AN ADDRESS BY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., AT COLGATE UNIVERSITY

8 P.M., SUNDAY, APRIL 9, 1967 --

Ladies and gentlemen: I come to you tonight as the leader of the opposition in one House of the Congress. My task, as I see it, is to sketch for you an outline of the Opposition Role. What should the role of the opposition be and how should we go about fulfilling it?

Many Americans don't realize it, but the present two-party system in American politics goes back 112 years. Tonight I am going to concern myself primarily with the current situation because there is so much to be said about the problems now facing this Nation.

Bluntly put and viewed in purely political terms, the mission of the minority party is to become the majority. That is, the Outs are constantly striving to become the Ins. That's what Republicans are working for right now--to become the In-Group.

There is far more to the role of the opposition than a simple drive for power, of course. We in the opposition must seek to serve the American people; we must offer them a better course than that of the other party. We must offer them a New Direction in government and persuade the voters that this New Direction will lead the Nation in the paths of peace and prosperity.

If I did not believe that the Republican Party had sounder solutions to offer the American people I would not be standing before you at this moment.

The role of the opposition in Congress is critical at this time. The Nation is at a crossroads in economic affairs and the Vietnam War.

The record the Republican Party makes in the 90th Congress is extremely important in terms of the 1968 election. It will be the record that the next Republican presidential candidate will run on.

Some Americans believe the role of the opposition should be solely to oppose. In my view, it goes far beyond that. Certainly we should oppose when we believe that the majority party is mistaken in its programs and concepts. But we also must propose. We must offer the people a choice, tell them how we would run the Nation's affairs if given the opportunity.
It is only some 15 months before the two major political parties meet in convention to name their presidential candidates. Already the issues of the 1968 campaign are taking shape. It will be an historic campaign—a campaign which will shape the destiny of America far into the future.

In recent years, national elections in the United States have been decided on the basis of two broad issues—peace and prosperity.

I submit that in the 1968 election the issue of peace will involve far more than the Vietnam War, other possible wars of liberation, the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and a possible detente with the Communist bloc nations of Europe.

That issue will transcend the usual concerns of foreign conflict and alliances to enwrap itself in an overriding issue of national morality.

This morality issue has a number of offshoots or related issues.

One of these is the Ethics in Congress Issue, as exemplified by the Powell and Dodd cases. The one case involves alleged misuse of public funds; the other, alleged misuse of campaign funds. They are different cases, yet related.

The thrust of both the Powell and the Dodd cases is that they point up the need for a Code of Official Conduct in Congress.

Let me say at this point that the House of Representatives is well on its way toward establishing a Select Committee on Official Conduct—and it was primarily Republican pressure that brought it about. We called for establishment of an ethics watchdog committee in our Republican State of the Union Message on January 19, and the House Republican Policy Committee promptly endorsed it. This relates to the Powell case.

Republicans have been pressing since last year for an Election Reform Law. At this point, I am forced to say that our insistence on Election Law Reform has been vocal and persistent, unlike that of President Johnson. We are determined to clean up campaign fund-raising and destroy all the evils that spring from such organizations as the Thousand-Dollar President's Club.
It is interesting to recall that President Johnson took Senator Dodd with him when he flew to the Democratic convention in 1964—to mislead the press into thinking he had tapped Dodd and not Hubert Humphrey as his running mate.

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Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

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While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called atmosphere.

It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime. I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a multitude of weapons. We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best as we can the pattern of the criminal repeater.

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What is the role of the opposition on Vietnam? With few exceptions, Republicans support the President in his present course—his view that only unrelenting military pressure will cause the enemy to talk peace. Meantime, Republicans are deeply disturbed about the split in the Democratic Party over the bombing of North Vietnam, the proposals that there be a unilateral halt in the bombing. I cannot see how any member of Congress who has seen photos of men and supplies moving from North to South Vietnam during the Tet New Year's truce can possibly favor an unconditional unilateral halt in the bombing. I am convinced that those New Year's reinforcements resulted in hundreds of American and South Vietnamese casualties.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But, I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this nation effectively in war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism of the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President but only to push for an early end to the war with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism, but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as
easy to see as deBergerac's nose that the enemy has more time to build up strength and to plan countermeasures when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to a settlement in Vietnam is to maintain steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while a government with a popular support emerges in South Vietnam. The solution in Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or a semblance of peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at the creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

In foreign and domestic policy, the role of the opposition in Congress is essentially that of watchdog. We owe it to the American people to keep tabs on the other party and to blow the whistle on mistakes or malfeasance.

