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Draft #1
3/17/65
Steve Hess

National Press Club Speech - March 2⁵, 1965

by Gerald R. Ford

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I feel quite honored to have been asked to address the National Press Club. However, for some strange reason, having so many distinguished reporters come here to break bread with me - a simple Republican - calls to mind the passage from the Bible: "Where the carcass is there will~~lk~~ the eagles gather."

Actually, I am particularly pleased to be here because your President, Bill Blair, and I have so much in common -

We both have recently run in hotly contested elections;

We both won by narrow margins;

And, now that we've had time to observe the pitfalls and booby traps of our new positions, we'd both like someone to tell us why we were so "all fired up" to get our jobs in the first place!

So, at this time, I would like to make a presentation:

To Clark Mollenhoff - I now present the Charles A. Halleck Award for the

Best Last Laugh of 1965!



As you know, football is really my first love. I only became a politician because of the job security!

But since Michigan beat Oregon State in the Rose Bowl by 27 points, and, three days later, Ford beat Hallack by only six points, perhaps I chose the wrong profession!

Also, since January 4th something tells me that I've failed to score the point-after-touchdown.

I've often wondered where I'd now be if I had accepted Curley Lambeau's offer in 1934 to play pro ball with the Green Bay Packers - perhaps on the Supreme Court!

* * * *

The political dialogue in the United States today often reminds me of the rich old spinster, who, when she is suddenly courted by a handsome young man, asks herself: "Does he really love me - or is he just after my fair white body?"

In other words, we are asking ourselves the wrong questions. Locked in the struggle of the moment, we lose sight of the broader, overriding considerations.



So I welcome this opportunity to stand apart from the daily issues of legislation, and look at some of the larger implications of mid-twentieth century American politics.

It strikes me that we are confronted with four serious crises:

- 1 - A crisis in the Two-Party System.
- 2 - A crisis of Executive-Legislative Balance.
- 3 - A crisis of Federal-State Balance.
- 4 - A crisis of Judicial-Legislative Balance.

I shall direct my brief remarks to these areas.

* * * *

At the present time, one political party controls the White House and more than two-thirds of both Houses of Congress - thus giving rise to considerable concern for the survival of the two-party system.

There is nothing constitutionally ordained about running our government through two great political parties. But almost from the start our nation made the choice that this would be the best way to operate. It has proved to be a wise decision. We have avoided the chaos of the multi-party system and the



loss of freedom of the single-party system, while building into government an additional set of checks and balances. Not only does the second party provide the electorate with alternatives, but it insures a remarkably high level of honesty. As the late Earl Long once said, "I ain't against stealing, but the other guy might squeal!"

Therefore, I submit, gentlemen, that it is a matter of no small concern when the relative strengths of our two parties get so far out of kilter.

Moreover, this should not merely scare Republicans, who - like their Democratic counterparts - have a healthy respect for self-preservation. Nor should this merely concern those crying crocodiles who shed a tear over a possible Republican demise because they are for the two-party system. The two-party system, let me remind them, would be meaningless if half of it were to become the Permanent Minority Party. Indeed, the rebuilding of a strong, vital, competitive Republican Party is the concern of all Americans.

Some of you have shown a growing concern in this area.

Furthermore, on its own merits, the Republican Party is clearly worth saving. Born out of dedication to free soil and free men, it is the Party of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt, of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Morrill Act, the Pure Food and Drugs Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

It is the Party of the Square Deal, the Party that first realized America's destiny as a world power and first sought to conserve our natural resources.

It is the Party of Dwight Eisenhower, under whose Administration the Korean War was ended, a Department of Health, Education and Welfare was created, Social Security was increased and expanded, two Civil Rights Acts were signed into law, and peace and prosperity were maintained for eight years.

During my sixteen years in Congress, as you know, it has never been my practice to use the press as the whipping-boy for the ills of the Republican Party. On the contrary, I believe that Republican problems have been largely created by Republicans. To bend a metaphor: Our recent experience has shown that when a party gets so far out of the mainstream of American political life, perhaps it should expect to drown.

Under our system no party can be doctrinaire, sectarian, narrow in its appeal - and still attract the majority of a highly pluralistic electorate. The high ground of moderation is not only common horse sense for a political party - it is also representative of the people and in keeping with the underlying genius of the American political system.

However, I must also confess that picking up the daily newspapers lately -



and reading some of the editorials, columns and news stories - has become one

of the less happy chores in my day.] Too often my good friends of the Fourth

Estate seem to be more concerned with the Party's sickness than its health.

What seems to interest them most is a morbid curiosity over which disease the patient will die of. (Perhaps our schools of journalism should start granting degrees of D.R.P. - Doctor of Republican Pathology.)]

In this regard, I would like to tell you about a dream I had last night.

I dreamed that when I awoke my wife Betty brought me breakfast in bed, and my children handed me the newspapers.

"The lead editorial in the Washington Post will interest you, Dad," said Mike. And I read: (quote) "How can we expect to have a healthy political system under the present staffing arrangement in the House of Representatives? For example, on the Banking and Currency Committee there are now three Republican staff members and 52 Democratic staff members. (Concluded the Post;) This is a matter that must be corrected. It shortchanges every American regardless of Party affiliation." (end of quote.) And to myself, I said, "Thank you, Mrs. Graham."

Then my son Jack handed me the New York Times. Its editorial read :

(quote) "We have noted with satisfaction the new policy of 'Constructive Republican Alternatives' in the House of Representatives. Since the beginning of the term there have been detailed, well thought out C.R.A.s on everything from Appalachia and Aid to Education to Disarmament and a Department of Urban Affairs. In the future (continued the Times), we will give equal space to creative Republican proposals and not tag them on to the end of articles about 'The Great Society.'" (end of quote.) And I said to myself, "Amen, Mr. Sulzberger."

Well, before my dream crept back into the ether from whence it came, I had expressed my gratitude to Mrs. Schiff of the New York Post, Mr. McClatchy of the Bee papers in California, the Northern Virginia Sun, Mr. Field of the Chicago Sun-Times, Mr. Bingham of the Louisville Courrier-Journal, and a host of other fine newspaper people who had just seen the light.

At this point I suspect my good friend Everett McKinley Dirksen would caution me that "the oil can is mightier than the sword." I love flowers, too! (Though in Michigan we are more partial to the apple blossom than the marigold!)

What I hope to convey is that, in the words of Madison Avenue, "Us

Agood

Republicans Would Rather Fight Than Switch?"

Right now there is an exciting new fermentation in the Republican Party.

In the House of Representatives - within the limits of the Minority Leader - staff positions have been given to skilled and experienced researchers (such as Dr. William Prendergast), and not merely used to reward the faithful. There has been a reorganization of internal machinery, with John Rhodes directing a committee to deal with current, day-to-day legislative problems, and with Charles Goodell directing a committee to look at long-range policy and objectives. The latter will soon undertake a number of substantial task force studies in such important fields as Agriculture, Congressional Reform, Economic Opportunity, Education, and the Right to Vote.

The Republican approach in the House will be three-pronged. One: As the Opposition Party we will continue to oppose the Administration in those areas where we believe it to be misguided in objective or method. Two: In such areas as we feel the President is correct, we will not hesitate to publicly give our support, as we have already done on the Viet Nam struggle. (Parenthetically, I might add that as "The Tales from the Viet Nam Woods" become less melodic, more and more Republicans have backed the President, while more and more Democrats have changed their tune to negotiation and detente.



Ironically, in the most serious world confrontation that faces our nation today, "You can't tell the players without a scorecard.") Returning to the third prong of the Republican approach: Through our new party organs, and the minority membership on the various Congressional committees, we will present to the American people a series of carefully worked out alternative programs. There will be no doubt where Republicans stand.

I have referred specifically to actions in the House because this is my special field of competence. But equally important actions are being - and will continue to be - taken in the Senate, the new Republican Coordinating Committee, and, I am sure, in the Republican National Committee under its in-coming Chairman, Ray Bliss.

Gentlemen, this is news-worthy! At this time - when the Democrats speak through the White House and the Republicans through the Congress - adequate coverage of Republican actions is all the more imperative. I recognize that the struggle for headlines between the President and the Opposition Party is inherently unequal - but the press has the power to be the Great Leveler. Mr. Johnson may have some reservations about ~~public~~ taking you into his



confidence, but Senator Dirksen and I do not!

* * * *

The imbalance between the Executive and the Legislative Branches of the National Government is neither new nor mystifying. The great French observer of the American system, Alexis de Toqueville, predicted it more than a century ago. The vastly complex problems of our domestic society first weighed the scales toward the Executive in the Great Depression, partly because a President can act faster than a deliberative body. Then the postwar period shifted governmental concern from the domestic to the world scene, where the constitutional power of the Executive is primary. Moreover, as the population expanded, and it became more necessary for the people to stay informed through the mass media, the ability of a President to dominate the news further worked to shift emphasis away from the legislature. This is not a criticism of the press - merely an elemental fact that one man, if he wishes, can dramatize issues better than a many-headed, diffuse institution like the Congress.

It is unusual, however, that Lyndon Johnson - who, in a ~~new~~ sense, grew up in the House, and came of age in the Senate - should now seek to further undermine the constitutional balance of power.

I find this trend highly regrettable. Ours is a system of representative



government. And the responsibility of the President to the individual citizen is diluted through a myriad of agencies, bureaus, and five million Federal employees.

The Congress, on the other hand, must remain closely in touch with its constituency. A House member makes many trips to his district each year, personally talks or writes to thousands of the people who elected him, and biannually puts his political life in the hands of the voters. As William S. White wrote in his new history of the House of Representatives, "A Congressman is an essentially local official, though sent to a far place called Washington."

Of course the Congress is not without blame for its own decline. Senator Robert Taft, speaking in 1946, put his finger on this when he said: "It is easier if a man comes in and says, 'Here is a problem,' to say, 'All right; let's create a board and let them do it.' But this is not proper legislation ...and if we want to preserve our principles...we (must) write the standards into the law." We in Congress have simply too often given the administrator a carte blanche. The legislation to fight the so-called "War on Poverty" was only the most recent and unfortunate example of this.

There are a number of suggestions for structural changes that might be helpful in righting the Executive-Legislative balance. Though I must admit



that I do not usually regard structural tampering as the best way to solve this problem - and often the changes bring even greater problems in their wake. For example, liberals now loudly denounce the House Rules Committee; yet it was the liberals, when stripping Speaker Cannon of his power in 1910, who gave the Rules Committee its authority in the first place.

