



Your Washington Review

by
Congressman
JERRY FORD



May 4, 1960

The American people are buying and paying for a national defense program in which there is no deterrent gap. The major security issue confronting our nation today concerns an adequate deterrence against war. As Dr. Herbert York, Defense Department Director of Research and Engineering, has put it, "The question is not whether we have more missiles than they have, but whether our strategic deterrent can or cannot survive the first attack. If it cannot, then you would speak of that as being a deterrent gap. If it can, then there is no deterrent gap."

In the Defense Appropriation Bill presented to the House of Representatives this week, the Committee on Appropriations of which I am a member, recommended funds for a defense program with absolutely no deterrent gap. We recommended a sound program calling for the appropriation of \$39.3 billion during fiscal year 1961 for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

It is most significant to me that this amount is only \$2.8 million more than requested by President Eisenhower last January. You will remember the severe and persistent criticism that was levied at the President when he presented his defense budget. It was alleged, mostly by partisans on the other side of the political fence, that Ike's proposed expenditures were woefully inadequate, that we were becoming a second-rate power, and that we were losing "World War III." Yet in May, after four months of hearings, the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations recommended an insignificant increase of only 7/1000 of 1 percent in defense funds over the January proposals of President Eisenhower. To be sure, some specific changes in the overall program were ordered which resulted in committee additions of \$1.5 billion, but these were offset by committee reductions in other instances. The net increase in the defense budget was only \$2.8 million over the January request.

These four months of hearings were presided over by Rep. George Mahon (Dem., Texas), the highly competent and respected chairman of our subcommittee. The nine Democrats and seven Republicans on the subcommittee heard all the top civilian and military leaders of the Department of Defense plus outside, non-government witnesses. On a non-partisan, non-political basis, it examined the various items in the budget and questioned in detail all witnesses who appeared before it. As our Report stated, "The Committee was not unanimous in many of the actions taken, as our defense civilian and military leaders have not been unanimous in the recommendations made to Congress and in testimony given

the committee. The actions have been taken, however, in the expectation of better defense for the dollars expended."

The Committee added \$321 million to provide a more aggressive anti-submarine program, \$250 millions to provide a greater airlift capability, \$241 millions for additional Polaris submarines, and \$215 millions more for fighter planes as replacements for Bomarc-B anti-aircraft missiles.

Reductions made by the Committee included \$400 million for general "procurements," to force more economical buying practices. By eliminating an aircraft carrier, \$293 million was cut out of the budget and an additional \$294 million was eliminated by virtually terminating the Bomarc-B anti-aircraft missile.

These changes point up the fact mentioned in our Report that "It is not an easy chore to pick and choose among competing weapons systems... (And) the problem is complicated by the accelerating rate of technological progress which is making weapons systems almost obsolete or at least obsolescent before they become operational."

Our Committee has endeavored to approve a program in line with the recommendations of civilian and military defense leaders which will provide sufficient deterrence through a "mixed strategic attack force." The policy of a "mixed force" defense includes the use of a variety of retaliatory weapons systems. While, therefore, there may be a temporary missile gap, this does not mean under any circumstance that a deterrent gap exists.

The \$39.3 billions recommended by the Committee is \$103.6 million more than was appropriated for the present fiscal year. I am convinced that we are spending enough for a powerful and ready defense now and in the future. The program as presented by the Appropriations Committee is an endorsement of the sound and effective national defense recommendations made by President Eisenhower last January.

A DUTCH THANK YOU: Tomorrow afternoon (May 5) the Netherlands Carillon Tower, with its 49 bells, located across the Potomac from the Lincoln Memorial, will be dedicated. Tomorrow is the 15th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands from Nazi domination. The 49 bells and the Carillon Tower are a gift from the Netherlands people to the people of the United States in gratitude for American assistance during and following World War II. The tower stands near our own Marine Corp Iwo Jima Monument.

On May 5th, 1954 the bells were presented to the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives by the Chairman of the Second Chamber of the Netherlands Parliament. They were intended to symbolize the gratitude and friendship of the Dutch people; funds for the bells were raised by voluntary contributions and each bell bears a reference to a particular group or province of the Netherlands.

The Carillon Tower was designed by a leading Dutch architect and was approved by Secretary of the Interior Seaton who tomorrow will accept the tower on behalf of the American people.



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May 11, 1960

It took three quorum calls and eleven record votes (each consuming about 30 minutes) for the House last week to pass S. 722, the Area Redevelopment bill, under the rules of Calendar Wednesday.

"Calendar Wednesday" provides a means by which the House of Representatives can bypass its Committee on Rules and take up for debate a bill previously approved by one of its standing committees. Generally, controversial legislation approved by a legislative committee goes to the Committee on Rules which acts as the "traffic cop" for regulating the flow of legislation to the House floor.

S. 722 passed the Senate on March 23rd a year ago. Allegedly it was to help alleviate unemployment in certain distressed areas. The Committee on Banking and Currency reported it to the House on May 14, 1959. Since then the Committee on Rules (8 Democrats, 4 Republicans) has refused to act on it. During the intervening 12 months economic conditions have changed in such a way that the bill will not do what its sponsors originally intended it should do.

A year ago when the bill was reported, 32 major industrial areas would have qualified for assistance. Today, 44 such areas would be eligible for special Federal funds despite the fact that 9 out of 10 of the 149 major industrial areas show employment totals greater than a year ago. This is possible because the bill defines a "depressed area" as one with an unemployment rate of 6 percent or more in 18 out of the last 24 months. Cities therefore, which TODAY are in good economic condition with less than 6 percent unemployment could qualify for federal assistance. Those areas which are really hard hit and depressed would get less because those areas needing it least would get more. The bill as passed is out of date.

The bill is also unsound because it would authorize the use of Federal funds to entice industry away from one area into another. Michigan is altogether too familiar with this activity in connection with the low-cost power attraction of the TVA states. One cannot justify the use of Federal taxes collected in Grand Rapids to help locate new industry in Alabama, Tennessee, or North Carolina. Nevertheless the bill passed 201 to 184. I voted "No."

