. Today Kansas provides to the nation and the Republican Party a Congressional Delegation of superb quality in its two senators, Frank Carlson and Jim Pearson, and my five House colleagues, Bob Dole, Chet Mize, Bob Ellsworth (who is attending an international conference in London), Garner Shriver, and Joe Skubitz.

and has been designated as one of the official U.S. representatives to attend the funeral of Winston Churchill.



I began by saying that I would talk more of the future than of the past. But, in planning for the future, we Republicans cannot ignore the past. "Those who do not learn from the mistakes of the past are doomed to repeat them." We have learned a few things from past mistakes, and we are not going to repeat them.

We have learned that party disunity is disastrous. In the nation -- and in most of the states -- the Republican Party, being the minority party, can win elections only if Republican ranks hold fast. In most states we need non-Republican votes to win, but this vote from Independents and Democrats must be in addition to -- not in lieu of -- a solid Republican vote. A substantial defection by Republican voters makes the election of Republican candidates impossible.

The first task before us is to re-unite the Republican Party. It is a process that is now well under way. Let no Republican impede it. Let us avoid obsessive emphasis on the things that divide Republicans and let us concentrate on the beliefs which we all share. For the things Republicans agree on are far more numerous and basic than the things on which they disagree.

To unify our Party, I suggest that we banish from our vocabularies the adjectives liberal, moderate, and conservative. They are divisive and misleading. They have been used so often and so loosely that they have lost all meaning. I hope that Republicans will learn to call themselves just plain Republicans without any additional modifiers or qualifiers.



In the 89th Congress, the Republican members of the House of Representatives will set an example of unity for the members of the Party.

This unity will be manifested in the legislative record of the next two years. Right now a legislative program, which I am confident will command the support of virtually all Republicans, is being hammered out. When completed, it will provide convincing evidence that Republicans are united, that Republicans are keenly aware of urgent national problems, and that Republicans have constructive solutions for those problems.

We mean to do our duty as the representatives of approximately 40 per cent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as I conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being.

I have never been able to accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility. Sometimes, it is true, our job is to oppose -- to say a flat no -- to the proposals and policies of the Administration. This is our role when what the Administration does or proposes is destructive of a goal such as freedom or security.

Most of the time, however, our job is of a different nature. Sometimes it is to work to perfect and modify an aspect of Administration policy while accepting ^{the} ~~one~~ policy in part. This is what we tried to do when we insisted on coupling restraint on Federal spending with the income tax cut of 1964.



Sometimes -- whenever we believe the Administration to be right -- our job is to give it wholehearted support. This we did when the President decided to retaliate against North Viet Nam for attacks on American vessels on the high seas last summer.

But even this is not the full measure of our responsibility. We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the Administration. We must vigorously take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the Administration's proposals are unwise. This we undoubtedly will do in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care, particularly for older people.

Secondly, we must propose action to deal with the problems to which the Administration is blind or indifferent. Republican senators, notably John Williams of Delaware, have been doing a valiant job of this type in forcing unwilling Democrats to delve to the bottom of the Bobby Baker case. In another field of policy, Congressman Shriver performed this kind of service over the last two years as a member of a Republican task force of the House of Representatives which worked out a comprehensive proposal for eliminating the danger of Castro's Communism in Latin America.

These are the things we Republicans were elected to do, and these are the things we intend to do in 1965 and in 1966. And we shall write a Republican record which we can proudly submit to the American public in the election of 1966. In writing the record, Republicans of the House and Senate will be working in close collaboration.

We should explore problems and seek solutions with an open mind, unfettered by any narrow dogmatism. Where change from old positions is dictated by change of circumstances, we should not hesitate to modify prior policy.

The party of Lincoln must always be mindful of these words of his:

We intend to do our level best to see to it that Republicans get credit for their ideas and their achievements. One of the great handicaps under which our Party labors is the widespread impression that it is intellectually barren and that it is negative in outlook.