But I do wish to make one structural proposal. It strikes me that the Government Operations Committees in the House and Senate should never be controlled by the President's party. Since it is the function of these Congressional committees to investigate the conduct of the Executive Branch, it is only proper that they be directed by the opposition x party. This should be the case whether the occupant of the White House is a Democrat or a Republican. It smacks of legalized collusion when we find that the suspect and the district attorney are brothers!

The Congress has a noble heritage. Its 535 members occupy places once held by men like Webster, Clay, Calhoun, La Follette, Taft and Vandenberg. I believe we can best restore Congressional preeminence by acting with the independence, dignity and jealous regard for our constitutional role that such names characterize. Speaker Rayburn was once asked how many presidents he had



served under. Mr. Sam replied, I served under none. I have served with eight."

That to me epitomizes the spirit of Congressional greatness.

* * * *

While the Executive has been overshadowing the Legislative Branch, an equally insidious development has taken place in Federal-State relations.

Part of the cause for the rise of Big Government, at the expense of the States, is that bureaucracy, like the Sorcerer's Apprentice, is almost impossible to shut off once set in motion. It builds an independent momentum, and becomes an effective lobby for its own continuance and aggrandizement.

But there is a second factor - less carefully explored, but equally important: Too often in the past State and local governments have abdicated their proper functions in fulfilling the peoples' legitimate need for services. Government, like nature, abhors a vacuum. And when the States initially left a vacuum, the Federal Government rushed in to fill it.

This, I am sorry to say, has been camouflaged by a good deal of hypocrisy about States' rights. In 1963 a Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations received replies to a questionnaire from 460 top State and local officials, including many governors. The results showed that almost a majority




of them were paying lip service to the historical tenets of States' rights while wanting to take all they could get from the Federal Government!

This was put to the test in 1957. In a very creative move President Eisenhower proposed turning over to the States some specific Federal functions along with the tax revenues for them to assume the services. No action was taken.

It ill behooves me as a Congressman to tell State governments how to do their jobs. But it does strike this observer that there are many ways for the States to help themselves restore their proper and vital function in the American system.

Many State governments are desperately in need of streamlining. Some of them sag under the weight of too many boxes on their organizational charts. No longer can they afford the luxury of operating under outmoded systems of management.

There is a great lesson for other States in the work that George Romney performed in rewriting the Michigan constitution. Ours was not the only State constitution that was less than perfect. One State, for example, is now governed by a document that contains 217,000 words and 407 amendments!



We must also rethink the role of the State legislatures. Can many of them continue to be merely part-time bodies, with underpaid members, and inadequate professional staff assistance?

Clearly, I believe, the time has come for less loose talk about States' rights - especially when it is sometimes no more than a cover for anti-Civil Rights action - and more meaningful discussion of States' responsibilities.

* * * *

My final point concerns the Judiciary - specifically the Supreme Court.

It does not require an elephant's memory to recall when the justices of our highest tribunal were derisively called "The Nine Old Men." The year was 1937. And President Franklin Roosevelt, incensed by the damage done to his New Deal by the ultra-conservative jurists, proposed a court-packing plan. Today the Court's detractors come from another political quarter, and distribute "Impeach Earl Warren" bumper stickers.

Times change. The extremist critics, yesterday's and today's, sound harsh and shrill, and will be forgotten tomorrow. While the Court, probably in its present form, will be with us for as long as the nation exists.

Yet there is a moral in this tale of two Courts.



As a lawyer I do not find the Court's attackers wholly without merit - although, in both cases, many of them were merely reacting viscerally - and may have been partly right for totally wrong reasons.

The moral to me is that the Court - then and now - has gotten into trouble when it has acted more politically than judicially.

Just as the legislature weakens the Constitutional system when its judges - as we have seen from some well-remembered Congressional investigations - so too does the Court weaken the Constitutional system when it legislates.

Let me mention just one case - apportionment. The Court's decision, I believe, was wrong - not because our system wasn't badly in need of reapportionment (it was) @ - but because this has always, historically and traditionally, been a political matter, outside of Court jurisdiction.

Assuming that our rurally-dominated State legislatures were not about to vote themselves out of existence - the proper way to handle the problem was through a Constitutional amendment. The way it was done, through the Court - which is hardly the proper body to redraw political boundaries - did a great disservice to the principle of the separation of powers and to the concept of a Federal system.

I am reminded, in conclusion, of a French Premier who once said that "the art of politics lies not in dealing with fundamental problems, but in keeping quiet those who raise them." While this statement has the crystal ring of the epigrammatist, it perhaps explains why there were more than sixty French Cabinets during this gentleman's lifetime. For I contend that only by dealing with the fundamental problems can a politician stay adjusted to his times.

Politicians, of course, are not expected to be philosophers - and, unlike the beatniks, we need not spend our days in an endless search for the "inner luminous experience." But the basic problems of society do not have to be extracted from the earth's depths like some exotic gem. They are on the surface and they cry out for action.

And with this final remark I gird myself for the onslaught of your questions. I now await your grilling somewhat in the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt, who once introduced the White House press corps to Winston Churchill as "my beloved wolves."

not corrected

*Steve Hess
+
Meyer*

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB SPEECH

March 25, 1965

Those of you who are concerned with the more obscure political happenings in Washington may recall that I was elected Minority Leader of the House of Representatives not long ago by a landslide vote of 73 to 67.

This triumph gives me a certain feeling of kinship with the kindly fellow who has just introduced me so handsomely -- your new president, Landslide Blair.

Bill Blair and I, in fact, are living proof that democracy works, even in the National Press Club or a Republican caucus.

All you need is an allegation of virtue, a moderate amount of hard work, and ~~one hell of a~~ lot of luck.

In any event, the overwhelming mandate I received in January, and the unbroken record of successes since then, have encouraged me to appear before you today as an authority -- on the problems of oppressed minorities.

As was said 2000 years ago
There is a passage from the Bible -- "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together."
I am certain none of you are here for such a purpose today.

As you know, football is really my first love. I only became a politician because of the job security!

But since Michigan beat Oregon State in the Rose Bowl by 27 points, and, three days later Ford beat his opponent by only 6 points, perhaps I chose the wrong profession!

I have often wondered where I would now be if I had accepted Curly Lambeau's offer in 1934 to play pro ball with the Green Bay Packers -- perhaps on the Supreme Court!

However,
Since January 4th something tells me that I failed to score the point after touchdown on several occasions.



Although the new House Republican leadership hasn't won any spectacular legislative successes, and this has been appropriately noted by some, we never campaigned on a platform that, by some strange sleight of hand or secret potion with reproduction capabilities, ^{we} could double our numbers and slice the opposition in half before November 1966. As you well know, the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House have not changed except in one instance since November 3rd -- 140 Republicans to 284 Democrats. The odds are rough. But, to coin a phrase -- with a little different twist -- "we shall overcome."

Perhaps you in your profession and those of us ⁱⁿ the mine face the same powerhouse but in a different way. The White House and all its troops try to spoon-feed you and they try to clobber us. The President as "king-pin" in the Executive Branch has ^{about} over 2 1/2 million civilian employees with an annual payroll of ^{over} about \$15 billion. In addition, the White House controls the destiny of 2 million 600 thousand in the military ^{an annual cost} with a payroll of approximately ¹³ \$13 billion per year. The total annual payroll in the Executive branch reaches the astronomical figure of ²⁵ \$25 billion for over 5 million 100 thousand, and this group will spend in ^{over 127} fiscal year 1966 about \$126 billion.

Budget message

This awesome power and the vast apparatus, if used improperly, could mean the withering away and eventually the death of the two-party system. Now, there is nothing constitutionally ordained about running our government through two great political parties. But almost from the start our nation made such a choice. It was a wise decision. We avoided the chaos of a multi-party government and the loss of freedom of the single-party system, while building into government an additional set of checks and balances.



Not only does a strong second party provide the electorate with legislative alternatives but also ^{with} a remarkably high level of honesty and frankness. Our American news media have a noble tradition in demanding the facts, bursting the bubble of propaganda, and exposing ^{the} corruption. You can perform your job better if the relative strengths of our ~~two~~ ^{two} parties are more nearly in balance and not so far out of kilter.

To make our Federal government function better, to help you get the facts, Republicans in Congress believe ^{the following} ~~these~~ new idea would be a step in the right direction: When both the Executive and Legislative branches are dominated by the same political party, the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate, which have ^{investigating} ~~every~~ investigating authority, should be under the control of the minority party. It smacks of legalized collusion when we find the suspect and the District Attorney are blood relatives.

Here would be a genuine vehicle for assuring that the voice of the minority would be heard, that the majority would be constantly on notice that its actions or inactions were subject to effective and critical review, and that the public through your help would know that any cover-up or wrongdoing would be improbable if not impossible. It is safe to speculate that with such a set-up there would be more public confidence that the real Bobby Baker story had been told.

The Democrats have us overwhelmed numerically in Congress. We could say, "What's the use?" That's no answer for the American people, for you or for ourselves. Right now there is a constructive fermentation in the Republican Party. We have made some reorganization of our internal machinery. The Research and Planning Committee, with skilled researchers under Dr. Bill Prendergast, is working at long-range policy. We are creating special task forces on major ^(substantive) ~~substitute~~ issues in such rapid succession that one

alleged we were setting up
observer ^{described} ~~describing~~ us as "an anti-poverty program for Republican intellectuals." John

Rhodes, with a beefed-up staff, is Policy Committee chairman, and this reorganized group will deal with current, day-to-day, legislative problems.

On the basis of simple mathematics, the Administration can pass about everything it wants to in this Congress, particularly if it twists a few arms as it did in the Nasser victory on an appropriation bill a few weeks ago. Despite the "odds" we will win on some issues in this Congress. More importantly, Republicans will build a record for a substantially stronger representation after November 8, 1966.