Consideration of the bill started at noon and the final vote came at 9:15 p.m. Delaying tactics, including the roll call votes, employed by some opponents of the measure created the long session. The last time the procedure under "Calendar Wednesday" was used previously was on July 18, 1956. An amendment to the Agricultural Trade

Development and Assistance Act of 1954 was passed then and only one roll call vote was necessary.

It appears that in passing S. 722 the majority leadership was more interested in a political issue than in assisting depressed areas. The President has said that area redevelopment legislation needs priority attention. However, he has urged legislation authorizing loans and technical assistance to help "areas afflicted with long-term, substantial unemployment resulting from technological changes." His program would cost \$53 million. The out-of-date program passed by the House will cost more than \$251 million.

THE PRESIDENT URGES ACTION: In a special message last week President Eisenhower chided the Congress for inactivity and spoke in behalf of certain legislative needs. He again reminded us that "in no domestic area do we have a more obvious need for corrective action" than in the area of agriculture. When we know that on February 29th the Federal Government had invested in surplus agricultural commodities a total of \$9,026,000,000 we realize how correct he is. With storage costs continuing at \$1.3 million a day it is obvious that the present price-support program cannot be justified. Corrective legislation must be passed. Only Congress can do the job.

Ike also stressed the need of 40 more Federal judges to eliminate the uncalled-for delay often incurred in Federal Court cases. He pointed out that efficient debt management requires the removal of the statutory limitation on the interest rates on Treasury bonds. The President also said that the Highway Trust Fund needs more revenue if we are to continue the highway-construction program on schedule. He reminded the Congress that the \$2-million-per-day deficit in the Post Office Department calls for an adjustment in postal rates.

The President concluded by saying, "I point again to the need of restraint in new authorizations for Federal spending." This is a fundamental issue and must be recognized as such in the 1960 election. In a recent address Mr. Maurice Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, explained that there are pending in this Congress bills which, if enacted, would cost \$300 billion over an average period of five years. "While there is some duplication among them," he said, "if these and other bills were passed as their sponsors want them, they would add 50 or 60 billion dollars a year to our present spending--while on the other hand there are bills to reduce taxes by 5 to 10 billion dollars a year." With a \$290 billion debt we cannot gamble with our country's fiscal strength. We must continue the President's conscientious effort to achieve a sound fiscal policy to assure our nation's security, now and in the future.



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May 18, 1960

The mission of Francis Powers may well be one of the most significant events in 1960. Reams of copy have been written on this event and its implications, and millions of words have been spoken about it. In all of this, certain basic considerations must be established and emphasized:

1. It is the highest and most serious responsibility of the United States Government, (the President, Congress, and Judiciary) to protect the lives and property of all its people. In the year 1960 this means protection from any surprise attack by missiles or manned aircraft of the Soviet Union.

2. To carry out successfully this responsibility, certain agencies of the Federal Government must obtain sufficient essential information about the intentions and capabilities of the Soviet Union in order that our Government can provide an adequate defense program. To do less would amount to criminal negligence and could border on treason.

3. International spying as a diplomatic or military operation is as old as recorded history. The fact that the spies bring back excellent photographs of military installations rather than a "branch with one cluster of grapes" (Numbers 13:23) does not change the nature of the business.

4. Because this business inevitably involves deceit, misrepresentation, falsehood, intrigue, and every devious avenue of approach, public officials may not jeopardize the national security by publicizing the true facts about the business. This in no way reflects upon their personal integrity nor upon the broader aspects of public morality. But when a given situation (no matter how embarrassing) becomes public knowledge, we commend a frank and honest disclosure.

5. As long as the cold war continues it is absolutely imperative that our government continue to obtain essential information about the Soviet military potential. Aerial photography from high-altitude planes is a practical and effective method of getting this information. There is no good reason to eliminate this practice as long as there exists the possibility of a surprise attack upon the United States.

6. This event can help to assure the American people of OUR advancements in aeronautics and aerial photography, and in our ability to penetrate the Iron Curtain with manned and armed aircraft if that becomes necessary.

7. The over-all direction and control of our intelligence program is in the hands of competent men, highly responsible, knowledgeable, and experienced. While the

President approved the program, it is not expected that he must have personal knowledge of any given operation or of each specific plane flight.

8. The House of Representatives, through a special subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, has not only authorized the espionage program but has specifically supplied the funds necessary to carry it out. According to Representative Cannon, Democrat of Missouri, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, the Central Intelligence Agency was under specific instructions from the elected Representatives of the people to make sure that we have no more "Pearl Harbors" nor any recurrence of the sudden Chinese Communist attack experienced in Korea in 1950.

9. The establishment and use of over 250 overseas military bases is an integral part of our national defense effort. We expect to keep these bases and to protect the sovereignty of all free nations, including their right to participate in a mutual security program.

All of this is not to say that we have no regrets concerning the incident. The downing of one of our U-2 planes 1300 miles inside the boundaries of Russia while on an espionage mission and the apparent capture of its American pilot is indeed regrettable.

1. We regret the existence of a cold war which makes this sort of business necessary
2. We regret that the event occurred so close to the date of a summit meeting.
3. We regret the temporary propagandist advantage presented to Mr. Khrushchev.
4. We regret that the incident may result in cancellation of the visit to the Soviet Union of President Eisenhower, America's greatest ambassador of good will whose person-to-person appeal to the Russian people would be a mollifying influence in the cold war.
5. Most assuredly, we regret what appears to be the capture of Francis Powers, the pilot of the plane, on this vital national-defense mission.

However, we must point out that there are workable alternatives to cold war and espionage, and that out of this incident overall benefits may be derived.

1. At Geneva in 1955 President Eisenhower proposed that the major powers give to each other "a complete blueprint of our military establishments." He suggested that each nation "provide within our countries facilities for aerial photography to the other country." Regrettably this "open skies" plan was rejected by the Soviets. The U. S. is prepared to offer this plan at the summit meeting this month. Its acceptance by Russia will eliminate further need of U-2 flights.
2. President Eisenhower also said in 1955 that we were ready to consider a reliable system of inspections and reporting in an effort to reduce all armaments. Good faith on the part of the Communists at the disarmament conference at Geneva would help to ease world tensions. A safe disarmament program must be our ultimate goal.
3. We trust that the demonstrated success of our aircraft flights over Russia during the past four years will have a salutary effect on the Kremlin. The masters there must know that we are as sincere and effective in playing according to their rules as we are in urging a change in the rules for the benefit of all mankind.