This impression would not be so widespread if Republicans tooted their horn more effectively and insistently. It is a little known fact that the final form of the Manpower Development and Retraining Act of 1962 substantially reflected the proposals of Republican Congressman Charles E. Goodell of New York. It is a little known fact that the Federal assistance granted to two-year community colleges in the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is in that legislation because of the insistence of Republican Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey. It is a little known fact that relief from some part of the Federal income tax for those who pay educational expenses was proposed by the Republican Committee on Program and Progress in 1959, by the Republican Platform of 1960, by the Declaration of Republican Policy and Principle of 1962, and by the Republican Platform

of 1964. It is a little known fact that many Republicans in House and Senate, including Senator Goldwater, introduced legislation to provide such relief. I find it ironic that this approach to the problems of education is now associated by the press with the name of a Democratic senator who, three years ago, as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, was battling these Republican proposals. It is a little known fact that Republicans sought for years to eliminate a variety of excise taxes, only to meet adamant resistance from the Administration, which this year has adopted this Republican policy. It is a little known fact that Republicans down through the years gave overwhelming support to legislation to protect human rights and promote equality. More than 80 per cent of the Republicans in Congress were supporting such proposals when a majority of the Democrats, including Lyndon Johnson, were voting against even ~~the~~ ^{the} mildest protection of the right to vote. There would have been no Civil Rights Act of 1964 without Republican support.

I could extend indefinitely this list of constructive Republican initiatives of the very recent past which have been largely overlooked by the public. No party can rest, however, on its past proposals or accomplishments.

The Republicans in Congress are looking ahead. They have begun to do their part in the exciting work of rebuilding the Party into a more vigorous agency than it ever has been in the past. In this great task there is work for every Republican. Let us all get at it.

EXCERPTS FROM TOPEKA SPEECH

A friend of mine in Michigan--- a writer and philosopher--- has described this nation as a place where a man can live deeper, reach higher, see farther, think bigger, and grow greater than anywhere else on earth.

The Republican Party--- starting at this moment--- must be dedicated to do just that. To accomplish the task, we need far more members in the ranks, more unity in the Party, the same courage, resourcefulness, creative ideas and readiness to work and earn our way as did the pioneers who stretched America from sea to shining sea.

* * *

There are detailed jobs to be tackled immediately by the 89th Congress. Republicans must move ahead with vision, dedication, and wisdom to help guide our Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace----at the same time honestly advocating and effectively achieving federal fiscal responsibility.

* * *

At times, Republicans in Congress should adamantly oppose both the aims and methods of the Democratic Administration. On the other hand, there will be instances where Republicans can agree with the objectives of a Democratic program, but oppose the method of solution because the Republicans have a better proposal to solve an admitted problem. However, whenever we believe a Democratic Administration is right, we should give wholehearted support.

* * *

I fully endorse the President's goals of greater efficiency in government and a less burdensome tax system. At the same time, I regret that Mr. Johnson in his proposed new budget omitted any reference to fiscal responsibility.

* * *



In the President's version of a budget he wants Congress to adopt, the planned, predicted deficit is \$5.3 BILLION. I insist that in these times of economic prosperity our federal government, which is really you and I and millions of othersm has a moral obligation to pay its own way.

* * *

Republicans must vigorously take the initiative by:

1. Reversing the rapidly expanding trend of having too much federal control of States, cities, towns, counties and small communities. A leviathan federal government dwarfs and makes impotent local governments.
2. Hammering out rules that mean spending public money more wisely by having a more efficient government living within its budget, with the result of both a balanced budget and lower federal taxes.
3. Battling for a foreign policy with one aim---- to encourage and assist all peoples of the world in the development of their greatest potential in a free and just society. The United States will help those nations where there is a will and a capacity for freedom, plus a desire to have or earn responsibility in the family of nations.

* * *

A foreign policy is a broad, involved and vital problem--but one which must be solved.

Earlier, competent military strategists recommended, and I oconcurred, that Communist supply lines be blocked by American air and seapower in the Viet Nam area..... To prevent further deterioration and to strengthen the military posture of our Viet Nam allies should be our first and hopefully the ultimate step.

Recent reports indicate the Democratic Administration---I hope not too late---- is moving ahead to meet the Communist challenge to freedom in South Viet Nam.

* * *



This week, there is a Republican plan to lighten the burden of the cost of health care for senior citizens. This program will provide comprehensive health insurance for all persons age 65 and over on a uniform basis through the Nation.

The program will be entirely voluntary. The cost will be shared by the persons taking part in the plan and the federal government.

This fresh, new approach is more equitable than the Administration's widely-publicized compulsory Medicare proposal financed by a regressive payroll tax with minimum benefits.

The Republican plan will NOT endanger the Social Security system. It is fair and voluntary. The decision to participate is the choice of an individual.

* * *

In the near future, there will be more Republican ideas presented to the States and in Congress. Many of them will challenge Administration propaganda.