The Republican strategy in the House will be diversified. We'll be grateful for any Democratic support, north or south, but our position on any issue will be developed independently of any Democratic coalition. To compete with the Administration, we will offer:

1. Opposition to Administration's aims and methods when we think both
← are wrong; but never obstructionism just for its own sake.
2. Constructive alternatives to Administration schemes when we feel they are tackling the right problems at home or abroad in the wrong way. House Republicans have already provided responsible competition this year in medicare, education, housing and Appalachia.
3. Workable programs, developed through our task forces, to meet the many problems the Administration is ignoring or neglecting, ^{We} and refuse to concede ^{that} Democrats have a monopoly on ideas for the solution of domestic or foreign difficulties.
4. Wholehearted support for the President when we think he is right. Viet Nam policy in the last few weeks is the prime example. Parenthetically, I might add that as "The Tales From The Viet Nam Woods" become less melodic, more and more Republicans have



staunchly backed the President while more and more Democrats have changed their tune to immediate negotiation and tail-between-our-leg^s withdrawal.

This blueprint for Republican legislative action is based on what we conceive to be our duty to the 43 percent of the American electorate who put us in office, and to the people as a whole who face ever-increasing Federal domination and erosion of their liberties unless an articulate opposition functions effectively.

It is based on the hard truth that the Republican Party to win in 1966 and 1968 must earn and regain the respect of many millions of voters -- and it can't do this by sitting on the sidelines and waiting for an international or domestic catastrophe to produce a call for a change of leadership.

It is based also on a profound conviction that something more than talk of unity and consensus is demanded by the challenges of our times.

We subscribe to the observation of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1951 that "if you permit appeals to unity to bring an end to criticism, we endanger not only the constitutional liberties of our country, but even its future existence."

We raise the question of whether it is enough in these days of danger and turmoil for our President to continue to act as a consensus politician instead of a statesman who leads.

Waiting for a consensus can and often does mean ignoring little problems until they become big ones.

It can and does mean inaction until the riots start -- whether in Saigon or in Selma.

As recently as January, the President was referring with satisfaction to our policy in South Vietnam as one of "creative inaction."

To me, this is a fantastic concept -- better described, perhaps, as "vigorous ineptitude" or "dynamic paralysis."

Yet this attitude was reflected in the State of the Union Message, which suggested that the international scene was so improved that we could all but forget it in favor of domestic affairs.

The disarray of NATO is all but ignored by the Administration. Messer and Sukarno thumb their noses with seeming impunity.

And the disruptive voices of ~~agreement~~ in the Democratic Party not only undercut the President in his conduct of foreign affairs at a time of national crisis; they also raise the very grave danger of a Communist miscalculation as to our intentions in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

We believe in keeping the ball on the enemy's goal line -- not back-pedaling to our 20-yard line before starting the next play.

The President can always count on Republican support ^{And in the national interest} where his foreign policy is firm and decisive on the side of freedom.

But if ever there was a time for broad-gauged revival of genuine bi-partisanship in foreign policy in the spirit of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, that time is now.

Senator Vandenberg, who was my fellow comman, was importantly responsible for my getting into politics.

He arrived at a thoughtful concept of the nation's best interests in foreign policy matters which served the American people magnificently well -- and it is a concept which I would be honored to help to expand beyond current policy in South Viet Nam.



But foreign policy bipartisanship in the Vandenberg pattern means genuine consultation across party lines in determining policy -- not just using the Republicans for after-thought window dressing.

It does not mean merely a summons to the White House in a moment of crisis, and then calling in the photographers and announcing Republican endorsement of an Administration policy already determined.

Nor does it mean foreclosure of Republican criticism of foreign policy when we are convinced the Administration is wrong.

Many of our problems, particularly a lack of unity, have been created by Republicans. To bend a metaphor: Our recent experience has shown that when a Party gets so far out of the mainstream of American political life, perhaps it should expect to drown. ~~However,~~ on behalf of the American future, I suggest that the present political imbalance -- however self-inflicted the wound that is ailing the G.O.P. -- is not a good thing.

Under our system no Party can be doctrinaire, sectarian, narrow in its appeal or just as importantly have such an image, however unfair the charge might be -- and still attract the majority of a highly pluralistic electorate. The high ground of moderation with unselfish unity is not only common horse-sense for a political Party -- it is also representative of the people and in keeping with the underlying genius of the American political system.

The day-to-day rebuilding of Republican policy and the Party must begin in the Congress -- and because all the House must face the voters next year -- the heaviest burden of the task must be carried in the House.



We aim to correct that imbalance -- to re-establish two-party government.

Far from lamenting our fate, House Republicans are wide open to fresh ideas and confident that new approaches, full participation, and renewed dedication can earn new friends for the Republican Party and make an important contribution to the future of America.

I now await your grilling somewhat in the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who once introduced the White House Press Corps to Winston Churchill as "my beloved wolves." Let me add a footnote -- the President may have some reservations about taking you into his confidence, but Senator Dirksen and I do not.



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To make our Federal government function better, to help you get the facts, Republicans in Congress believe this new idea would be a step in the right direction. When both the Executive and legislative branches are dominated by the same political party, the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate, which have ^{broad} investigating authority, should be under the control of the minority party. It smacks of legalized collusion when we find the suspect and the District Attorney are blood ^{brother} relatives.

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7

GERALD R. FORD

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Yet this attitude was reflected in the State of the Union Message, which suggested that the international scene was so improved that we could all but forget it in favor of domestic affairs.

The disarray of NATO is all but ignored by the Administration. Nasser and Sukarno thumb their noses with seeming impunity.

And the disruptive voices of ~~the~~ in the Democratic Party not only undercut the President in his conduct of foreign affairs at a time of national crisis; they also raise the very grave danger of a Communist misinterpretation as to our intentions in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

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Senator Vandenberg, who was my fellow townsman, was ^{largely} ~~largely~~ responsible for ~~my~~ getting into politics.

He arrived at a true and concept of the nation's best interests in foreign affairs which served the American people magnificently well -- and it is a concept

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Nor does it mean foreclosure of Republican criticism of foreign policy when we are convinced the Administration is wrong.

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~~We need a metaphor. Our recent experience has shown that when a Party gets so far out of the mainstream of American political life, perhaps it should expect to dream.~~ However,

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NATIONAL PRESS CLUB SPEECH.

March 25, 1965

not corrected

Those of you who are concerned with the more obscure political happenings in Washington may recall that I was elected Minority Leader of the House of ~~Representatives~~ not long ago by a landslide vote of 73 to 67.

This triumph gives me a certain feeling of kinship with the kindly fellow who has just introduced me so handsomely -- your new president, Landslide Blair.

Bill Blair and I, in fact, are living proof that democracy works, even in the National Press Club or a Republican caucus.

[All you need is an allegation of virtue, a moderate amount of hard work, and *a tremendous amount* ~~one ball of a lot~~ of luck.]

In any event, the overwhelming mandate I received in January, and the unbroken record of successes since then, have encouraged me to appear before you today as an authority -- on the problems of oppressed minorities.

[There is a passage from the Bible -- "Where the carcass is there will the eagles gather." I am certain none of you are here for such a purpose today.]

As you know, football is really my first love. [I only became a politician because of ~~the~~ job security!]

[But since Michigan beat Oregon State in the Rose Bowl by 27 points, and, three days later Ford beat his opponent by only 6 points, perhaps I chose the wrong profession!]

I have often wondered where I would now be if I had accepted Curly Lambeau's offer in 1934 to play pro ball with the Green Bay Packers -- perhaps on the Supreme Court!

[~~Since January 4th something tells me that I failed to score the point after touchdown on several occasions.~~ *Even though overall the new leadership team has scored*

Although the new House Republican leadership hasn't won any spectacular legislative successes, and this has been appropriately noted by some, we never campaigned on a platform that by some strange sleight of hand ~~we secret potion with reproduction capabilities~~ we could double our numbers and slice the opposition in half before November 1966. As you well know, the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House ~~have not changed except in one instance since November 1964~~ ^{remain} -- 140 Republicans to 284 Democrats. The odds are rough. [But, to coin a phrase -- with a little different twist -- "we shall overcome."

[Perhaps you in your profession and those of us in ~~the~~ mine face the same powerhouse but in a different way. The White House and all its troops try to spoon-feed you and they try to clobber us. The President as "king-pin" in the Executive Branch has over 2½ million civilian employees with an annual payroll of about \$15 billion. In addition, the White House controls the destiny of 2 million 600 thousand in the military with a payroll of approximately \$15 billion per year. The total annual payroll in the Executive branch reaches the astronomical figure of \$30 billion for over 5 million 100 thousand, and this group will spend in fiscal year 1966 about \$126 billion.]

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Let's talk

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As you well know, the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House have not changed except in one instance since November third---140 Republicans to 284 Democrats. The odds are rough. But, to coin a phrase---with a little different twist---"we shall overcome."

You in your profession and those of us in my profession face the same powerhouse---but in a different way.

The White House and all its troops try to spoon-feed you---and they try to clobber us. The President has virtually unlimited resources for working his will--- a veritable army of experts, authorities, researchers, ~~propagandists~~ ^{propagandists} and the like.

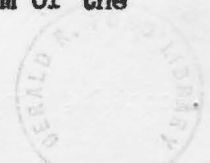
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But if ever there was a time for broad-gauged revival of genuine bi-partisanship in foreign policy in the spirit of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, that time is now.

Senator Vandenberg, who was my fellow townsman, was ~~largely~~ *largely* responsible for my getting into politics.

He arrived at a thoughtful concept of the nation's best interests in foreign policy matters which served the American people magnificently well -- and it is a concept which I would be honored to help to expand beyond current policy in South Viet Nam.



But foreign policy bipartisanship in the Vandenberg pattern means genuine consultation across party lines in determining policy -- not just using the Republicans for after-thought window dressing.

It does not mean merely a summons to the White House in a moment of crisis, and then calling in the photographers and announcing Republican endorsement of an Administration policy already determined.

Nor does it mean foreclosure of Republican criticism of foreign policy when we are convinced the Administration is wrong.

Some of our problems, particularly a lack of unity, have been created by Republicans. ~~To lend a metaphor: Our recent experience has shown that when a Party gets so far out of the mainstream of American political life, it is bound to lose touch with the people.~~

PA On behalf of the American future, I suggest that the present political imbalance -- however self-inflicted ~~the imbalance is still the fault of the Party~~ is not a good thing.

Under our system, no Party can be doctrinaire, sectarian, narrow in its appeal or ~~misrepresented to~~ *misrepresented to* have such an image, however unfair the charge might be -- and still attract the majority of ~~the American~~ *the* electorate. *PA* The high ground of moderation with unselfish unity is not only common horse-sense for a political Party -- it is also representative of the people and in keeping with the underlying genius of the American political system.