In closing, your Congressman highly compliments the Democratic Chairman of my Committee, Rep. Cannon, who in a dramatic speech on the floor of the House of Representatives, fully endorsed United States policy in protecting our citizens and our cherished land. Mr. Cannon, a 38-year veteran in the House reemphasized there must be no more Pearl Harbors or Koreas. I concur without qualification or hesitation.



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May 25, 1960

The hard-core Communists in the Kremlin and in Red China prevailed on Mr. Khrushchev to sabotage the Summit Conference. The Soviet Government has confirmed the fears of many Americans that it has again adopted the "cold war" as an instrument of national policy. All Americans are strongly behind President Eisenhower in resisting every attempt of the Communists to weaken our unity at home or to create abroad further discord among our many allies.

While the tempest raged in Paris, two domestic issues in which many of our citizens are personally concerned were receiving special consideration in the House of Representatives. These are Federal Aid to Education and the problem of the cost of hospitalization and medical care for the aged.

AID TO EDUCATION: On June 8, 1959 the House Committee on Education and Labor recommended the adoption of H. R. 22, a bill authorizing over \$1 billion a year for four years for school construction and/or teachers' salaries. On March 25, 1960 the same Committee recommended approval of H. R. 10128, a second bill with a new version authorizing \$325 million a year for three years for school construction only. Until last week neither bill progressed any further than the Committee on Rules. This Committee, which schedules legislation for consideration by the House, had refused to take action.

It was announced early last week, however, that H. R. 10128 would be taken up under the rules of Calendar Wednesday, a procedure which by-passes the Committee on Rules. By Tuesday evening Rep. Howard Smith, Chairman of the Committee on Rules reported that his group would hold hearings on both H.R. 22 and H. R. 10128 on Thursday. It was then agreed to drop the "Calendar Wednesday" idea and to proceed in the more regular fashion.

Following the hearings on Thursday an open rule providing for three hours of debate was granted for H. R. 10128. This means that the bill will be taken up in regular order, probably today (May 25), that the bill will be open to amendments, and that there may be three hours of general debate followed by additional debate on any amendments. We can expect that an amendment will be offered to provide for federal funds to supplement teachers' salaries.

In fact I have been advised by Michigan leaders for Federal aid to education that the proponents of the legislation do not want H. R. 10128 to pass unless it is amended to include Federal funds for teachers' salaries.

Frankly and straight from the shoulder I have had to tell the advocates of this new spending project that I cannot support it at the present time as proposed in either version. I have had no evidence that a sizeable number of people of the Fifth District want Uncle Sam to help pay salaries of teachers in schools throughout the land. At the same time I have received many indications that the citizens of Kent and Ottawa Counties do not want Federal aid to education in any form. I have agreed that there may be some justification for Federal assistance for school construction under a tightly-drawn formula for those areas of our country which have demonstrated a sincere interest in education but do not have the wealth to provide adequate school facilities. This would be a "one-shot" proposition to meet a specific need. It would not be a continuing drain on the taxpayers of the country.

In connection with this latter point, it is interesting to note that proponents of this legislation no longer refer to "Federal AID to education." It is now "Federal SUPPORT of education." This change in terminology connotes definite long-range implications.

HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED: The House Committee on Ways and Means has held months of hearings and weeks of executive sessions on legislation designed to meet the problem of the cost of hospital and medical care of our senior citizens.

The Committee has based its work on H. R. 4700 introduced by Rep. Forand and on the recommendations of Secretary Arthur Flemming of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Last Thursday the Committee approved a new title in the Social Security Act designed to cover this topic. It instructed its staff to produce a new bill which will be considered further by the Committee tomorrow. The provisions of the bill, I am told, will follow the guide lines recommended by Secretary Flemming. However, the final version of the legislation will not be available until the Committee reports a bill to the House. All of us, I'm sure, are concerned with the problem of hospital and medical care for those over 65, but we are equally concerned that any legislation in reference to it be fair and equitable and in accordance with sound economic and social principles.

IN BRIEF: Michiganites in Washington gathered for the annual Michigan Week breakfast last Wednesday in the restaurant of the new Senate Office Building. About 250 were present to meet Michigan congressmen and other Federal officials from our state, to eat scrambled eggs and bacon, and to take home a dozen souvenir-favors.....Over 1,300 requests for agricultural bulletins have been received with the most distant coming from a mission station in Nigeria in West Africa.

SOME HELPFUL MATERIAL: We have available for distribution as long as the supply lasts the following governmental publications. Address your requests to me at 351 House Office Building, Washington.

1. "The Capitol," - pictorial story of Capitol and House of Representatives.
2. "Our American Government," -171 questions and answers on federal government.
3. "The Mutual Security Program," summary of operation of mutual security program.



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June 1, 1960

The House of Representatives approved its 14th appropriation bill of this session when it passed by a vote of 387 to 18 a \$3.9 billion Public Works bill for fiscal year 1961. It was the 1960 Public Works appropriation bill which was twice vetoed by President Eisenhower because it contained too many unbudgeted projects which eventually would have cost the taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars. Ike's second veto, you will remember, was overridden by the Congress, the only one of his 163 vetoes to be upset in his 7-1/3 years in office.

The \$3.9 billion provided in the 1961 House bill is \$86.2 million less than the request submitted in the Budget but \$41 million more than was appropriated for fiscal 1960.

The bill as passed allocates \$32.3 million for construction work in Michigan. Of this amount \$30 million is to be spent on developing the connecting channels for the St. Lawrence Seaway. An additional \$264,000 is provided for developing plans on four specific river and harbor projects in Michigan. One of these involves the harbor at Grand Haven.

The bill grants to the Corps of Engineers the sum of \$27,000 to develop plans for rehabilitating the north and south piers at Grand Haven. Both piers are deteriorated and subject to constant repair. The funds in this bill are to be spent on engineering studies to determine the best method of providing adequate protection for the harbor and will include preliminary designs and cost estimates.