The best vehicle for political watchdog activity is present in the British system—an investigative committee run by the minority. Republicans have urged such a committee be established in the U.S. House of Representatives but we are not holding our breaths while it happens.

How many Americans think about the fact that the Federal government is deeply in deficit and has been for six full fiscal years? How many know that interest on the Federal debt now runs $14 billion a year, the second largest single item in the Federal budget? How many Americans realize that the deficit in the fiscal 1968 budget probably will run to $15 billion or more and that if the present economic downturn deepens into a recession the deficit will be even more mountainous?

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A basic difference between the two parties is that the Democratic Party prescribes a Federal pill for every ill. The Republican Party would shift more problem-solving responsibility to state and local governments and to the private sector.

The Republican Party is concerned that the other party's philosophy of "tax and tax, spend and spend" destroys individual incentive by siphoning off too much of the people's income in higher taxes.

While the Democratic Party advances proposals that rely primarily on Federal money, Federal power and Federal control, the Republican Party proposes Federal tax-sharing to aid the cities and states, tax credits as incentives for a massive nationwide cleanup of our air and water, tax credits for tuition and other college expenses to make this a nation of college students, tax credits to industry to launch a nationwide on-the-job training program as an assault on hard-core unemployment.

Incentives, not red tape and excessive Federal power. That's the way of the opposition party. We believe there should be large-scale business involvement in the solving of our social ills.

At the outset I spoke of a morality issue that will transcend all else in 1968.

In the final analysis, this translates itself into a question of confidence in the present Administration. Noted news commentator, Walter Lippmann, is among those who point to a credibility gap in the country today. Lippmann says it is "the result of a deliberate policy of artificial manipulation of official news."

As a consequence, Lippmann says the public simply refuses to accept at face value what the Federal government says and does.

Is it any wonder that our young people today ask...Who and what can we believe?
This—the Credibility Gap—poses an intolerable situation, whatever its cause. I believe it springs from this Administration's search for consensus, its abhorrence of dissent, its attempt to foist a kind of absolutism on the American people...a kind of benevolent despotism.

At a recent press conference, President Johnson spoke of the Republican opposition in the same breath with his adversaries overseas. I really do not believe the Loyal Opposition is that formidable.

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing—and then act on the evidence.

As Edmund Burke said: "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, who told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

This I ask—that the voters of this Nation be attentive to their first and foremost task—to see that government in America is the servant and not the master of the people.
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Consequently, we can only point to majority party blunders or omissions as we uncover them with the meager investigative and research resources we possess.

We raise questions and hope that the American people will answer them with an affirmative vote for the Republican Party in 1968.

Why are American high school students lagging behind Japan and four other nations in their knowledge of mathematics? What are we doing to improve our schools besides pumping billions of federal dollars into them—in many cases, for projects of dubious or marginal value? Why are educators in large numbers protesting to Congress about federal red tape in connection with dollar grants and about federal interference in operation of local schools?

Why should this become a quota society? Does anybody really believe that the University of Michigan discriminates against Negroes as a matter of official policy? Why then should the federal government tell the university that its federal research contracts will be withdrawn unless the university hires more Negroes for campus jobs and recruits more Negro faculty members and students? Is ours to become a coerced society?

How serious is the Johnson Administration about air pollution? How many Americans realize that the city of Washington is the fourth dirtiest city in the Nation and that one third of the pollution emanates from Federal Government heating plants? Is it not a full and complete partnership of government and business that we need to lick water and air pollution and not just government swinging a big stick at industry?

How many Americans realize that the United States is pulling its NATO installations out of France behind almost $1 billion worth of facilities for which the French probably won't pay us a cent? Did you know that these facilities include entire towns—hospitals, schools, libraries, housing, swimming pools and bowling alleys, to be taken over by the French?

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Incentives, not red tape and excessive Federal power. That's the way of the opposition party. We believe there should be large-scale business involvement in the solving of our social ills.

At the outset I spoke of a morality issue that will transcend all else in 1968.

In the final analysis, this translates itself into a question of confidence in the present Administration. Noted news commentator, Walter Lippmann, is among those who point to a credibility gap in the country today. Lippmann says it is "the result of a deliberate policy of artificial manipulation of official news."

As a consequence, Lippmann says the public simply refuses to accept at face value what the Federal government says and does.