The day-to-day rebuilding of Republican policy and the Party must begin in the Congress -- and because all the House must face the voters next year, *9* the heaviest burden of the task must be carried in the House.



We aim to correct that imbalance -- to re-establish two-party government.

Far from lamenting our fate, House Republicans are wide open to fresh ideas and confident that new approaches, full participation, and renewed dedication can earn new friends for the Republican Party and make an important contribution to the future of America.

X X X

I now await your grilling somewhat in the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who once introduced the White House Press Corps to Winston Churchill as "my beloved wolves." Let me add a footnote -- the President may have some reservations about taking you into his confidence, but Senator Dirksen and I do not.



Those of you who are concerned with the more obscure political happenings in Washington may recall that I was elected Minority Leader of the House of Representatives not long ago by a landslide vote of 73 to 67.

This triumph gives me a certain feeling of kinship with the kindly fellow who has just introduced me so handsomely, your new President, Landslide Blair.

Bill Blair and I, in fact, are living proof that democracy works, even in the National Press Club or a Republican caucus. All you need is a little virtue, a moderate amount of hard work, and one hell of a lot of luck.

In any event, the overwhelming mandate I received in January and *unbroken record of success* the various personal triumphs I have achieved since then have encouraged me to appear before you today as an authority -- on the problems of oppressed minorities.

I come here, in fact, as a defender of the downtrodden in the Great Society -- the press, the two-party political system, and my dog.

Let me say first that I am not one of those who blames the press for the Republican disaster of last November.

No help was needed.

It was an overwhelming plebiscite against our national ticket, possibly the first negative landslide in American history.

The mistakes of narrow factionalism which produced this catastrophe must never be repeated -- for even now, our two-party political system is dangerously close to the brink of destruction.



Dick Rovere has referred to it as the one and one-half party system, and not without some justice.

This is a serious matter indeed for a republic whose long political life has been based importantly on the unique success of its broadly-representative two-party system.

Those of you serving the communications media are acutely aware of the dangers.

As guardians of the people's right to know, for example, you are well aware of what happens to that right when our traditional political balance gets tipped to one side as crazily as it is today.

Right now, I know you could do with a lot less lecturing on unity and consensus in favor of a few more Presidential press conferences and a lot more administration candor.

So could we Republicans.

There are only 140 of us left out of 435 Members of the House of Representatives, and it takes some doing to make the majority pay us any attention.

But the election which thinned our ranks also altered our orientation.

The heaviest casualties were among the most conservative members.

The result is that the Republican membership of the House today has a heavier concentration of those who take moderate positions in most matters.

And a yeast is working within that membership which I and my associates of the House Republican leadership are determined to convert into better decisions by this Congress and substantially stronger Republican representation in the next Congress.



Younger men are coming to the fore in our leadership.

We have created a new Committee on Planning and Research under the chairmanship of Representative Charles E. Goodell of New York which is building up a top flight research staff under Dr. William Prendergast, former research director for the Republican National Committee.

We are creating special task forces on major substantive issues in such rapid succession that one observer described us as "an anti-poverty program for Republican intellectuals."

These task forces are assigned the job of developing constructive Republican alternatives to administration programs that we feel to be in need of improvement, and to do the job right, they naturally require research backing.

Now of course, we face the fact of simple mathematics that the administration can pass about anything it wants to in this Congress.

We aren't even trying to make coalitions with southern Democrats.

If they happen to vote the same as us these days, it's because they have decided to support a Republican program, and not because of any cooperative pre-planning involving us.

But our influence is being felt, and as an example I cite the last paragraph from a March 12 editorial in the New York Times, quote:

"Political competition from Representative John W. Byrnes and the Republican members of the committee spurred Chairman Mills and the Democrats to expand Medicare. There could be no better testament to the usefulness of competition." End quote.

*At times
since Jan 4
I wonder if
some friends in
it press
really which
the new
G.O. P. leadership
could, with some
new position
increase our
rank from*



We are supplying useful competition and we are supplying something more:

--Opposition to the administration's aims and methods when we think both are wrong, but never opposition just for its own sake;

--Constructive alternatives to administration schemes when we feel they are tackling the right problems in the wrong way;

--Programs to meet the many problems the administration is ignoring or neglecting; and

--Whole-hearted support of the administration when we think it is right.

Republican
This blue print for legislative action
Begin here
This approach is based on what we conceive to be our duty to the 43 percent of the American electorate who put us in office, and to the people as a whole who face ever-increasing federal domination and erosion of their liberties unless an articulate opposition functions effectively.

It is based on the hard truth that the Republican Party to win in 1966 and 1968 must ^{earn it} regain the respect of many millions of voters -- and it can't do this by sitting on the sidelines and waiting for an international or domestic catastrophe to produce a call for a change of leadership.

It is based also on a profound conviction that something more than talk of unity and consensus is demanded by the challenges of our times.

We subscribe to the observation of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1951 that "if you permit appeals to unity to bring an end to criticism, we endanger not only the constitutional liberties of our country, but even its future existence."



We raise the question of whether it is enough in these days of danger and turmoil for our President to continue to act as a consensus politician instead of a statesman who leads.

Waiting for a consensus can and often does mean ignoring little problems until they become big ones.

It can and does mean inaction until the riots start -- whether in Saigon or in Selma.

As recently as January, the President was referring with satisfaction to our policy in South Vietnam as one of "creative inaction."

To me, this is a fantastic concept -- better described, perhaps, as "vigorous ineptitude" or "dynamic paralysis", -- ~~and events are sadly proving its bankruptcy.~~

Yet this attitude was reflected in the State of the Union Message, which suggested that the international scene was so improved that we could all but forget it in favor of domestic affairs.

The disarray of NATO is all but ignored by the administration. Nasser and Sukarno thumb their noses with seeming impunity.

And the disruptive voices of appeasement in the Democratic Party not only undercut the President in his conduct of foreign affairs at a time of national crisis; they also raise the very grave danger of a Communist miscalculation as to our intentions in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

~~[It is already plain that the President is getting much firmer support from the Republicans than from many in his own party in defending South Vietnam against Communist aggression.]~~

We believe in keeping the ball on the enemy's ^{goal} ~~goal~~ line -- ^{back pedalling to our 20 yard line} not retreating to our goal line before starting the next play.

The President can always count on Republican support where his foreign policy is firm and decisive on the side of freedom.

But if ever there was a time for revival ^{broad gauge} of genuine bipartisanship in foreign policy in the spirit of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, that time is now.

^{who} Senator Vandenberg was my fellow townsman, my mentor, my hero.

~~He~~ ^g was importantly responsible for my getting into politics.

He arrived at a thoughtful concept of the nation's best interests in foreign policy matters which ^{served the American people magnificently well --} and it is a concept which I would be honored to help restore to being. ^{to help to expand beyond current policy in South Viet Nam}

But foreign policy bipartisanship in the Vandenberg pattern means genuine consultation across party lines in determining policy -- not just using the Republicans for window dressing. ^{after thought}

It does not mean merely a summons to the White House in a moment of crisis, ~~a hasty briefing roughly equivalent to the testimony that will be given to a congressional committee next day,~~ and then calling in the photographers and announcing Republican endorsement of an administration policy already determined.

^{and} Nor does it mean foreclosure of Republican criticism of foreign policy when we are convinced the administration is wrong.

I refuse to concede that the administration has any monopoly on brains, ideas or information.



A Republican Congressman who visited Vietnam last November made an independent investigation and returned to Washington with a warning that desertions were about to occur in the South Vietnamese army on a major scale.

He communicated this warning to the White House in writing and received an acknowledgement that the information had been received -- and forwarded to the Secretary of Defense.

Desertions in the South Vietnamese Army tripled in recent weeks, just as the Republican Congressman had predicted. Secretary of Defense McNamara therefore was asked what action he had taken on the Congressman's warning.

Secretary McNamara replied that he had never seen the warning in question.

Under a genuine bipartisan foreign policy, such a grave warning -- regardless of its Republican origin -- would at least have reached the person to whom it was directed, not short-circuited at a lower echelon as this Congressman's warning obviously was.

Beyond any direct contribution we Republicans might make to determination of foreign policy is the important matter of confidence -- confidence between leaders of both parties based on working closely together, and public confidence that the effective presence of a minority that will not hesitate to expose or criticize if necessary is helping to safeguard the public interest.

We of the minority have no vested interest in any individual ego -- nor hesitation about disturbing the peace within the administration, if necessary to serve the interest of the people.



This may annoy the administration at times but it also can increase public confidence in public policy, and this is important indeed.

I suppose you could look at the situation of us Republicans and just say "what's the use?"

The administration does have us overwhelmed numerically in Congress. The Democratic Party has been grossly unfair in allocation of congressional committee staff members on many committees -- running as high as 53 staff members of one committee responsible to the Democratic chairman to only three staff members responsible to the ranking minority members.

And of course the administration has the whole apparatus of the Executive Branch to support its push for enactment of its programs.

But we Republicans are coming up with ideas and some of them are being listened to -- even though the Democrats can ignore us whenever they want to insofar as actual votes available are concerned.

We are coming up with ideas on substantive issues and we are coming up with fresh thought on the functioning of Congress itself.

One idea we are discussing right now is that of requiring when both the executive and legislative branches are controlled by the same party that the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate be under control of the minority party.

Here would be a genuine vehicle for assuring that the voice of the minority would be heard, that the majority would be constantly on notice that its actions were subject to effective and critical review, and that the public would know that any cover-up of wrong-doing would be improbable if not impossible.



I think it is safe to speculate that were such an idea in effect now, there would be much more public confidence that the real Bobby Baker story had been told, and no doubt much more of the story actually on the record.

It is important that the minority be heard -- important to the people and important to the minority party itself.

Lord knows we function today under handicaps in this respect.

Every time the President sneezes, the broadcast media interrupt programs for bulletins and the newspapers find space on page one.

Luci and her Watusi admittedly may be livelier than a Republican task force on Economic Opportunity -- but is it really more important?

Should Lady Bird's pansy bed take precedence in the news accounts over Republican efforts to deal with serious new farm problems which the administration is ignoring?

And of course, almost every American knows all about those beagles, Him and Her, the President's picking them up by the ears, and the subsequent loneliness of Him over Her's death.