The most controversial item in the bill, and the one which produced a special roll call vote, involved the Kinzua Dam of the Allegheny River Reservoir project in Pennsylvania. The bill carried \$4.5 million for the construction of an 180-foot dam on the Allegheny to protect communities in Pennsylvania, especially Pittsburgh, from recurring floods. Opposition to the project developed largely because the reservoir behind the dam would inundate 9,000 acres of a Reservation of the Seneca Indians in New York State. Opponents to Kinzua produced evidence to show that there was an alternative method (the Conewango Plan) for controlling floods in the Ohio Valley, that it had advantages over the Kinzua plan, and that it would take little of the Seneca land.

On a motion to recommit the bill to Committee for the purpose of deleting the Kinzua Dam project, I voted "yes." We lost, however, 110 to 294 and the project stayed in the bill. Subsequently, on final passage, I voted for the bill.

APPROPRIATIONS TO DATE: At this writing the House has passed 14 appropriation

bills totaling \$66.4 billion. This is a half-billion dollars less than was requested by the executive branch of the government for agencies and projects included in these bills. This amount is also \$1.5 billion less than was appropriated for 1960. This demonstrates, among other things the determination of the House Committee on Appropriations to hold down expenditures.

Two major appropriation bills, military construction and mutual security, must still be approved by the House of Representatives. As you know, the Senate also must act on all these spending bills and the final amounts appropriated by law may differ from those initially approved by the House. In a later issue of "Your Washington Review" I will report the final appropriation figures.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: Michigan was the first state in the union to abolish capital punishment. It eliminated the death penalty in 1847, one hundred and thirteen years ago. Last Wednesday the House Committee on the Judiciary conducted hearings on a bill designed to abolish the death penalty and to substitute life imprisonment under all Federal laws except those specifically governing the armed forces. This bill would have no effect on the criminal laws of the various states.

The author of the bill, H. R. 870, gave the usual arguments against capital punishment including the contention that it does not deter crime and that in fact it may hinder the administration of justice. He argued that often a jury will refuse to convict a defendant for a crime bearing the death penalty whereas it would find him guilty if he could be imprisoned for life.

Testimony at the hearings disclosed that since 1930 the Federal Government has carried out 31 executions. Of these 15 were for murder, 8 for espionage, 5 for kidnapping, 2 for rape, and one for armed robbery. Two of the 31 were women, 27 were white, 3 were negroes and one an American Indian.

While H. R. 870 would apply to the civil courts and not to courts martial under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, at least one witness urged the complete abolition of capital punishment under all Federal law. He stated that while the Navy has not executed anyone for 118 years, the Army executed 159 soldiers since 1930. The extreme penalty was paid by 106 murderers and in 52 cases of rape. There was one execution for cowardice.

In objecting to capital punishment in the armed forces the witness said that since 1930 over 40,000 charges involving cowardice were preferred. Out of these, 2,894 men were convicted and sentenced to prison or death by general courts martial. Yet only one was actually executed.

The Department of Justice in its report to the Committee concluded that "From the information at hand the Department has no basis for urging a change in the law. It is, however, obviously a matter of legislative policy to which Congress may wish to give further study."

The matter now rests with a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary.



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June 8, 1960

Six yea-and-nay roll call votes were recorded while the House of Representatives considered and passed the School Construction Assistance Act of 1960. On four occasions I voted "yes" and on two I voted "no." I voted "yes" on a motion to take up the bill for discussion because I thought the House ought to debate the issues and have an opportunity to vote on amendments and substitute proposals. The motion carried 308 to 97.

I voted "no" on final passage of the bill because the legislation as approved by a vote of 206 to 189 authorizes funds to all states solely on a basis of school-age population without regard to the need of each state for Federal financial assistance in constructing school facilities. One Congressman compared this approach to the problem of classroom shortage with that of the philanthropist who proposes to aid the poor in his city by distributing \$20 bills to every person who passes by. The Federal government may be justified in helping to build schools in those limited areas which need classrooms, have conscientiously made every legitimate effort to finance construction locally or on a state-wide basis, but simply do not have the wealth required to provide adequate school buildings for its boys and girls. This would mean that certain entire states, and certain sections of other states would NOT be eligible for any federal assistance. Every man who passes by should not get a \$20 bill. The legislation which passed the House divides \$325 million a year for four years among all the states for the purpose of assisting in school construction simply on the basis of the number of youngsters living in that state.

I voted for the Powell amendment which requires schools built with these Federal funds to be open to all students regardless of race, and for an amendment requiring matching funds by local or state governments the first year as well as the other years, and for a motion to substitute the Administration loan program to needy areas in place of outright grants to all. I voted against a proposal to return to the states for school construction purposes 25 percent of the Federal tax on cigarettes sold in each state because there would be no relationship between the amount going to each state and that state's need for new school buildings.

A conference committee of Representatives and Senators will have to iron out differences in the House and Senate versions of the Federal aid bill.

SALARY INCREASES FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES: A 9 percent across-the-board salary increase with a \$350 minimum, for most Federal employees has been recommended by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. In the majority report on the bill the Committee states that "representatives of postal and other Federal employees clearly

demonstrated that their salaries are well below salaries paid their fellow workers in private enterprise whose levels of responsibility are comparable. These employees proved that their salaries have been, and are today, far behind the national economy."

The Report includes a chart showing that the national salary schedule for letter carriers and postal clerks provides an "automatic salary range" of \$4,035 to \$4,875. Policemen and firemen in 17 of our largest cities have "automatic salary ranges" varying from \$4,365 to \$5,305 and from \$6,396 to \$6,828.

"There are approximately 534,000 regular and substitute employees in the postal field service," the Report continues, and "over 40 percent of these employees work and live in the metropolitan area served by the 60 largest post offices. In other words, one-sixth of one percent of the 35,750 post offices employ two-fifths of all postal workers. These are the employees, and these are the cities and urban areas, concerned most directly with the postal pay provisions of H. R. 9883." The Committee also said that because it was traditional policy to extend to other government employees any pay increase granted the postal workers, this bill takes in most Federal employees.