There are serious problems at home and abroad that should challenge the ingenuity of all Americans. Republicans in all walks of life must generate ideas which will be better solutions to these difficulties that plague us domestically and internationally.

* * *

The past is history. We learn sometimes the hard way from what has gone on before. With that knowledge and experience, we are tackling the jobs of today, tomorrow and the future, And, this must be an effort within the two-party framework,..... a strong, prosperous, just and honest America desperately needs a strong two-party system.

But, the Republican Party must earn the trust and confidence of the American people by its programs and performance.

Republicans may now be outnumbered on Capitol Hill, but we are rising to meet the challenge with ideas, with energy, with unity. In so doing, we can and we must give more depth and meaning to the lives of our countrymen and the people of the world.

#

to be corrected

ADDRESS BY HON. GERALD R. FORD (R. MICH.)
REPUBLICAN LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT TOPEKA, KANSAS

JANUARY 29, 1965

The slogan of a political hootenanny during the current Kansas Day celebration described Topeka at this significant point in time as "a place to meet and greet your favorite friends." There is an obvious footnote, "enemies we don't need;" we have enough.

This message could be used as a slogan for Republican get-togethers everywhere.

Kansas, the most Republican State in the Nation, has shown its political friendship and allegiance with our Party in many ways.

Voters elected former Congressman Bill Avery as Governor last year, supporting him with Republican majorities in both houses of the Kansas Legislature, and filling all constitutional offices with Republicans.

Kansas has an All-Republican, and let me add, an All-American, delegation in Congress -- Senators Frank Carlson and Jim Pearson . . . Representatives Chet Mize, Bob Dole, Garner Shriver, Joe Skubitz and Bob Ellsworth.

Bob is attending an international conference in London tonight. He is one of the official United States representatives to attend the funeral of Winston Churchill tomorrow.

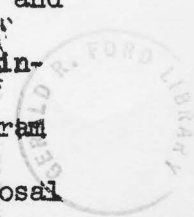
I am delighted to be here this evening, meeting and greeting friends. It is not a time to discuss enemies.

A friend of mine in Michigan -- a writer and philosopher -- has described this nation as a place "where a man can live deeper, reach higher, see farther, think bigger, and grow greater than anywhere else on earth."

The Republican Party -- starting at this moment -- must be dedicated to do just that. To accomplish the task, we need far more members in the ranks, more unity in the Party, the same courage, resourcefulness, creative ideas and readiness to work and earn our way as did the pioneers who stretched America from sea to shining sea with their minds and hands.

There are detailed jobs to be tackled immediately by the 89th Congress. Republicans must move ahead with vision, dedication, and wisdom to help guide our Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and at the same time honestly advocating and effectively achieving federal fiscal responsibility.

At times, Republicans in Congress should adamantly oppose both the aims and methods of the Democratic Administration. On the other hand, there will be instances where Republicans can agree with the objectives of a Democratic program but oppose the method of solution because the Republicans have a better proposal



to solve an admitted problem. However, whenever we believe a Democratic Administration is right, we should give wholehearted support.

There may be times in this Congress when Republicans, individually and collectively, will be more helpful to the President than some or even many in the Democratic ranks.

I fully endorse the President's goals of greater efficiency in government and a less burdensome tax system. At the same time, I regret that Mr. Johnson in his proposed new budget omitted any reference to fiscal responsibility.

In the President's version of a budget he wants Congress to adopt, the planned, predicted deficit is \$5.3 BILLION. I insist that in these times of economic prosperity our federal government, which is really you and I and millions of others, has a moral obligation to pay its own way.

At the present rate of government spending, our children and generations to come will be buried under a financial load of multiplied carrying charges that can only adversely affect their way of life.

Republicans must vigorously take the initiative by:

1. Reversing the rapidly expanding trend of having too much federal control over States, cities, towns, small communities and counties. A leviathan federal government dwarfs and makes impotent local governments.
2. Hammering out rules that mean spending public money more wisely by having a more efficient government living within its budget, with the result of both a balanced budget and lower federal taxes.
3. Battling for a foreign policy with one aim -- to encourage and assist all peoples of the world in the development of their greatest potential in a free and just society. The United States will help those nations where there is a will and a capacity for freedom plus a desire to have or earn responsibility in the family of nations.