Is it any wonder that our young people today ask...Who and what can we believe?
This—the Credibility Gap—poses an intolerable situation, whatever its cause. I believe it springs from this Administration’s search for consensus, its abhorrence of dissent, its attempt to foist a kind of absolutism on the American people...a kind of benevolent despotism.

At a recent press conference, President Johnson spoke of the Republican opposition in the same breath with his adversaries overseas. I really do not believe the Loyal Opposition is that formidable.

I ask only that the American people give the Loyal Opposition a hearing—and then act on the evidence.

As Edmund Burke said: "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing."

If, as the figures indicate, a majority of the registered voters are Democrats, then let them ponder the words of a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, who told the American people: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

This I ask—that the voters of this Nation be attentive to their first and foremost task—to see that government in America is the servant and not the master of the people.

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Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for the Rule of Law. We are reaping a whirlwind—the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline in the public schools and a shortage of dedicated teachers, evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey those laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence and rebellion.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called national atmosphere. It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime.

I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a variety of weapons.

We in the Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also greatly strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of criminal repeaters.

Beyond that let us discard the idea that it is subversive to criticize the Supreme Court. We must be deeply concerned with individual rights. But let us examine court decisions on the questioning of suspects and the permissibility of voluntary confessions as courtroom evidence and then draw a line which aids our law enforcement officials without interfering with the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime.
The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against professional criminals.

I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this Nation effectively in time of war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism by the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President only to push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

There is good reason to wonder whether the President would pursue a course of gradualism in the Vietnam War if he had it all to do over again. It is as easy to see as the nose on DeBergerac's face that the enemy has more time to build up his strength and to plan counter-moves when his adversary turns up the screws only a fraction at a time. No major power has ever before fought a war with such self-imposed limitations.

I believe the way to peace in Vietnam is to keep steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while helping a government with popular support to emerge in South Vietnam. The ultimate solution in South Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or lasting peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

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Excerpts from an Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., at Colgate University
For Release on Delivery at 8 p.m. Sunday, April 9, 1967, at Hamilton, N.Y.

Why are we today plagued with a crime wave that rises and swells until a complete breakdown of law and order is threatened?

I believe it is because the so-called Great Society is a permissive society which encourages disrespect for the Rule of Law. We are reaping a whirlwind—the fruit of years of permissiveness in the family, inadequate discipline, and a shortage of teachers in the schools. Evolution of the attitude that an American need only obey the laws he deems morally justified, and glorification of violence, rebellion, and disrespect for the Rule of Law.

While this may seem unrelated to the composition of the Congress and the occupant of the White House, it is definitely intertwined. It is part of the moral fabric of the country, that intangible called national atmosphere. It enters into the difference in approach by the two parties to the overall issue of crime.

I am not going to discuss the crime issue in detail here except to emphasize that the war against crime must be fought on many fronts and with a variety of weapons.

We in the House Congress must help local communities expand and improve their police forces and we must make the latest and best information on crime detection tactics and techniques available to them. We must also greatly strengthen our probationary and rehabilitation systems to prevent as best we can the pattern of criminal repeaters.

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And let us outlaw all wiretapping and eavesdropping by unauthorized citizens but make this enforcement tool available to law enforcers under court order as they make war on organized crime.

The constitutional right of privacy is a priceless right, but so too is the right of an American citizen to be protected against criminals.
I do not contend that criticism of American policy in Vietnam should be silenced. But I do maintain that a political party divided against itself cannot lead this Nation effectively in time of war, or lead us to peace. Such dissension makes it more difficult to obtain the peace that all Americans want. The President himself has said that criticism by the doves in his own party encourages Hanoi to keep on fighting.

Amid all this domestic turmoil, the Opposition Party has maintained a responsible position. We have criticized the President only to push for an early end to the war, with an honorable conclusion. We have chafed at gradualism but we have not sought military victory or unconditional surrender.

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I believe the way to peace in Vietnam is to keep steady pressure on Ho Chi Minh while helping a government with popular support to emerge in South Vietnam. The ultimate solution in South Vietnam must be essentially political. No rule imposed by the military can result in a stable government or permanent lasting peace in Vietnam.

The best hope for peace and stability in South Vietnam is the evolving popular government. We can only "win" there through land reform and democracy-building. Necessary military action must be supported by effective political and economic measures aimed at creation of a genuine non-Communist political base. We must identify ourselves with the advocates of civilian rule in South Vietnam, as symbolized by the new constitution.

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