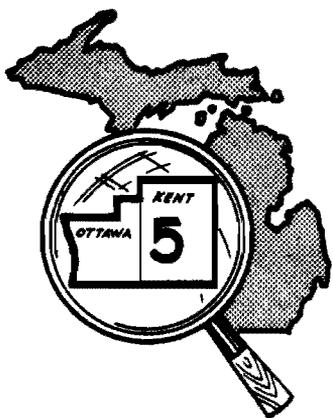
The Committee Report also includes the minority views of two members of the Committee (Chairman Tom Murray of Tenn. and Rep. August Johansen of Michigan) who emphasize that the bill will add \$810 million a year to the taxpayers' burden.

The minority state that "between 1945 and 1955 the postal employees working on an annual basis have received an actual increase in pay of \$1,770. ---Since 1955 postal employees in the lower pay levels have actually received a 19 percent increase in pay. ---Since June 1958, when our Federal employees received their last salary increase, the Consumer Price Index...has increased 1.6 percent. It is indeed difficult to understand how a 9 percent salary increase can be justified" on an across-the-board basis, including those now drawing up to \$17,500 a year.

Rep. Murray and Johansen declare that "the only sound and justified basis for setting Federal salaries is their comparability with rates paid for similar work in private industry...We cannot in the Federal Government succumb to a wage-fixing policy based on personal need."

The minority point out that there are many applicants for every postal vacancy, including those in the metropolitan areas, and that the number quitting the postal service is low. "The facts are," the Report states, "that during 1959 the average quits per month per 100 employees were as follows: 0.57 percent in the U.S. postal service, 0.70 percent in the Federal Government as a whole, and 1.25 percent in private industry."

The minority report emphasizes that last year Congress provided \$500,000 for a survey of the salary rates being paid by private enterprise for work similar to that performed by Federal employees. This information will be available in late September. "This means that the Congress can adopt a principal for compensating Federal employees," continues the minority, "that can be reasonably compared with those paid by private industry for work of similar skill and responsibility." Rep. Murray and Johansen feel that before proceeding with a 9 percent across-the-board pay increase, Congress should have the recommendations of this half-million dollar survey which will be ready in September and can be acted upon by Congress in January. I agree.



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June 15, 1960

The House of Representatives on June 3 by a roll-call vote in a most unusual action refused to adjourn for that day. Not since July 3, 1952 had there been a similar ye-and-nay vote on the question of adjourning a daily session of the House. In 1952 the House voted to stay in session further to debate and eventually to defeat a bill designed to establish a joint committee on the budget. This year the House voted 77 to 194 against adjournment as a part of a maneuver designed to obtain signatures on the discharge petition for the Federal pay raise bill, and in order to give an individual House member the opportunity to comment on certain allegations concerning congressional expense accounts. I voted for adjournment especially because of the "gag rule" feature of the discharge petition and with the knowledge that the comments on the other issue could be made on Monday.

The House remained in session until the required 219 signatures had been placed on Discharge Petition No. 6 which had been filed the previous day. The effect of this action was to by-pass the Committee on Rules which normally schedules legislation for House action, and to make eligible for consideration on the second Monday of the month (June 13) the Federal Pay-raise bill, H. R. 9883. The bill under the discharge petition would be subject to only two hours of general debate and would NOT be open to amendments except those offered by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service which originally reported the bill. There would be one opportunity to recommit the bill to Committee with instructions to make certain changes, but by-and-large it was a "take it or leave it" proposition. This is not the way to handle controversial legislation which may be improved by opening it up to amendments or to substitute proposals. The leadership recognized this and on June 8 the majority leader announced that the bill would not be taken up on Monday under the discharge rule but would be the first order of business on Wednesday. It is not clear at this writing how the pay-raise bill will ultimately be handled in the House.

CONGRESSIONAL EXPENSE ACCOUNTS: A secondary reason for the refusal to adjourn earlier on June 3 was to give an individual House member mentioned in the national publicity on congressional expense accounts an opportunity to discuss the charges which had been made against him and others. In his address to the House this member denied that his expense accounts were altered, that any public funds were expended to purchase beverages for him as reported, and categorically he denied that he failed to pay for personal items incurred by him while at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. It was generally

agreed that he presented a strong case against the allegations of the published account.

Concerning the current publicity on Congressional expense accounts, I would say,

1. Trips out of Washington on official business by members of Congress are necessary and beneficial, and their costs are legitimate expenditures of government. It is grossly unfair to label every trip "a junket."
2. Members of Congress, as all public officials, must understand that they are spending "other people's money" and that an official expense account is no license to extravagance. Most assuredly personal expense must be paid for personally.
3. Congressmen should be willing to give a detailed accounting of their travel expenses and to keep the record open for public scrutiny.
4. Newsmen who search these records and report their findings must be just as scrupulous in presenting the whole truth as the Congressmen are in recording it. Misrepresentation or misinterpretation is as reprehensible in one case as the other.

PUBLIC DEBT AND TAX RATE EXTENSION: The House last week voted 223 to 174 to extend the debt limit to \$293 billion for one year and to maintain for another year the current 52 percent corporate income tax rate and the present excise tax rates on distilled spirits, beer, wines, cigarettes, passenger cars, auto parts and accessories, local telephone service, and on the transportation of persons.

Rep. Wilbur Mills, the highly competent and responsible Democratic chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, told the House that the permanent debt limit of \$285 billion is temporarily increased through June 30, 1960 to \$295 billion and that his Committee proposed a temporary increase to \$293 billion for the next fiscal year. He pointed out that undoubtedly the public debt will be below \$285 billion on June 30, but that while expenditures are spread fairly evenly over the year, tax collections are greatest in the latter part of the fiscal year. Between July and winter a higher debt limit is required than from February through June.

In his Committee Report to the House, Rep. Mills urged continuation of the present tax rates in order to preserve \$4 billion a year of needed revenue, to MAINTAIN THE ANTICIPATED TREASURY SURPLUS, and to eliminate the necessity of further increases in the debt limit. He said "your Committee believes that there is no justification for selecting corporate rates or the particular excise taxes involved in this bill for tax reduction before consideration is given to individual income tax reductions."