Expanding on the first action -- that of putting the clamps on too much federal control -- I believe that centralism will be checked only when national leaders refuse to encourage the "easy way" of federal assistance.

At the same time State and local leaders should assume the responsibility and privilege of local action and control.

Today, among the giant issues is whether the excess concentration of Federal power and sovereignty is going to destroy State, local and individual freedom -- and responsibility.

State and local officials have the answer. Simply stated it is -- "We will do the job." Perhaps it must be done in partnership with a federal agency. But,

if there is a will and capability on the local level, there is no reason to make the problem a federal monopoly with the octopus result caused by exclusive federal bureaucracy, red-tape, and tainted dollars.

To enlarge on the President's 1966 budget, I know first of all that it requires long and careful study.

Congress will, as it has in the past, exercise its responsibilities to determine that tax dollars are prudently and effectively spent. For example, last year the Congress successfully reduced President Johnson's "austere" budget by over \$3 billion, and all our people are better off because the House and Senate meant what they said about economy in government.

To reach a clear understanding, we must dispel the myth that this budget is below \$100 billion. Including what is described as "new obligational authority," the budget totals \$106.4 billion. On top of that, the President now seeks \$6 billion in fiscal 1965 supplementals.

The President's request for nearly 45,000 more employees in civilian agencies must have come as a surprise to many Americans, especially when there was an impression, obviously White House generated, that Mr. Johnson was really putting the squeeze on agencies to reduce civilian payrolls.

Last year when we adopted a tax cut bill, the Democratic majority inserted a pledge, now transparently clear as only another phony commitment, to give priority to balancing the budget and then to reducing the debt.

The new budget doesn't line up with that promise -- any increase in revenue is more than matched by increased spending. And -- the debt goes up another \$5.6 billion.

Somehow, it seems to me, the Great Society cannot put three cars in every garage, two chickens in every pot, and more people on the payroll without spending more of your hard-earned tax dollars.

The President hints that this financial document would take us along the path to a balanced budget. But, based on the nonperformance of Democratic Administrations in the past, as I look ahead I see slow progress and a long, tortuous trail at the rate suggested in the proposed LBJ 1966 budget.

In the fiscal years 1962 through this budget for 1966, the Nation has or will have gone \$32.4 billion deeper in debt. Is this prudent and economical fiscal policy?

All members of Congress -- Democrats and Republicans alike -- should take a constructively skeptical look at the major features and issues in the President's budget. Fiscal integrity is so vital to America's future, Democrats and Republicans in Congress must cast aside partisanship in analyzing where, how, and to what

extent Uncle Sam's dollars should be spent. Garner Shriver, who was recently appointed to the Committee on Appropriations, with his long experience in government fiscal matters, will be a watchdog for economy and responsibility in federal expenditures. After all, there was either incompetent estimating or political skullduggery last year in some areas of the Administration's budget.

Turning to foreign policy, a broad, involved and vital problem -- but one which must be solved.

Earlier, competent military strategists recommended, and I concurred, that Communist supply lines be blocked by American air and sea power in the Viet Nam area -- a place of war to which peace must return. To prevent further deterioration and to strengthen the military posture of our Viet Nam allies should be our first and hopefully the ultimate step. Recent reports indicate the Democratic Administration -- I hope not too late -- is moving ahead to meet the Communist challenge to freedom in South Viet Nam.

There has been a lot of talk about the farmer and his urgent problems. However, in the President's State of the Union message only five lines of that address dealt with agriculture.

Congress must consider crucial legislation affecting Kansas and many other States -- in fact the entire economic stability of the Nation -- since the present wheat and feed grain programs expire with the 1965 crop.

Republicans in Congress are working right now on legislation to establish truly voluntary programs for these important crops -- the goals are to improve farm income, strengthen market prices and leave more farm management decisions to the farmers themselves.

Kansas members of Congress have pressed for action to deal with these problems, which the Administration is either ignoring or ducking.

Bob Dole worked valiantly to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from depressing market prices by dumping surplus grain. Joe Skubitz fought to prevent beef imports from disrupting the market for domestic producers.

We intend to do our level best to see to it that Republicans get credit for their ideas and achievements.

Here is a short list of some little-known facts about Republican accomplishments:

*The final form of the Manpower and Retraining Act of 1962 substantially reflected the proposals of Republican Congressman Charles E. Goodell of New York. This Act was an outgrowth of work by a Republican House task force, called "Operation Employment," to which Congressman Bob Ellsworth

of Kansas made an outstanding contribution.