But does anyone outside my own family and a few neighbors know that I am the proud master of a noble golden retriever named Sugar? Of course not.

What's so great about a Democratic beagle that makes him more important than a Republican golden retriever? On behalf of Sugar, I protest.

And on behalf of the American future, I suggest that the present political imbalance -- however self-inflicted the wound that is ailing the Republican Party -- is not a good thing.



The day-to-day rebuilding of Republican policy and the Republican Party must begin in the Congress and -- because all the House must face the voters next year -- the heaviest burden of the task must be carried in the House.

We are out to correct that imbalance. Far from sighing "what's the use," we Republicans in the House are wide open to fresh ideas and confident that new approaches, enthusiasm and dedication can win new friends for the Republican Party and make an important contribution to the future of America.



Prudigast

The Press Club speech, I think, should make the following points:

- (1) The survival of the two-party system is in danger.
- (2) The nation needs a more vigorous and powerful Republican Party.
- (3) The Republicans (particularly in the House) are trying hard to deserve greater popular support.
- (4) The press has a responsibility to see to it that the minority party gets a fair hearing.

The following paragraphs say things that I think should be included in the speech:

I am not sure that the dimensions of the Republican disaster of 1964 have been fully understood by either Republicans or the press.

The defeat of the Presidential ticket which received 38.5 percent of the vote, in some respects was the worst since the split in the Republican Party in 1912. The aggregate vote for Republican candidates for each House of the Congress was approximately 43 percent of the vote cast. But the election dashed any hope of Republican control of the Senate before 1971 and the net loss of 38 seats in the House of Representatives reduced Republican strength there to one-third of the total membership.

No less serious was the loss of more than 500 Republican seats in state legislative bodies. Although the election gave us one more Republican governor than we had before the election (and I salute the five candidates who succeeded in standing against the tide), there are today only three states in which a Republican governor is supported by Republican majorities of both Houses of his legislature.

Unfortunately, the state lawmakers elected in 1964 are redrawing the boundaries of perhaps 200 districts of the House of Representatives and thousands of state legislative districts. To the extent permitted by Federal law and the courts, they will draw them to perpetuate the minority status of the Republican Party.

* * * * *

We have seen the operation of consensus politics in the history of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act which will be enacted in 1965. In both cases it was mass demonstrations, disorder, and violence that moved the Executive to recommend legislation and the Congress to enact it -- in Birmingham in 1963 and in Selma in 1965.



A dangerous precedent has now been set. The impression has been given that the way to move the Federal government to action is not by reasoned argument around a conference table or before a legislative committee. Rather it appears that the way to get results is by mass picketing, by the sit-in demonstration, by disrupting the orderly life of a community, by situations which always pose the threat of violence and bloodshed.

I do not blame those who use such tactics when other means of securing redress of legitimate grievances are closed. I blame, first of all, those who kept closed the ordinary avenues for securing redress of grievances. But those who waited for the formation of a consensus before moving to deal with urgent problems of basic human rights cannot escape some share of the blame.

In the past twelve years changes of dramatic dimensions have taken place in the South. Among the most noteworthy is a doubling of the number of Negroes registered to vote. This progress is a tribute to the men of good will who make up a majority of both races. It is evidence of growing political consciousness and involvement and of a growing sense of justice.

Yet even in 1964 ^{far too many eligible} only 43 per cent of the Negroes of voting age were ~~not~~ registered to vote in eleven Southern States. For some part of the 2,800,000 who are unregistered, the franchise is unattainable regardless of their qualifications. In some islands of resistance, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is still being flouted.

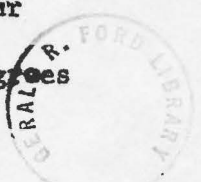
The Republican leadership insists
This violation of constitutional rights must end ^{prior to} ~~by the time of the~~ 1966 election.

The achievement of this goal requires a new and ^{strong} ~~firm~~ Federal Voting Rights law. This ^{legislation} ~~law~~ should:

- (1) ^{and speedily} effectively end the unconstitutional denial of the right to vote everywhere in the United States;
- (2) terminate unreasonable standards for registration and voting without interfering with the reasonable requirements established by the states;
- (3) terminate any discriminatory application of requirements for registration and voting.

(4) should not penalize areas which are not guilty of discrimination.
The Voting Rights bill which the Administration has submitted to the Congress ^{falls short of meeting} ~~fails to meet any of~~ these standards.

This bill appears to affect only the ^{18, mainly 20,} ~~20~~ states which have some kind of literacy test as a qualification for voting. It does not apply to four Southern states in which are found 25 per cent of the unregistered Negroes



of the South -- Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. It does not apply to Smith County, Texas, with low voter turnout among a population of 27 per cent Negro. On the other hand, it does apply to Aroostook County, Maine, where ^{only} one per cent of the population is non-white.

This bill ignores ^{those} ~~any~~ discriminatory practices used in the states that do not employ literacy and similar tests.

In the literacy-test states it largely ignores discrimination that touches less than 50 per cent of the population.

~~I do not believe that the Federal government should override the decision of any state by abolishing reasonable literacy tests applied without discrimination. The constitutionality of the literacy test has been upheld in very recent years by the Supreme Court.~~

~~This bill strikes down reasonable and unreasonable tests alike. It stigmatizes the jurisdictions that avoids discrimination as well as those that practice it.~~

This bill introduces a strange kind of geographical discrimination. It nullifies the literacy test in Martin County, North Carolina, where 49.9 per cent of the voting-age population went to the polls in 1964, but it leaves the literacy test in full effect in Guilford County, North Carolina, which registered a turnout of 52.5 per cent of its voting-age population.

This ~~bill~~ bill leaves untouched too much discrimination in too many places. If it is passed as drafted, the Congress will find itself struggling with yet another voting rights bill in 1966 or 1967.



The Administration bill 3. *accomplish all that must be done*
Under the leadership of Congressman
Wm. McCallister of Ohio
I believe

~~Because this bill~~ will not do the job, there will be a Republican
that will be more comprehensive in its application
Voting Rights bill in the House of Representatives. The Republican members
of the House Judiciary Committee ~~and~~ the members of the House Republican
Task Force on the Right to Vote ~~Task Force~~ *and others* have been at work on such a bill for several
They are weeks, considering, among other proposals, those made by Republican Members
of the Congress before the President presented his bill. *This more effective* The bill resulting
proposal will be ready for consideration by the House Committee on the Judiciary
~~from this study will be made public shortly.~~

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Speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich)

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
AT 1 P.M. EST March 25, 1965

Those of you who are concerned with the more obscure political happenings in Washington may recall that I was elected Minority Leader of the House not long ago by a landslide vote of 73 to 67.

This triumph gives me a certain feeling of kinship with the kindly fellow who has just introduced me so handsomely -- your new President, Landslide Blair.

Bill Blair and I, in fact, are living proof that democracy works, even in the National Press Club or a Republican caucus.

All you need is an allegation of virtue, a moderate amount of hard work, and lots of luck.

In any event, the overwhelming mandate I received in January, and the unbroken record of successes since then, have encouraged me to appear before you today as an authority -- on the problems of oppressed minorities.



As was said two thousand years ago -- "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles gather." I am certain none of you are here for such a purpose today.

As you know, football is really my first love. I am only a politician because of the job security!

But since Michigan beat Oregon State in the Rose Bowl by 27 points, and, three days later Ford beat his opponent by only 6 points, perhaps I chose the wrong profession!

I have often wondered where I would now be if I had accepted Curly Lambeau's offer in 1934 to play pro ball with the Green Bay Packers -- perhaps on the Supreme Court! *(ref. to Whizzer White).*

It's true that the new House Republican leadership hasn't won any spectacular legislative successes. This has been appropriately noted by some. But we never campaigned on a platform that -- by some strange sleight of hand or magic potion -- we could double our numbers and slice the opposition in half before November 1966.



As you well know, the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House have remained the same since November third -- 140 Republicans to 294 Democrats. The odds are rough. But, to coin a phrase -- with a little different twist -- "we shall overcome."

You in your profession and those of us in my profession face the same powerhouse -- but in a different way.

The White House and all its troops try to spoon-feed you -- and they try to clobber us. The President has virtually unlimited resources for working his will -- a veritable army of experts, authorities, researchers, propagandists and the like.

He is also king pin of the branch of government that employs 2½ million civilians and controls the destiny of 2 million 600 thousand military personnel. These two groups have ^{an annual} payroll cost totalling \$28 billion.....and together they will spend over 127 billion tax dollars in fiscal 1966. I wish Republicans had this kind of a campaign fund.



This awesome power and the vast apparatus, if used improperly, could mean the withering away and eventually the death of the two-party system.

There is nothing constitutionally ordained about running our government through two great political parties.

But almost from the start our nation made such a choice. It was a wise decision. We avoided the chaos of a multi-party government. We avoided the loss of freedom of the single-party system. And we built into government an additional set of checks and balances.

Not only does a strong second party provide the electorate with legislative alternatives but also with a remarkably high level of honesty and frankness.

Our American news media have a noble tradition in demanding the facts, bursting the bubble of propaganda, unstuffing the shirt and exposing the corrupt. You of the news media can perform your job better if the relative strengths of our two parties are more nearly in balance and not so far out of kilter.

When both the Executive and Legislative branches are dominated by the same political party, the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate, which have broad investigating authority, should be under the control of the minority party. It smacks of legalized collusion when we find the suspect and the District Attorney are blood relatives. To make our Federal government function better, to help you get the facts, Republicans in Congress believe this new idea would be a step in the right direction.

Here would be a genuine vehicle to assure that the voice of the minority would be heard, that the majority would be constantly on notice that its actions or inactions were subject to effective and critical review. Here would be an assurance the public through your help would know that any cover-up or wrongdoing would be improbable, if not impossible.

It is safe to speculate that with such a set-up there would be more public confidence that the real Bobby Baker story had been told.




The Democrats certainly have us overwhelmed numerically in Congress. We could say, "What's the use?" That's no answer for the American people, for you or for ourselves. Fortunately, there is a constructive ferment right now in the Republican Party.

We have already made some reorganization of our internal machinery. The Research and Planning Committee, ^{under Charles Goodell} is working at long-range policy. We are creating special task forces on major substantive issues in such rapid succession that one observer said we were setting up "an anti-poverty program for Republican intellectuals."