Rep. Mills told the House, "What we are doing is that which the President has asked us to do, and only that. But we are not doing it because he asked us to do it. We are doing it because we think the circumstances warrant us doing it." I agreed with Ike and the Committee on Ways and Means and supported the extensions.



Your Washington Review

by
Congressman
JERRY FORD



June 22, 1960

The news of the cancellation of the President's visit to Japan came the same day the House of Representatives debated the Mutual Security Appropriation bill. Premier Kishi's confession that his government could not maintain order demonstrated anew the plans and power of the world-wide Communist conspiracy. It pointed up the necessity of a world-wide campaign to preserve the free nations and democratic systems of government through a strong and virile mutual security program.

The debate in the House last Thursday centered about the \$525 million cut made by the Committee on Appropriations in the President's request for funds to continue the military assistance and the defense support programs in fiscal year 1961. Military assistance money goes to strengthen the fighting forces of our allies who are on the front lines in our mutual defense setup. It helps to insure to us over 250 military bases on foreign territory, close to any potential enemy and far from our own shores. "Defense Support" is economic aid to 12 countries bordering on the Soviet Union which are providing military bases and/or forces for their and our own defense to such an extent that it may overtax their economies or otherwise create social and political instability.

The Committee on Appropriations slashed the military assistance budget request by 20 percent. It approved \$1.6 billion but this total, according to our Army, Navy and Air Force Chiefs of Staff, is not sufficient to help equip our allies with modern missiles and aircraft. In the Committee an unsuccessful effort was made to restore one-half of the reduction.

Because I am convinced that we get more and better defense at a reduced cost through mutual security than we would by "going it alone", I supported the higher figure and worked to try to convince my colleagues that the appropriation should be increased. I did not do this "to buy friends," nor to support a world-wide boondoggle. I favor a strong mutual security program in order to protect the lives and property of all Americans. I want to keep our lines of defense far from our national boundaries. I want our allies to be strong militarily, politically, and economically. I want to see no further extension of Communistic power.

While I endorse the mutual security program I am encouraged when its overall cost is decreased. The record of the past seven years is encouraging. The following chart on the cost of "military assistance" is revealing:

	<u>Appropriation</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Unexpended Balance</u>
1952	\$ 5.7	\$ 2.4	\$ 8.4
1956	1.0	2.6	4.6
1960	1.3	1.8	2.1

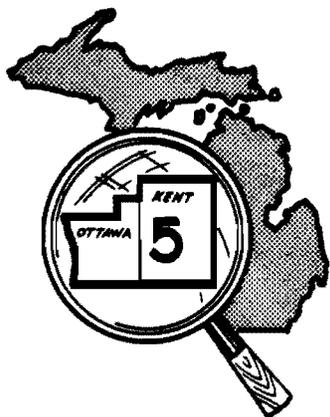
The amounts are in billions and show a substantial reduction in both appropriations and the unexpended balance at the end of the year. Expenditures from 1955 through 1959 averaged \$2.4 billion a year. Annual appropriations were less because of the unexpended balances left from past appropriations. This year the President requested \$2 billion in new money for badly needed modern military hardware because the backlog of funds has dried up.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS: A 336-page Report has been submitted to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means on the "Social Security Amendments of 1960." The Committee did not approve the original provisions of the Forand bill (H.R. 4700) to cover certain hospital and medical costs of social security beneficiaries nor did it increase the present earning limitation on those under 72 receiving social security benefits. One or the other of these items was mentioned in the bulk of the mail I have received on social security legislation this year.

The bill, H.R. 12580, will be considered in the House under a "closed rule" which prohibits amendments from the floor. If the bill passes the House, however, it may be amended in the Senate with any differences in the respective versions of the bill to be worked out by a Conference Committee.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' PAY RAISE: The House has voted a pay raise for most Federal employees of $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent across the board with \$5 a year added for each step of the first six postal field service salary levels. This means an 8.4 percent increase for most postal employees but a lesser pay boost for other Federal employees in the same salary brackets. A \$15,150-a-year official will get a boost of \$1145 a year while another worker earning \$4490 will get \$350 more. I think there are more equitable ways of making salary adjustments. I was one of 40 who voted against the bill in final passage; 378 voted for it.

While the above principle is also involved in any percentage increase, I did support a motion to boost salaries 5 percent on the basis that it was a legitimate temporary solution to the overall problem which can be more constructively solved after the Report on the comparison of Federal and industrial salaries is available this fall. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the bill as passed will become law. Undoubtedly Ike will veto it because of the added annual cost to the taxpayers of over \$700 million. A bill with a 5 percent increase undoubtedly could become law and would assure larger paychecks for Federal employees. In addition, a 5 percent increase is more in line with the 1.6 percent increase in the cost of living since June, 1958, when Federal employees received their last salary increase which averaged 10 percent.



Your Washington Review

by
Congressman
JERRY FORD



June 29, 1960

The House of Representatives refused by a vote of 170 to 236 to approve a bill recommended by the Democratic members of the Committee on Agriculture concerning the price support programs for wheat and feed grains. The bill, H.R. 12261, could have raised price supports on wheat from 75 percent of parity (\$1.77 a bushel) to 85 percent (\$2.03 per bushel) and cut wheat allotments 25 percent. This purely political proposal probably would have increased the cost of the farm price-support program by over \$700 million annually. There were so many other objections to it that every Republican member of the Committee opposed the bill as did the American Farm Bureau and the National Grange. On final passage, the House of Representatives repudiated the recommendations of its own Democratic-controlled Committee. Prior to this action the House voted 195 to 211 against a Senate-approved wheat bill which was a definite improvement over existing law and the House proposal. I voted for this constructive measure and against the House bill. As a result of all this, the Congress to date has brought forth no constructive alternative to the present unsatisfactory and wasteful farm price-support program.

Latest available figures reveal that Uncle Sam has \$8,831,833,000 invested in surplus agricultural commodities. These have been accumulated under depression-bred legislation and necessitated the expenditure of \$1.3 million per day for storage charges during the last fiscal year.