- * The Federal assistance granted to two-year community colleges in the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is in that legislation because of the insistence of Republicans, Clifford Case of New Jersey and Bob Griffin of Michigan.
- * The Republican platform proposed relief from some part of the Federal income tax for those paying educational expenses.
- * Our Party sought for years to do away with a variety of excise taxes, but bumped into opposition from the Administration. Belatedly in 1965 our Democratic friends have latched on to this Republican policy.
- * Republicans through the years gave overwhelming support to legislation aimed at protecting human rights and promoting equality. Without Republican initiative there would have been no Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- * This week, there is a Republican plan to lighten the burden of the cost of health care for senior citizens. This program will provide for comprehensive health insurance for all persons age 65 and over on a uniform basis through the Nation. The program will be entirely voluntary. The cost will be shared by the persons taking part in the plan and the federal government. This fresh, new approach is more equitable than the Administration's widely-publicized compulsory Medicare proposal financed by a regressive payroll tax with minimum benefits. The Republican plan will NOT endanger the Social Security system. It is fair and voluntary. The decision to participate is the choice of an individual.

In the near future, there will be more Republican ideas presented to the States and in Congress. Many of them will challenge Administration propaganda. There are serious problems at home and abroad that should challenge the ingenuity of all Americans. Democrats have no monopoly on ideas that will lead to the solution of these problems. Republicans in all walks of life must generate ideas which will be better solutions to these difficulties that plague us domestically and internationally.

Four Republican task forces are hard at work in the areas of Agriculture economic opportunity, Congressional reform and the implementation of the 1964 Party Platform.

I aimed to speak plainly and forthrightly tonight in Kansas, a State which had a dramatic role in the formation of the Republican Party over a century ago.

The past is history. We learn sometimes the hard way from what has gone on before. With that knowledge and experience, we are tackling the jobs of today, tomorrow and the future. And, this must be an effort within the two-party framework. A strong, prosperous, just and honest America desperately needs a strong two-party system. But, the Republican Party must earn the trust and confidence of the American people by its program and performance.

Republicans may now be outnumbered on Capitol Hill, but we are rising to meet the challenge with ideas, with energy, with unity. In so doing, we can and we must give more depth and meaning to the lives of our countrymen and the people of the world.

HOLD

Corrected Copy

ADDRESS BY HON. GERALD R. FORD (R. MICH.)
REPUBLICAN LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT TOPEKA, KANSAS

JANUARY 29, 1965

The slogan of a political hootenanny during the current Kansas Day celebration described Topeka at this significant point in time as "a place to meet and greet your favorite friends." There is an obvious footnote, "enemies we don't need;" we have enough.

This message could be used as a slogan for Republican get-togethers everywhere.

Kansas, the most Republican State in the Nation, has shown its political friendship and allegiance with our Party in many ways.

Voters elected former Congressman Bill Avery as Governor last year, supporting him with Republican majorities in both houses of the Kansas Legislature, and filling all constitutional offices with Republicans.

Kansas has an All-Republican, and let me add, an All-American, delegation in Congress -- Senators Frank Carlson and Jim Pearson . . . Representatives Chet Mize, Bob Dole, Garner Shriver, Joe Skubitz and Bob Ellsworth.

Bob is attending an international conference in London tonight. He is one of the official United States representatives to attend the funeral of Winston Churchill tomorrow.

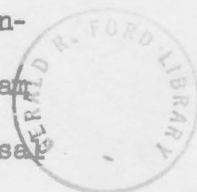
I am delighted to be here this evening, meeting and greeting friends. It is not a time to discuss enemies, *Remoan our fate a look fearfully at the future.*

A friend of mine in Michigan -- a writer and philosopher -- has described this nation as a place "where a man can live deeper, reach higher, see farther, think bigger, and grow greater than anywhere else on earth."

The Republican Party -- starting at this moment -- must be dedicated to do just that. To accomplish the task, we need far more members in the ranks, more unity in the Party, the same courage, resourcefulness, creative ideas and readiness to work and earn our way as did the pioneers who stretched America from sea to shining sea with their minds and hands.

There are detailed jobs to be tackled immediately by the 89th Congress. Republicans must move ahead with vision, dedication, and wisdom to help guide our Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and at the same time honestly advocating and effectively achieving federal fiscal responsibility.