John Rhodes, with a beefed-up staff, is Policy Committee chairman, and this reorganized group will deal with current, day-to-day, legislative problems.

On the basis of simple mathematics, the Administration can pass about everything it wants to in this Congress, particularly if it twists a few arms as it did in the Nasser victory on an appropriation bill a few weeks ago. Nevertheless, we will win on some issues in this Congress.



More importantly, Republicans will build a record for a substantially stronger representation after November 8, 1966.

The Republican strategy in the House will be diversified.

We'll be grateful for any Democratic support, North or South. To compete with the Administration, we will offer:

1. Opposition to Administration's aims and methods when we think both are wrong; but never obstructionism just for its own sake.
2. Constructive alternatives to Administration schemes when we feel they are tackling the right problems, at home or abroad, in the wrong way. House Republicans have already recommended responsible proposals this year in medicare, education, housing and Appalachia.
3. Workable programs, developed through our task forces, to meet the many problems the Administration is ignoring or neglecting. We refuse to concede that Democrats have a monopoly on ideas for the solution of domestic or foreign difficulties.



4. Wholehearted support for the President when we think he is right. Viet Nam policy in the last few weeks is the prime example. More and more Republicans have staunchly backed the President while more and more Democrats have changed their tune in favor immediate negotiation and tail-between-our-legs withdrawal.

On the domestic scene we recall that the Congress has enacted three laws on Civil Rights since 1957. Progress has been made in the South because there is a growing public conscience and sense of justice.

Yet even in 1964 far too many eligible Negroes of voting age were not registered to vote in eleven Southern States. For some part of the 2,800,000 who are unregistered, the franchise is unattainable regardless of their qualifications. In some islands of resistance, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is still being flouted.



The Republican leadership insists this violation of constitutional rights must end prior to the 1966 election.

The achievement of this goal requires a new and strong Federal Voting Rights Law. This legislation should:

- (1) effectively and speedily end the unconstitutional denial of the right to vote everywhere in the United States;
- (2) terminate unreasonable standards for registration and voting without interfering with the reasonable requirements established by the states;
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- (4) should not penalize areas which are not guilty of discrimination.

The Voting Rights bill which the Administration has submitted to the Congress falls short of meeting these standards.



This bill appears to affect only the 18, possibly 20, states which have some kind of literacy test as a qualification for voting. It does not apply to four Southern states in which are found 25 per cent of the unregistered Negroes of the South -- Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. It does not apply to Smith County, Texas, with low voter turnout among a population of 27 per cent Negro. On the other hand, it does apply to Arcostook County, Maine, where only one per cent of the population is non-white.

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which registered a turnout of 52.5 per cent of its voting-age population.

This bill leaves untouched too much discrimination in too many places. If it is passed as drafted, the Congress will find itself struggling with yet another voting rights bill in 1966 or 1967.

The Administration's bill will not accomplish all that must be done. Under the leadership of Congressman William McCulloch of Ohio, I believe there will be a Republican Voting Rights bill in the House of Representatives that will be more comprehensive in its application. The Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee, the members of the House Republican Task Force on the Right to Vote, and others, have been at work on such a bill for several weeks. They are considering, among other proposals, those made by Republican members of the Congress before the President presented his bill. This more effective proposal will be ready for consideration by the House Committee on the Judiciary.



This overall blueprint for Republican legislative action is based on what we conceive to be our duty to the 43 per cent of the American electorate who put us in office, and to the people as a whole who face ever-increasing Federal domination and erosion of their liberties unless an articulate opposition functions effectively.

It is based on the hard truth that the Republican Party to win in 1966 must earn and regain the respect of many millions of voters -- and it can't do this by sitting on the sidelines and waiting for an international or domestic catastrophe to produce a call for a change of leadership.

It is based also on a profound conviction that something more than talk of unity and consensus is demanded by the challenges of our times.

We subscribe to the observation of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1951, endorsed by John F. Kennedy in 1960, that "if you permit appeals to unity to bring an end to criticism, we endanger not only the constitutional liberties of our country, but even its future existence."



We raise the question of whether it is enough in these days of danger and turmoil for our President to continue to act as a consensus politician instead of a statesman who leads.

Waiting for a consensus can and often does mean ignoring little problems until they become big ones.

It can and does mean inaction until the riots start -- whether in Saigon or in Selma.

As recently as January, the President was referring with satisfaction -- according to some well-known columnists -- to our policy in South Viet Nam as one of "creative inaction."

To me, this is a fantastic concept -- better described, perhaps, as "dynamic paralysis."

Yet this attitude was reflected in the State of the Union Message, which suggested that the international scene was so improved that we could all but forget it in favor of domestic affairs.



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We believe in keeping the ball on the enemy's goal line -- not back-pedaling to our 20-yard line before starting the next play.

The President can always count on Republican support when his foreign policy is firm and decisive on the side of freedom and in the national interest.

But if ever there was a time for broad-gauged revival of genuine bi-partisanship in foreign policy in the spirit of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, that time is now.

Senator Vandenberg, who was my fellow townsman, was largely responsible for my getting into politics.



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It does not mean merely a summons to the White House in a moment of crisis, and then calling in the photographers and announcing Republican endorsement of an Administration policy already determined.

Nor does it mean foreclosure of Republican criticism of foreign policy when we are convinced the Administration is wrong.

Some of our problems, particularly a lack of unity, have been created by Republicans. On behalf of America's future, I suggest that the present political imbalance -- however self-inflicted -- is not a good thing.



Under our system, no Party can be doctrinaire, sectarian, narrow in its appeal, or misrepresented to have such an image, however unfair the charge might be -- and still attract the majority of the electorate.

The high ground of moderation with unselfish unity is not only common horse-sense for a political Party -- it is also representative of the people and in keeping with the underlying genius of the American political system.

The day-to-day rebuilding of Republican policy and the Party must begin in the Congress -- and because all the House must face the voters next year, the heaviest burden of the task must be carried in the House.

We aim to correct that imbalance -- to re-establish two-party government. Far from lamenting our fate, House Republicans are wide open to fresh ideas and confident that new approaches, full participation, and renewed dedication can earn new friends for the Republican Party, and make an important contribution to the future of America.



I now await your grilling somewhat in the spirit of Franklin

D. Roosevelt, who once introduced the White House Press Corps to

Winston Churchill as "my beloved wolves." Let me add a footnote --

the President may have some reservations about taking you into his

confidence, but Senator Dirksen and I do not.



Speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich)

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
AT 1 P.M. EST, March 25, 1965

Those of you who are concerned with the more obscure political happenings in Washington may recall that I was elected Minority Leader of the House not long ago by a landslide vote of 73 to 67.

This triumph gives me a certain feeling of kinship with the kindly fellow who has just introduced me so handsomely -- your new President, Landslide Blair.

Bill Blair and I, in fact, are living proof that democracy works, even in the National Press Club or a Republican caucus.

All you need is an allegation of virtue, a moderate amount of hard work, and lots of luck.

In any event, the overwhelming mandate I received in January, and the unbroken record of successes since then, have encouraged me to appear before you today as an authority -- on the problems of oppressed minorities.

I now await your grilling somewhat in the spirit of Franklin
D. Roosevelt, who once introduced the White House Press Corps to
Winston Churchill as "my beloved wolves." Let me add a footnote --
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#

World affairs will continue to call upon our energy and courage.
But today we can turn increased attention to the character of American
life.

(Excerpt from President Johnson's State of the Union Message - Jan. 4, 1965)

News Management

"First of all, I regard my own responsibility in this field as making available to all of you all of the information that I can consistent with the national interests on as fair and as equitable a basis as possible."

* * * *

"Second, I consider it the responsibility of the press to report those facts to the American public as fully and as -- as possible -- and in the best perspective possible.

"The press, of course, also has the right and has the duty to comment on the facts in any way that it sees fit. But that is a right and not a responsibility."

(Excerpt from transcript of President Johnson's News Conference on Alabama and Vietnam - at the LBJ Ranch on March 20, 1965).

Matter of Fact

By Joseph Alsop

Johnson's Cuba II

DEC 30 1964

WASHINGTON POST

Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

Republican Party - 1964 Elections

I am not sure that the dimensions of the Republican disaster of 1964 have been fully understood by either Republicans or the press.

The defeat of the Presidential ticket which received 38.5 percent of the vote, in some respects was the worst since the split in the Republican Party in 1912. The aggregate vote for Republican candidates for each House of the Congress was approximately 43 percent of the vote cast. But the election dashed any hope of Republican control of the Senate before 1971 and the net loss of 38 seats in the House of Representatives reduced Republican strength there to one-third of the total membership.

No less serious was the loss of more than 500 Republican seats in state legislative bodies. Although the election gave us one more Republican governor than we had before the election (and I salute the five candidates who succeeded in standing against the tide), there are today only three states in which a Republican governor is supported by Republican majorities of both Houses of his legislature.

150. — Unfortunately, the state lawmakers elected in 1964 are redrawing the boundaries of perhaps 200 districts of the House of Representatives and thousands of state legislative districts. To the extent permitted by Federal law and the courts, they will draw them to perpetuate the minority status of the Republican Party.



Consensus and Selma

We have seen the operation of consensus politics in the history of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act which will be enacted in 1965. In both cases it was mass demonstrations, disorder, and violence that moved the Executive to recommend legislation and the Congress to enact it -- in Birmingham in 1963 and in Selma in 1965.

A dangerous precedent has now been set. The impression has been given that the way to move the Federal government to action is not by reasoned argument around a conference table or before a legislative committee. Rather it appears that the way to get results is by mass picketing, by the sit-in demonstration, by disrupting the orderly life of a community, by situations which always pose the threat of violence and bloodshed.

I do not blame those who use such tactics when other means of securing redress of legitimate grievances are closed. I blame, first of all, those who kept closed the ordinary avenues for securing redress of grievances. But those who waited for the formation of a consensus before moving to deal with urgent problems of basic human rights cannot escape some share of the blame.

Withdrawal Demanded

China Says It's Ready To Assist Viet Reds

**Korea-Type War
Is Seen If Peking
Sends in Troops**

From News Dispatches

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17 On the domestic scene we recall that
~~although~~ the Congress has enacted

three
laws on Civil Rights since 1957, ~~and~~

Progress has been made in the south because

there is a growing public conscience + sense

of justice.