President Eisenhower in his agricultural message of Jan. 29, 1959, reported to the Congress that "the price-support and production-control program has not worked." He stated that "most of the dollars are spent on the production of a relatively few large producers . . . (that) the control program doesn't control . . . (and that) the program is excessively expensive." Mr. Eisenhower went on to outline certain constructive recommendations for improving the situation. Congress did not adopt these recommendations.

Over a year later, in his special message of May 3, 1960, the President said, "In an effort to break the legislative stalemate I recently advised the Congress that, within broad guidelines which I suggested, I would approve any constructive farm bill that the Congress might enact." In that same message Mr. Eisenhower insisted, "In no domestic area do we have a more obvious need for corrective action. . . . By force of law the Government's surplus holdings, especially of wheat, continually increase. These overhang the market, depress prices, and impose an evermore onerous burden upon all citizens."

After a long wait and many changes in direction, the Democratic members of the House Committee on Agriculture presented their recommendations in H.R. 12261, a bill entitled

"Farm Surplus Reduction Act of 1960". In its Report the Committee had to acknowledge that there is "such misunderstanding and confusion among farmers and friends of farmers that the Committee could not at this time develop wide agreement upon an overall commodity-by-commodity approach to the general farm program." The Committee blamed this situation on the Secretary of Agriculture and "others who oppose the parity principle for agriculture." However, the 170 to 236 vote in the House against the Committee's proposal is the most effective answer to this allegation.

The confusion acknowledged by the Committee, the general dissatisfaction with the present programs, the disagreement between the Senate and the House on a new wheat law, and the inability of the House to agree on any remedial legislation emphasize the urgent necessity of an agonizing reappraisal of our current farm program. We may have to develop an entirely new approach to the problem. But we can't sit by and do nothing. This is not to advocate the abrupt discontinuance of all price-supports of agricultural commodities. The Federal Government shares a responsibility for the "farm problem." It must, therefore, share in the solution of those difficulties which in the words of Vice President Nixon "stem from the fact that we produce more food and fibre than we can consume."

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTIONS: Dick Nixon recently outlined three points of a farm program which he will more fully develop. He agreed with Gov. Rockefeller that our nation ought to have on hand a one- or two- year supply of food for emergency use. He recommended a research program to find the best method of converting surplus grain into a form for most economical storage.

Secondly, he advocated more research for expanding commercial uses of farm products. He would increase the \$16 million annual amount presently budgeted for this purpose.

His third proposal included a more extensive distribution of surplus foods through the U.N. to the hungry people of those countries which are members of the United Nations.

DIRECT DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS FOOD: During the past 7½ years the U. S. Department of Agriculture has provided, continually and without charge, 13.8 billion pounds of surplus foods to people in the United States and overseas who can put these foods to good use. Over 5.3 billion pounds costing \$1.3 billion have been distributed in this country while over 8.4 billion pounds costing a similar amount have gone to foreign countries.

During the first half of fiscal year 1960 a total of 14.3 million school children, 1.4 million needy persons in institutions, and 3.6 million needy persons in family units in the United States have benefited from the donation of surplus commodities. During December, 1959, in Michigan over 241,000 needy persons obtained some of the surplus.

A LETTER TO MR. K.: An airmail envelope addressed to 'Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Moscow, Russia' was recently returned to me for additional postage. Someone had placed my name in the "Return to" spot after enclosing a copy of my Washington Review concerning the U-2 incident. I appreciate the gesture and approve the attempt . . . But the airmail rate to Moscow is 15¢!



Your Washington Review

by
Congressman
JERRY FORD



July 6, 1960

We are in recess until August. The Congress is returning to Washington to continue its work after the presidential nominating conventions and prior to the election. Its work could have been completed before the Los Angeles Convention and should have been completed. Any activity by the Congress in August will be far more political than productive.

Everyone knew from the first day of this session that the Democratic National Convention was to open July 11th. Only inept leadership or determined political strategy could have brought about a post-convention session of Congress. The first is inexcusable and the latter indefensible. Proper planning and scheduling of legislation in each House could have brought all essential bills to the floor for final action before July 9th. Determination to have and to use a post-convention session of the Congress as a political sounding board for partisan political advantage is inconsistent with the constitutional responsibilities of the Congress. It is evident that any Congressional action in August will be influenced more by its specific potentialities for November 8th than by its general benefits for the years ahead.

Better planning and more work would have eliminated the need for an August session. For instance, the Democrats in the Senate spent two months in a filibuster against legislation designed to protect the voting rights of all those qualified to vote under State law. In the House there were many weeks when the Democratic leadership scheduled for consideration no significant legislation. Now we are to return in August, after the national conventions in a presidential election year, supposedly to make serious and sound evaluations on a number of highly controversial and politically explosive issues. It can't be done. Intelligent and constructive legislative results will not materialize in a politically explosive atmosphere. In fact, the best action at this time on some of the issues sponsored by the special-interest groups is no action at all.

THE APPROPRIATION BILLS: The minimum essential legislation in any congressional session is the enactment of the appropriations bills. Members of the Congress, acting as representatives of the taxpayers, must decide how much money the agencies of the government are to have and how they are to spend it. At this writing nine of the 14 major appropriations bills have been approved in final form by both Houses and call for the expenditure of \$59.5 billion for the fiscal year beginning July 1st. This amount is \$92.8 million more than the budget request. This is the net change after reductions and increases were made following a thorough examination of the budget request by the

Committees on Appropriations.

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS: The largest single money bill is that for the Department of Defense and is handled by the Subcommittee on which I serve. The original January budget request was for \$39,335 million. The House of Representatives on May 5 approved an amount of \$39,337.8 million but the Senate in its action on June 10 increased the Defense appropriation to \$40,514.9 million. Conferees, which included your Congressman, were appointed by each House to reconcile this difference.

Two days in executive session produced a recommendation for a defense bill of \$39,996.6 million, or \$661.6 million over the January request of the President. With all the agitation by some politicians for an increased military spending of \$3 million or more per year it is significant that responsible Committees of the Congress upped Ike's January budget request by only \$661 million for a 1.7 percent increase.