At times, Republicans in Congress should adamantly oppose both the aims and methods of the Democratic Administration. On the other hand, there will be instances where Republicans can agree with the objectives of a Democratic program but oppose the method of solution because the Republicans have a better proposal *in contrast*



to solve an admitted problem. However, whenever we believe a Democratic Administration is right, we should give wholehearted support.

There may be times in this Congress when Republicans, individually and collectively, will be more helpful to the President than some or even many in the Democratic ranks.

I fully endorse the President's goals of greater efficiency in government and a less burdensome tax system. At the same time, I regret that Mr. Johnson in his proposed new budget omitted any reference to fiscal responsibility.

In the President's version of a budget he wants Congress to adopt, the planned, predicted deficit is \$5.3 BILLION. I insist that in these times of economic prosperity our federal government, which is really you and I and millions of others, has a moral obligation to pay its own way.

At the present rate of government spending, our children and generations to come will be buried under a financial load of multiplied carrying charges that can only adversely affect their way of life.

Republicans must vigorously take the initiative by:

1. Reversing the rapidly expanding trend of having too much federal control over States, cities, towns, small communities and counties. A leviathan federal government dwarfs and makes impotent local governments.
2. Hammering out rules that mean spending public money more wisely by having a more efficient government living within its budget, with the result of both a balanced budget and lower federal taxes.
3. Battling for a foreign policy with one aim -- to encourage and assist all peoples of the world in the development of their greatest potential in a free and just society. The United States will help those nations where there is a will and a capacity for freedom plus a desire to have or earn responsibility in the family of nations.

Expanding on the first action -- that of putting the clamps on too much federal control -- I believe that centralism will be checked only when national leaders refuse to encourage the "easy way" of federal assistance.

At the same time State and local leaders should assume the responsibility and privilege of local action and control.

Today, among the giant issues is whether the excess concentration of Federal power and sovereignty is going to destroy State, local and individual freedom -- and responsibility.

State and local officials have the answer. Simply stated it is -- "We will do the job." Perhaps it must be done in partnership with a federal agency. But,

if there is a will and capability on the local level, there is no reason to make the problem a federal monopoly with the octopus result caused by exclusive federal bureaucracy, red-tape, and tainted dollars.

To enlarge on the President's 1966 budget, I know first of all that it requires long and careful study.

Congress will, as it has in the past, exercise its responsibilities to determine that tax dollars are prudently and effectively spent. For example, last year the Congress successfully reduced President Johnson's "austere" budget by over \$3 billion, and all our people are better off because the House and Senate meant what they said about economy in government.

To reach a clear understanding, we must dispel the myth that this budget is below \$100 billion. Including what is described as "new obligational authority," the budget totals \$106.4 billion. On top of that, the President now seeks \$6 billion in fiscal 1965 supplementals.

The President's request for nearly 45,000 more employees in civilian agencies must have come as a surprise to many Americans, especially when there was an impression, obviously White House generated, that Mr. Johnson was really putting the squeeze on agencies to reduce civilian payrolls.

Last year when we adopted a tax cut bill, the Democratic majority inserted a pledge, now transparently clear as only another phony commitment, to give priority to balancing the budget and then to reducing the debt.

The new budget doesn't line up with that promise -- any increase in revenue is more than matched by increased spending. And -- the debt goes up another \$5.6 billion.

Somehow, it seems to me, the Great Society cannot put three cars in every garage, two chickens in every pot, and more people on the payroll without spending more of your hard-earned tax dollars.

The President hints that this financial document would take us along the path to a balanced budget. But, based on the nonperformance of Democratic Administrations in the past, as I look ahead I see slow progress and a long, tortuous trail at the rate suggested in the proposed LBJ 1966 budget.

In the fiscal years 1962 through this budget for 1966, the Nation has or will have gone \$32.4 billion deeper in debt. Is this prudent and economical fiscal policy?

All members of Congress -- Democrats and Republicans alike -- should take a constructively skeptical look at the major features and issues in the President's budget. Fiscal integrity is so vital to America's future, Democrats and Republicans in Congress must cast aside partisanship in analyzing where, how, and to what

extent Uncle Sam's dollars should be spent. Garner Shriver, who was recently appointed to the Committee on Appropriations, with his long experience in government fiscal matters, will be a watchdog for economy and responsibility in federal expenditures. After all, there was either incompetent estimating or political skullduggery last year in some areas of the Administration's budget.