NATIONAL PRESS CLUB SPEECH

March 25, 1965

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This triumph gives me a certain feeling of kinship with the kindly fellow who has just introduced me so handsomely, your new president, Landslide Blair.

Bill Blair and I, in fact, are living proof that democracy works, even in the National Press Club or a Republican caucus.

All you need is an allegation of virtue, a moderate amount of hard work, and one hell of a lot of luck.

In any event, the overwhelming mandate I received in January and the unbroken record of successes since then have encouraged me to appear before you today as an authority -- on the problems of oppressed minorities.

There is a passage from the Bible -- "Where the carcass is there will the eagles gather." I am certain none of you are here for such a purpose today.

As you know, football is really my first love. I only became a politician because of the job security!

But since Michigan beat Oregon State in the Rose Bowl by 27 points, and, three days later Ford beat his opponent by only 6 points, perhaps I chose the wrong profession!

I have often wondered where I would now be if I had accepted Curly Lambeau's offer in 1934 to pay pro ball with the Green Bay Packers -- perhaps on the Supreme Court!

Since January 4th something tells me that I failed to score the point after touchdown on several occasions.



140
285
439

Although the new House Republican leadership hasn't won any spectacular

legislative successes, and this has been appropriately noted by some, we never

or recent action with reproduction capabilities
 campaigned on a platform that by some strange sleight of hand, we could double

our numbers and slice the opposition in half before November 1966. As you well

know the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House have not
 changed since Nov. 3, rd - 148 Republicans to 284 Democrats. The
 odds are rough. But, to coin a phrase - with a little different
 twist - "we shall overcome."

Perhaps you in your profession & those of us in the
 minority in various face the same problem, but in a different way. The
 White House & all its troops try to spoon feed you
 and they try to clobber us. On behalf of the American people
 as you search for the
 truth & as we seek the right answer in the Congress
 & often wonder if our fellow citizens know the power
 arrayed against us. The President as "king-pin" in
 the Executive branch has over 2 1/2 million civilian employees
 with an annual payroll of about \$15 billion. In addition the
 White House controls the destiny of 2 million 600 thousand
 in the military with a payroll of approximately \$15 billion per year.
 In each of the various departments there are those trusted public
 figures. The total on the Executive branch reaches
 figure of \$30 billion for over 5 million 100 thousand and
 this group will spend in 1966 about \$126 billion.
 and the vast apparatus

This awesome power, if used improperly could mean the
 gathering away of the two party system. There is nothing
 constitutionally ordained about running our government through
 two great political parties. But almost from the start our
 nation made such a choice. It was a wise decision.



①

We avoided the chaos of a multiparty government
& the loss of freedom of the single-party system,
while building into government an additional set
of checks & balances. [#] Not only does a strong
second party provide the electorate with legislative
alternatives but, ^{also} a remarkably high level of honesty
& frankness. Our American news media have
a noble tradition in demanding the facts, bursting the
bubble of propaganda & exposing corruption. You can perform
your job better if the relative strengths of our two
parties are more nearly in balance and not so
far out of kilter.

To make our federal government function better,
to help you get the facts, Republicans in Congress
believe this new idea would be ^a step in the right
direction. When both the executive & legislative
branches are dominated by the same political party
the Committees on Government Operations of the



which have unimpeachable authority
House & Senate should be under the control of the
minority party. It smacks of legalized collusion when we
find the suspect & the District Attorney are blood relatives.

There would be a genuine vehicle for assuring
that the voice of the minority would be heard, that the
majority would be constantly on notice that its actions
or inaction were subject to effective & critical review
& that the public through your help would know
that any cover-up or wrong doing would be

improbable if not impossible. It is safe to speculate
that with such a set-up there would be more public confidence that the real
Bobby Baker story had been told. ~~The Democrats have no overwhelmed numerically~~
~~on the basis of simple mathematics the Administration can pass~~

in Congress. We could say "what's the use."

That's ~~no~~ answer for the American people, for you or
for ourselves. Right now there is a constructive

presentation in the Republican Party. We have made
some internal reorganization of our internal machinery.

The Research & Planning Committee, with skilled researchers
under Dr. Bill Prosser, is working at long range
policy. John Rhodes, with a beefed up staff, is Policy

We are creating
special task forces
on major outstanding
issues via such
rapid succession
that one planner
described us as
"an anti-poverty
program for
Republican intellectuals."



Committee chairman + this reorganized group will deal with current, day to day, legislative problems.

On the basis of simple mathematics the Administration can pass about anything it wants to in this Congress particularly if it twists a few screws as it did on an appropriation bill in the Nassar victory a few weeks ago. Despite the "odds" we will win on some issues in this Congress but more importantly Republicans will build a record for a substantially stronger representation after Nov. 8, 1966.

The Republican strategy in the House will be

diversified. We'll be grateful for any Democratic support, north or south, but our position on any issue will be developed independently of any Democratic coalition. To compete with the administration we shall offer:

1) Opposition to the Administration's aims

and methods when we think both are wrong;

but never obstructionism just for its own sake.

2) Constructive alternatives to ~~reorganized~~ Administration

schemes when we feel they are tackling the right problems at home or abroad in the wrong way. House Republicans

have already provided responsible competition this year in medicine, education, housing + Appalachia.



developed these our task forces

(4)

3) Workable programs to meet the many problems

The Administration is ignoring or neglecting. I refuse to concede Democrats have a monopoly on ideas for the solution of domestic & foreign difficulties.

4) Wholehearted support for the President

when we think he is right. Viet Nam policy in the last few weeks is the prime example. Parenthetically

* page 4, 5, 6 Morrow

I might add that as "The Tales from the Viet Nam Woods" become less melodic, more & more Republicans have staunchly backed the President while more & more Democrats have changed their tune to immediate negotiation & tail between our leg withdrawal.

end
to insert

6
page



However, on behalf of the American future, I suggest that the present political imbalance - however self-inflicted the wound that is ailing the G.O.P. - is not a good thing. Many

of our problems, ^{particularly a lack of unity} have been created by Republicans.

To bend a metaphor: Our recent experience has shown that when a party gets so far out of the mainstream of American political life, perhaps it should expect to drown. ☞

Under our system no party can be dictatorial, sectarian, narrow in its appeal or just as importantly have such an image, however unfair the charge might be - and still attract the majority of a highly pluralistic electorate. The high ground of moderation, ^{with unselfish unity} is not only common horse sense for a political party - it is also representative of the people & in keeping with

⑥

The underlying genius of the American political system.

The day to day rebuilding of Republican policy & the party must begin ⁱⁿ the Congress - & because all the House must face the voters next year - the heaviest burden of the task must be carried in the House.

We are to correct that imbalance - reestablish two party government. Far from lamenting our fate House Republicans are wide open to fresh ideas & confident that new ^{approaches} full participation & renewed dedication can earn new friends for the Republican Party & make an important contribution to the future of

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Speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich)

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FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

at 1 P.M. EST, March 25, 1965

Let's take a look at the Republican Party in the House of Representatives. It's true that the new House Republican leadership hasn't won any spectacular legislative successes. This has been appropriately noted by some. But we never campaigned on a platform that--by some strange sleight of hand or magic potion--we could double our numbers and slice the opposition in half before November 1966.

As you well know, the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House have remained the same since November 3rd---140 Republicans to 244 Democrats. The odds are rough. But, to coin a phrase--with a little different twist-- 'we shall overcome.'

You in your profession and those of us in my profession face the same powerhouse --but in a different way.

The White House and all its troops try to spoon-feed you----and they try to clobber us. The President has virtually unlimited resources for working his will-- a veritable army of experts, authorities, researchers, propagandists and the like.

He is also king pin of the branch of government that employs 2-1/2 million civilians and controls the destiny of 2 million 600 thousand military personnel. These two groups have a payroll cost totalling \$28 billion.....and together they will spend over 127 billion tax dollars in fiscal 1966. *WE REPUBLICANS WISH WE HAD THAT KIND OF A CAMPAIGN FUND!*
This awesome power and the vast apparatus, if used improperly, could mean the withering away and eventually the death of the two-party system.

There is nothing constitutionally ordained about running our government through two great political parties.

But almost from the start our nation made such a choice. It was a wise decision. We avoided the chaos of a multi-party government. We avoided the loss of freedom of the single party system. And we built into government an additional set of checks and balances.

Not only does a strong second party provide the electorate with legislative alternatives but also with a remarkably high level of honesty and frankness.

Our American news media have a noble tradition in demanding the facts, bursting the bubble of propaganda, unstuffing the shirt and exposing the corrupt. You of the news media can perform your job better if the relative strengths of our two parties are more nearly in balance and not so far out of kilter.

When both the Executive and Legislative branches are dominated by the same



political party, the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate, which have broad investigating authority, should be under the control of the minority party. It smacks of legalized collusion when we find the suspect and the District Attorney are blood relatives. To make our Federal government function better, to help you get the facts, Republicans in Congress believe this new idea would be a step in the right direction.

Here would be a genuine vehicle to assure that the voice of the minority would be heard, that the majority would be constantly on notice that its actions or inactions were subject to effective and critical review. Here would be an assurance the public through your help would know that any cover-up or wrongdoing would be improbable if not impossible.

It is safe to speculate that with such a set-up there would be more public confidence that the real Bobby Baker story had been told.

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The Republican strategy in the House will be diversified. We'll be grateful for any Democratic support, North or South. To compete with the Administration, we will offer:

1. Opposition to Administration's aims and methods when we think both are wrong, but never obstructionism just for its own sake.
2. Constructive alternatives to Administration schemes when we feel they are tackling the right problems at home or abroad, in the wrong way.

House Republicans have already recommended responsible proposals this year in medicare, education, housing and Appalachia.

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3. Workable programs, developed through our task forces, to meet the many problems the Administration is ignoring or neglecting. We refuse to concede that Democrats have a monopoly on ideas for the solution of domestic or foreign difficulties.

4. Wholehearted support for the President when we think he is right. Viet-Nam policy in the last few weeks is the prime example. More and more Republicans have staunchly backed the President while more and more Democrats have changed their tune to favor immediate negotiation and tail-between-our-legs withdrawal.

On the domestic scene we recall that the Congress has enacted three laws on Civil Rights since 1957. Progress has been made in the South because there is a growing public conscience and sense of justice.

Yet even in 1964 far too many eligible Negroes of voting age were not registered to vote in eleven Southern States. For some part of the 2,800,000 who are unregistered, the franchise is unattainable regardless of their qualifications. In some islands of resistance, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is still being flouted.