The most important decisions made by the Conferees (5 from the House, 13 from the Senate) were to include \$293 million for a conventionally powered aircraft carrier as recommended in the budget but eliminated by the House, to make \$265 million available for the B-70 supersonic bomber program for which the House had approved \$75 million for two prototype aircraft, and to provide \$244 million for the Bomarc B air defense missile program, a program which had been practically eliminated by the House. Both the Defense Department and the Senate felt so strongly on the Bomarc that House Conferees accepted the \$244 million amount. Personally, I approved of the action taken by the Conferees in these three instances. I concur in Chairman George Mahon's statement that "Congress has done a reasonably good and workmanlike job for defense."

REPORT ON ROLL CALL VOTES: Since my last report on record votes in the House, I have voted for the bill entitled, "Social Security Amendments of 1960," and for an amendment to centralize authority for urban renewal in the District of Columbia in its Board of Commissioners. I voted against a proposal to permit members of Congress to send franked mail addressed "boxholder" to postal patrons in the city as now may be done on rural routes, against spending \$5 million to purchase additional land on "Capitol Hill," and against making the government-owned intrastate Alaska Railroad subject to regulations by the Interstate Commerce Commission. I also voted against a joint resolution entitled "International Health Research Act of 1960" because the House Committee had so amended a Senate-approved version that we had a meaningless, unnecessary Resolution. I opposed H. R. 8860, a bill to subsidize the producers of lead and zinc.

I voted for legislation authorizing participation by the U. S. with other highly developed nations in providing special assistance for less developed areas of the free world. I also voted for H. R. 7903 which extends the veterans' home loan guaranteed and direct loan program for two years. The House unanimously approved a bill to give the President authority until December 31, 1961 to control the importation of sugar from Cuba.

Next "Washington Review" will appear when Congress reconvenes.



Your Washington Review

by
Congressman
JERRY FORD



September 7, 1960

The 86th Congress has adjourned. The "bob-tail" session is over. Conceived in desperation and dedicated to an anticipated political advantage, this special session resulted in only frustration for the leadership in both Chambers. Its last hours were spent in a futile attempt to work out a sugar bill but complete disagreement resulted in no legislation at all.

Final action was taken on the "Social Security Amendments of 1960" without the inclusions of the controversial "Forand" approach to hospital and medical care for Social Security beneficiaries. An attempt to raise the minimum wage and to extend the coverage of the Act to include more persons was unsuccessful. It was frustrating indeed for the majority leadership, backed by a 280 to 152 membership in the House and a 66 to 34 membership in the Senate, to be unable to get its legislation through the Congress. Needless to say, the 21-point program submitted by President Eisenhower received little attention.

The second session of the 86th Congress did enact President Eisenhower's recommendations in the "Civil Rights Act of 1960" but only after a two-month's filibuster by Democratic members of the U. S. Senate in opposition to the measure. This Act was designed primarily to insure voting rights to all persons qualified under their respective state laws to vote.

APPROPRIATIONS: Congressmen, as elected representatives of the taxpayers, have the responsibility of appropriating funds for the operation of the Federal Government. This is done through the enactment of 14 regular appropriation bills and for 1961 by the use of two supplemental money bills.

The final amount approved in these 16 bills by both the House and Senate for fiscal year 1961 was \$72.64 billion. The Bureau of the Budget had recommended \$72.79 billion but final action by the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations which held extensive hearings on the budgetary proposals reduced this amount by \$146.5 million.

But this does not tell the whole story. Backdoor appropriations which result from direct authority to spend money without further action by the Appropriations Committee added approximately \$680 million to the amount requested by the Administration. Taking this into consideration, we have an increase by Congress in the 1961 budget of about \$533.5 million over the amount requested by the President. Furthermore these figures do not include permanent appropriations, estimated in the 1961 budget at \$10.1 billion but subject to some revision.

The largest cut made by the Congress was \$559 million in the mutual security appropriation; the largest increase was \$661 million for the Department of Defense. In studying the record I was surprised to find that during the last six years in which it has controlled the Congress the Democratic Party has increased the President's military budget in election years and decreased it in non-election years. In 1955 they cut \$618 million from the funds for the Army, Navy, and Air Force; in 1957 they slashed \$2.6 billion from the Eisenhower military budget, and a year ago in 1959, the Democratic Congress reduced funds for the armed forces by \$219 million. This year as in 1956 and 1958 (all election years) the party in control of Congress increased military appropriations. But it is most significant that during these six years the Democratic Congress has made a net reduction of almost \$1.5 billion in the Eisenhower military budgets.

ACADEMY OPPORTUNITIES; For young men of the Fifth District there are four opportunities for appointment to the military academies in 1961. Anyone who is interested should request an application blank from my office in either Grand Rapids or in Washington D. C. During the middle of November a Civil Service qualifying examination will be given to all applicants to select the two nominees for the Naval Academy at Annapolis, one nominee for West Point, and one for the Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs.

Information for admission to the Coast Guard Academy at New London, Connecticut and to the U. S. Merchant Marine Academy at King's Point, New York may also be obtained from my office. Selection for admission to these schools is on a different basis than for the other academies but all five institutions offer outstanding opportunities to interested and qualified high school graduates.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE: My Washington office has a limited supply of two beautiful publications which will be sent to residents of Kent and Ottawa Counties upon request. The first is an 80-page illustrated booklet entitled "The Capitol" with the subtitle, "A Pictorial Story of the Capitol in General and the House of Representatives in Particular." Filled with pictures, it presents historical and contemporary scenes of the Capitol building and those who work there.

The second, an equally impressive booklet, and privately published, is entitled, "The War We are In." It is an analysis of our conflict with the power of Communism and what we must do to maintain our superior economic and military strength. Requests for these should be made to me at 351 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DISTRICT AND MOBILE OFFICES: My district office at 425 Cherry Street, S. E., in Grand Rapids is open daily from 8:30 a.m. until at least 5:00 p.m. The telephone number is GL 6-9747 and my staff and I welcome your calls and inquiries.

As during the past five years, I will tour Kent and Ottawa Counties this fall with my mobile office. We plan 70 stops beginning September 26th at Marne and ending November 3rd at Byron Center. I hope to see many of you when we come to your community.

This is the last newsletter in 1960. It has been a pleasure to write this personal comment each week while Congress has been in session.