Grinnell College speech
via telephone 10 p.m. March 17 (Wednesday evening)
speak 20 minutes--then answer questions for 40 minutes
Theme: "The Johnson Administration---a Republican Alternative."

Republicans in Congress who are faced with overwhelming opposition
party voting power and an awesome strength in the executive branch have
at least five major duties and responsibilities.

First---we must exert our influence in a positive manner to help
guide our Nation toward freedom, security, peace and well-being.

Secondly, we should support the Administration when it is right,
oppose it when it is wrong, at the same time presenting constructive
alternative proposals for legislation.

Our third duty is to expose any failures of the present Administration
to keep promises made during the 1964 election campaign.

The fourth responsibility is to work toward a strong two-party
system which would overcome the imbalance of power in the legislative,
executive and judicial branches.

Finally, we must work with dedication and zeal and
strengthen unity in the Republican ranks.

The job of exerting creative influence in a positive manner includes
the recent establishment of a planning and research group of Republicans
headed by Representative Charles E. Goodell of New York.

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Currently, seven task forces are researching in depth, seeking facts, figures and a wide range of data in areas including agriculture, economic opportunity, voting rights, Congressional reform and Minority staffing, education, and NATO-Western Europe problems. This is the positive approach in seeking ways to guide our country toward freedom, security, peace, well-being and fiscal responsibility.

The task force system is a major innovation that will help mobilize constructive Republican activity in developing long-range solutions to national and international problems.

House Republicans have a major responsibility as representatives of approximately 43 percent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. We cannot accept the statement that the duty of the opposition party is to oppose. This outlook is too narrow and too negative.

We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the Administration. And, we must press for action to deal with problems to which the Administration is blind or indifferent.

Earlier I said that Republicans in Congress should support the Administration when it is right, and oppose it when it is wrong. At times, there will be a blending of support and opposition.

An example of standing firmly behind the Administration is the backing Republicans have given the President in his orders for stepped-up strikes against Communist supply lines and bases in Viet-Nam. We have endorsed the idea of measured, meaningful military steps in that troubled
part of the world. We have joined the President in his insistence that to withdraw from Viet-Nam would mean a tragic retreat. To abandon our efforts there would mean bringing our defense line all the way back to Pearl Harbor.

There has been mixed reaction to the President's message on voting rights which he read to a joint session of Congress.

Although I agree in principle with the President's message, which reiterated the philosophies of the Republican Party since its inception, I question some parts of the proposed legislation facing a decision by Congress.

I strongly believe effective federal voting legislation is needed so that all qualified citizens wherever they live can vote in 1966.

Republicans in the House under the leadership of Rep. William McCulloch have been and are working on such legislation with its many complex issues and different approaches.

Republicans in the House will support legislation to achieve maximum registration and voting by the target date of 1966.

It seems to me that the President's proposal is deficient in that it may penalize certain states where there is no discrimination and it may fail to resolve the problem in some areas where eligible voters are not permitted to register.

I am also concerned with the establishment of a huge, new bureaucracy of voting examiners which could be perpetuated even though the problem of voter registration is resolved.
In the 89th Congress, Republicans in the House have stepped forward with alternative proposals related to aid in education.

I have introduced a bill in the House to make educational expenses a deductible item for income tax purposes. This would cover up to $300 for each child from kindergarten through university in any educational institution, public or non-public.

Another approach being suggested as a Republican alternative to the Administration bill would provide income tax credit against state and local school taxes. Those who must pay little or no income tax would receive a refund equal to the amount which would have been credited. This, too, would help all parents regardless of the school attended by their children.

In the past I have generally opposed direct federal aid for the operation and maintenance of elementary and secondary schools. In view of our recurring annual deficits and growing national debt, I have been concerned with the problem of financing. There is also involved the danger of federal control of our local schools—public, private and parochial.

If we are to have such federal aid, however, I think a strong case can be made in support of assistance to non-public as well as to public schools. But as you know, the problem has been a legal one involving the interpretation of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

When Robert Kennedy was attorney general, he held that any aid to non-public schools was unconstitutional. Many competent attorneys have disagreed with him. It would appear, therefore, if any legislation is passed providing aid to non-public schools the courts will have to decide whether it meets the Constitutional requirements.

Republicans will work for a bill which is fair to all parents.
Taking a positive approach, House Republicans of the Banking and Currency Committee have drafted a wide-ranging and humanized housing program that would have a national impact on the lives of Americans.

Rep. William Widnall of New Jersey, ranking Republican member of the Committee, describes the proposal as offering the first comprehensive eminent domain compensation bill to eliminate present inequalities in condemnation awards and procedures as the result of urban renewal and housing projects.

Help for low income citizens would be in the form of a 60,000-unit two-year housing program using available private rental homes with government-subsidized rents.

The bill requires that most of the units to be built in urban renewal areas would be for lower and middle income families, rather than the present trend toward luxury housing.

Small businessmen—forced to move because of urban renewal projects—would be provided relocation help. Loans would ease the burden for displaced tenants and leases would be guaranteed by the federal government.

The present bi-partisan, non-profit program for housing the elderly would continue as would the $300 million college housing loan programs at a lower rate of interest.