The Republican leadership insists this violation of constitutional rights must end prior to the 1966 election.

The achievement of this goal requires a new and strong Federal Voting Rights law. This legislation should:

- (1) effectively and speedily end the unconstitutional denial of the right to vote everywhere in the United States
- (2) terminate unreasonable standards for registration and voting without interfering with the reasonable requirements established by the states
- (3) terminate any discriminatory application of requirements for registration and voting
- (4) should not penalize areas which are not guilty of discrimination.

The Voting Rights bill which the Administration has submitted to the Congress falls short of meeting these standards.

This bill appears to affect only the 18, possibly 20, states which have some kind of literacy test as a qualification for voting. It does not apply to four Southern states in which are found 25 per cent of the unregistered Negroes of the South -- Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. It does not apply to Smith County, Texas, with low voter turnout among a population of 27 percent Negro. On the other hand, it does apply to Aroostook County, Maine, where only one per cent of the population is non-white.

This bill ignores those discriminatory practices used in the states that do not employ literacy and similar tests.

In the literacy-test states it largely ignores discrimination that touches less than 50 per cent of the population.

This bill introduces a strange kind of geographical discrimination. It nullifies the literacy test in Martin County, North Carolina, where 49.9 per cent of the voting-age population went to the polls in 1964, but it leaves the literacy test in full effect in Guilford County, North Carolina, which registered a turnout of 52.5 per cent of its voting-age population.

This bill leaves untouched too much discrimination in too many places. If it is passed as drafted, the Congress will find itself struggling with yet another voting rights bill in 1966 or 1967.

The Administration's bill will not accomplish all that must be done. Under the leadership of Congressman William McCulloch of Ohio I believe there will be a Republican Voting Rights bill in the House of Representatives that will be more comprehensive in its application. The Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee, the members of the House Republican Task Force on the Right to Vote and others have been at work on such a bill for several weeks. They are considering, among other proposals, those made by Republican Members of the Congress before the President presented his bill. This more effective proposal will be ready for consideration by the House Committee on the Judiciary.

This overall blueprint for Republican legislative action is based on what we conceive to be our duty to the 43 percent of the American electorate who put us in office, and to the people as a whole who face ever-increasing Federal domination and erosion of their liberties unless an articulate opposition functions effectively.

It is based on the hard truth that the Republican Party to win in 1966 must earn and regain the respect of many millions of voters -- and it can't do this by sitting on the sidelines and waiting for an international or domestic catastrophe to produce a call for a change of leadership.

It is based also on a profound conviction that something more than talk of unity and consensus is demanded by the challenges of our times.

We subscribe to the observation of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1951, endorsed by John F. Kennedy in 1960, that "if you permit appeals to unity to bring an end to criticism, we endanger not only the constitutional liberties of our country, but even its future existence."

We raise the question of whether it is enough in these days of danger and turmoil for our President to continue to act as a consensus politician instead of a statesman who leads.

Waiting for a consensus can and often does mean ignoring little problems until they become big ones.

It can and does mean inaction until the riots start -- whether in Saigon or in Selma.

As recently as January, the President was referring with satisfaction -- according to some well known columnists--to our policy in South Viet-Nam as one of 'creative inaction.'

To me, this is a fantastic concept -- better described, perhaps, as dynamic paralysis."

Yet this attitude was reflected in the State of the Union Message, which suggested that the international scene was so improved that we could all but forget it in favor of domestic affairs.

The disarray of NATO is all but ignored by the Administration. Nasser and Sukarno thumb their noses with seeming impunity.

And the disruptive voices in the Democratic Party not only undercut the President in his conduct of foreign affairs at a time of national crisis, they also raise the very grave danger of a Communist miscalculation as to our intentions in Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia.

We believe in keeping the ball on the enemy's goal line--not back-pedaling to our 20-yard line before starting the next play.

The President can always count on Republican support when his foreign policy is firm and decisive on the side of freedom and in the national interest.

But if ever there was a time for broad-guaged revival of genuine bi-partisanship in foreign policy in the spirit of the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg, that time is now.

Senator Vandenberg, who was my fellow townsman, was largely responsible for my getting into politics.

He arrived at a thoughtful concept of the nation's best interests in foreign policy matters which served the American people magnificently well -- and it is a concept which I would be honored to help to expand beyond current policy in South Viet-Nam.

But foreign policy bipartisanship in the Vandenberg pattern means genuine consultation across party lines in determining policy -- not just using the Republicans for after-thought window dressing.

It does not mean merely a summons to the White House in a moment of crisis, and then calling in the photographers and announcing Republican endorsement of an Administration policy already determined.

Nor does it mean foreclosure of Republican criticism of foreign policy when we are convinced the Administration is wrong.

Some of our problems, particularly a lack of unity, have been created by Republicans. On behalf of America's future, I suggest that the present political imbalance -- however self-inflicted-- is not a good thing.

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*Unity
Creative
"Sell"*



Speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich)

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

at 1 P.M. EST, March 25, 1965

Let's take a look at the Republican Party in the House of Representatives. It's true that the new House Republican leadership hasn't won any spectacular legislative successes. This has been appropriately noted by some. But we never campaigned on a platform that--by some strange sleight of hand or magic potion--we could double our numbers and slice the opposition in half before November 1966.

As you well know, the numbers on each side of the aisle in the House have remained the same since November 3rd---140 Republicans to 254 Democrats. The odds are rough. But, to coin a phrase--with a little different twist-- we shall overcome.

You in your profession and those of us in my profession face the same powerhouse --but in a different way.

The White House and all its troops try to spoon-feed you----and they try to clobber us. The President has virtually unlimited resources for working his will-- a veritable army of experts, authorities, researchers, propagandists and the like.

He is also king pin of the branch of government that employs 2-1/2 million civilians and controls the destiny of 2 million 600 thousand military personnel. These two groups have a payroll cost totalling \$26 billion.....and together they will spend over 127 billion tax dollars in fiscal 1966.

This awesome power and the vast apparatus, if used improperly, could mean the withering away and eventually the death of the two-party system.

There is nothing constitutionally ordained about running our government through two great political parties.

But almost from the start our nation made such a choice. It was a wise decision. We avoided the chaos of a multi-party government. We avoided the loss of freedom of the single party system. And we built into government an additional set of checks and balances.

Not only does a strong second party provide the electorate with legislative alternatives but also with a remarkably high level of honesty and frankness.

Our American news media have a noble tradition in demanding the facts, bursting the bubble of propaganda, unstuffing the shirt and exposing the corrupt. You of the news media can perform your job better if the relative strengths of our two parties are more nearly in balance and not so far out of kilter.

When both the Executive and Legislative branches are dominated by the same

political party, the Committees on Government Operations of the House and Senate, which have broad investigating authority, should be under the control of the minority party. It smacks of legalized collusion when we find the suspect and the District Attorney are blood relatives. To make our Federal government function better, to help you get the facts, Republicans in Congress believe this new idea would be a step in the right direction.

Here would be a genuine vehicle to assure that the voice of the minority would be heard, that the majority would be constantly on notice that its actions or inactions were subject to effective and critical review. Here would be an assurance the public through your help would know that any cover-up or wrongdoing would be improbable if not impossible.

It is safe to speculate that with such a set-up there would be more public confidence that the real Bobby Baker story had been told.

The Democrats certainly have us overwhelmed numerically in Congress. We could say "What's the use?" That's no answer for the American people, for you or for ourselves. Fortunately there is a constructive ferment right now in the Republican Party.

We have already made some reorganization of our internal machinery. The Research and Planning Committee is working at long-range policy. We are creating special task forces on major substantive issues in such rapid succession that one observer said we were setting up "an anti-poverty program for Republican intellectuals"

John Rhodes, with a beefed-up staff, is Policy Committee chairman, and this reorganized group will deal with current, day-to-day legislative problems.

On the basis of simple mathematics, the Administration can pass about everything it wants to in this Congress, particularly if it twists a few arms as it did in the Nasser victory on an appropriation bill a few weeks ago. Nevertheless we will win on some issues in this Congress. More importantly, Republicans will build a record for a substantially stronger representation after November 8, 1966.

The Republican strategy in the House will be diversified. We'll be grateful for any Democratic support, North or South. To compete with the Administration, we will offer:

1. Opposition to Administration's aims and methods when we think both are wrong but never obstructionism just for its own sake.
2. Constructive alternatives to Administration schemes when we feel they are tackling the right problems at home or abroad, in the wrong way.

House Republicans have already recommended responsible proposals this year in medicare, education, housing and Appalachia.

3. Workable programs, developed through our task forces, to meet the many problems the Administration is ignoring or neglecting. We refuse to concede that Democrats have a monopoly on ideas for the solution of domestic or foreign difficulties.

4. Wholehearted support for the President when we think he is right. Viet-Nam policy in the last few weeks is the prime example. More and more Republicans have staunchly backed the President while more and more Democrats have changed their tune to favor immediate negotiation and tail-between-our-legs withdrawal.

On the domestic scene we recall that the Congress has enacted three laws on Civil Rights since 1957. Progress has been made in the South because there is a growing public conscience and sense of justice.

Yet even in 1964 far too many eligible Negroes of voting age were not registered to vote in eleven Southern States. For some part of the 2,800,000 who are unregistered, the franchise is unattainable regardless of their qualifications. In some islands of resistance, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is still being flouted.

The Republican leadership insists this violation of constitutional rights must end prior to the 1966 election.

The achievement of this goal requires a new and strong Federal Voting Rights Law. This legislation should:

- (1) effectively and speedily end the unconstitutional denial of the right to vote everywhere in the United States
- (2) terminate unreasonable standards for registration and voting without interfering with the reasonable requirements established by the states
- (3) terminate any discriminatory application of requirements for registration and voting
- (4) should not penalize areas which are not guilty of discrimination.

The Voting Rights bill which the Administration has submitted to the Congress falls short of meeting these standards.

This bill appears to affect only the 18, possibly 20, states which have some kind of literacy test as a qualification for voting. It does not apply to four Southern states in which are found 25 per cent of the unregistered Negroes of the South -- Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. It does not apply to Smith County, Texas, with low voter turnout among a population of 27 percent Negro. On the other hand, it does apply to Aroostook County, Maine, where only one per cent of the population is non-white.

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