Turning to foreign policy, a broad, involved and vital problem -- but one which must be solved *with perseverance, principle, and patience.*

Earlier, competent military strategists recommended, and I concurred, that Communist supply lines be blocked by American air and sea power in the Viet Nam area -- a place of war to which peace must return. To prevent further ^{government} deterioration and to strengthen the military posture of our Viet Nam allies ^{this new military strategy} should be our first and hopefully the ultimate step. Recent reports indicate the Democratic Administration -- I hope not too late -- is moving ahead to meet the Communist challenge to freedom in South Viet Nam. *A Chinese Communist breakthrough in South East Asia would be disastrous to the military.* There has been a lot of talk about the farmer and his urgent problems. However, in the President's State of the Union message only five lines of that address dealt with agriculture.

Congress must consider crucial legislation affecting Kansas and many other States -- in fact the entire economic stability of the Nation -- since the present wheat and feed grain programs ^{among others} expire with the 1965 crop.

Republicans in Congress are working right now on legislation to establish truly voluntary programs for these important crops -- the goals are to improve farm income, strengthen market prices and leave more farm management decisions to the farmers themselves.

Kansas members of Congress have pressed for action to deal with these problems, which the Administration is either ignoring or ducking.

Bob Dole worked valiantly to prevent the Secretary of Agriculture from depressing market prices by dumping surplus grain. Joe Skubitz fought to prevent

beef imports from disrupting the market for domestic producers. *and now*

and confusion *Chet Mize, a new member of the important Committee on Banking* We intend to do our level best to see to it that Republicans get credit for their ideas and achievements. *our monetary policy.*

Here is a short list of some little-known facts about Republican accomplishments:

*The final form of the Manpower and Retraining Act of 1962 substantially reflected the proposals of Republican Congressman Charles E. Goodell of New York. This Act was an outgrowth of work by a Republican House task force, called "Operation Employment," to which Congressman Bob Ellsworth

of Kansas made an outstanding contribution.

- * The Federal assistance granted to two-year community colleges in the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is in that legislation because of the insistence of Republicans, Clifford Case of New Jersey and Bob Griffin of Michigan.
- * The Republican platform proposed relief from some part of the Federal income tax for those paying educational expenses.
- * Our Party sought for years to do away with a variety of excise taxes, but bumped into ^{rigid, unyielding} opposition from the Administration. Belatedly in 1965 our Democratic friends have latched on to this Republican policy.
- * Republicans through the years gave overwhelming support to legislation aimed at protecting human rights and promoting equality. Without Republican initiative there would have been no Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- * This week, there is a Republican plan to ^{actually eliminate} ~~lighten~~ the burden of the cost of health care for senior citizens. This program will provide for comprehensive health insurance for all persons age 65 and over on a uniform basis through the Nation. The program will be entirely voluntary. The cost will be shared by the persons taking part in the plan and the federal government. This fresh, new approach is more equitable than the Administration's widely-publicized compulsory Medicare proposal financed by a regressive payroll tax with minimum benefits. ^{for they failed} The Republican plan will NOT endanger the Social Security system. It is fair and voluntary. The decision to participate is the choice of an individual.

In the near future, there will be more Republican ideas presented to the States and in Congress. Many of them will challenge Administration propaganda. There are serious problems at home and abroad that should challenge the ingenuity of all Americans. Democrats have no monopoly on ideas that will lead to the solution of these problems. Republicans in all walks of life must generate ideas which will be better solutions to these difficulties that plague us domestically and internationally.

Four Republican task forces are hard at work in the areas of Agriculture economic opportunity, Congressional reform and the implementation of the 1964 Party Platform.

I aimed to speak plainly and forthrightly tonight in Kansas, a State which had a dramatic role in the formation of the Republican Party over a century ago.



with prolonged, catastrophic illness

The past is history. We learn sometimes the hard way from what has gone on before. With that knowledge and experience, we are tackling the jobs of today, tomorrow and the future. And, this must be an effort within the two-party framework. A strong, prosperous, just and honest America desperately needs a strong two-party system. *One party just does not work effectively behind the iron* ~~But~~ the Republican Party must earn the trust and confidence of the American people by its program and performance.

Republicans may now be outnumbered on Capitol Hill, but we are rising to meet the challenge with ideas, with energy, with unity. In so doing, we can *multi-party* and we must give more depth and meaning to the lives of our countrymen and the *nation* people of the world. *Ford in charge*