Under the Republican plan, the Urban Renewal Administration and the Public Housing Administration—now separate agencies—would be combined to eliminate duplication.

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One of the most widely-debated Administration proposals dealing with health care for the aged and known as "medicare" prompted Republicans to create an alternative plan.

We quickly saw the weaknesses in the Administration's Medicare scheme, which offers less coverage and skyrocketing payroll taxes for every worker.

The President's plan calls for an increase in the social security payroll tax on all employees, employers, and self-employed persons, which would place a greater burden on those less able to pay. It is a compulsory plan.

The Republican alternative proposal offers more liberal coverage and gives the people a choice. It is entirely voluntary.

There will be other Republican alternative proposals in the coming weeks and months, each aimed at making our country a better place in which to live, work and enjoy freedom.

Without raising opposition just for the sake of opposing, it should be pointed out that the Administration is failing to keep some of the promises made during last year's political campaign.

For example, a careful and honest analysis can dispel the myth that the President's proposed budget is less than $100 billion. Including the new obligational authority, which actually means the right to spend government funds, the budget total is $106 billion. Adding the cash budget, federal spending under the present Administration's financial blueprint will be more than $126 billion a year, a new all-time spending record for Uncle Sam.
Last year when we adopted the tax cut bill, the majority inserted a pledge to give priority to balancing the budget and to reduce the debt of our country.

The present administration's budget fails to keep this promise.

The national debt has increased by $10 million in just two years to an all-time high of $318 billion.

Republicans believe in the goals of greater efficiency in government.

We also believe in a less burdensome tax system.

Our party must lead the way in achieving two other most important goals for the sake of the entire Nation.
A crushing over-balance of strength in either party for too long a time makes a mockery of our traditions in government, weakens and softens the voice of the people, and places control in the hands of a comparatively small majority.

These it seems to me are currently the major goals to be sought in the area of government: a sensitive balance in the legislative, executive and judicial branches, and a strong two-party system.
Compare these examples with the actions of citizens in a community who band together to win an election to raise money at the local level for a new high school... or with the coordinated civic effort to conduct an educational campaign on a local issue dealing with more taxes for a better park and recreation area.

Certainly, police brutality anywhere is disgraceful, as is unbridled, uncontrolled, savage and senseless mob action which scoffs at legitimate authority and the orderly processes.

The growth and prosperity, the state and strength, of our Nation is the result of free citizens conducting their personal lives and careers within the constitutional framework of authority, law and order. This is not to say that changes in our laws or governmental practices is not necessary or essential.

For example, our present Civil Rights laws need strengthening to give statutory backing to the general provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This is the orderly process.

There is a fine line of distinction between an aroused public conscience and demonstrations of social revolution.

I seriously question the social merit of flamboyant, irresponsible mob action to focus attention on a public issue. We have procedures in our units of government, in the courts of the land, by which controversies can be settled with dignity and justice. This should be the path taken by an aroused citizenry in search of righting a wrong or in seeking a civic goal.

At the same time, public officials have the duty to see that laws are properly enforced. Those who are slow to act in fulfilling the obligations of their office, or who deliberately turn their faces from issues and controversies are indeed delinquents.

An informed voting public has the power of the ballot to replace those who fail in their duties, who fall short of their qualifications, who forsake the people for political gain. Appeals to the courts may be taken when that appears necessary.

The rules of an orderly society may at times be subject to interpretation by government, by the courts, and by the people themselves, but only in a manner which insures "due process of law."

Your guidelines as citizens include a great devotion to the moral and spiritual values, which are translated into nobility of character, social justice, national righteousness, and eventually, world peace.
Finally, I believe that the Republican Party must earn the respect of the American people while maintaining and strengthening our ranks.

The job of The Republican party is to insure that America continues as a place where a man can live deeper, reach higher, see farther, think bigger and grow greater than anywhere else on earth.

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This Nation has been described 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 preserve America as just that.

To accomplish the task, we need far more members in the ranks, more unity in the Party, courage, resourcefulness, creative ideas and readiness to work and earn our way.

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There have been strong indications of unity in the Congressional ranks of the Republican Party in recent weeks. It has been evident in the votes we have had since the start of the 89th Congress.

Republican Party shoulder-to-shoulder unity provides some counter-weight to the imbalance of power between the executive and legislative branches of our government, both of which are overwhelmingly dominated by the same political party.

This imbalance must be redressed through the establishment of a strong two-party system to insure Constitutional checks and balances.

Republicans are vastly outnumbered in this Congress, but we can still speak with the voice of a dedicated majority.

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While the President has been badgered by some strong Democrats to withdraw from Viet Nam, he has received strong support from the Republican leadership in both the House and the Senate.

In bargaining with the Communist nations, our country constantly gives much and gets little or nothing in return.

Until we and our allies agree to a "no concession-no deal" policy, we can expect more Koreans and Viet Names---an ever-widening circle of Communist subversion around the earth.

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At times, Republicans in Congress will oppose both the aims and the methods of the Administration. However, we will not oppose for the sake of opposition. We will continue to support the Administration when it is right, and oppose it when it is wrong.

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The record the minority party will write in the 89th Congress will result in widespread Republican victories in 1966.