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Mills

CBS NEWS
2020 M Street
Washington, D.C. 20036

FACE THE NATION

as broadcast over the

CBS Television Network

and the

CBS Radio Network

Sunday, March 27, 1966 - - 12:30 - 1:00 PM EST

GUEST: THE HONORABLE GERALD R. FORD (Michigan)
Republican Leader of the
House of Representatives

NEWS CORRESPONDENTS: Martin Agronsky
CBS News

Robert Novak
Columnist, New York Herald Tribune Syndicate

David Schoumacher
CBS News

PRODUCERS: Ellen Wadley
Prentiss Childs

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MR. AGRONSKY: Congressman Ford, did former Vice-President Nixon speak for the Republican Party yesterday when he called for bombing military targets in the port of Haiphong?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I do not think he spoke for the Republican Coordinating Committee, which is the group of Republican leaders that was put together about a year ago for the purpose of coordinating our policies on the domestic front and on international politics.

This is a view that an individual can have. I think it would be said to be his, not the party as a whole, at the present time.

ANNOUNCER: Live, from CBS, Washington, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with the Republican leader of the House, Representative Gerald Ford of Michigan. Representative Ford will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent David Schoumacher; Robert Novak, Columnist for the New York Herald Tribune Syndicate. CBS News Correspondent Martin Agronsky will lead the questioning.

We shall resume the interview with Congressman Ford in just a moment.

MR. AGRONSKY: Congressman Ford, if Mr. Nixon's call for the bombing of military targets in the port of Haiphong does not agree with the opinion of the Republican Coordinating Committee, does it reflect your personal opinion?



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, Martin, at this particular time, with the President committing 220,000 to 235,000 military personnel to Vietnam, it seems to me that these delicate military decisions should be made by the elected Commander in Chief of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, based on the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of staff -- the people who are experienced, who are knowledgeable. I think these technical decisions of a military nature rest with the President of the United States. And I think we should stand forthrightly for a policy of strength against Communist aggression. But the execution, the implementation on a day to day basis in a military way is the responsibility of the President of the United States.

MR. NOVAK: Well, Congressman Ford, the Republican Congressional Committee News Letter, which is due out tomorrow, gets rather deeply into the day to day execution of Vietnam policy, and it suggests that "The American serviceman is fighting a war with one hand tied behind his back", due to the policies of the Administration. Isn't this the view of the House Republican leadership?

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We are saying that the Administration is not using the full potential of our military forces, our Army, Navy and Air Force.



I have heard that quotation actually in the White House itself, where discussions were held, where the indication was given that particularly during the pause of the bombing, that our military forces were in effect fighting a war, a very serious one, with one of their hands tied behind them.

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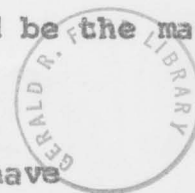
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Is there much difference in the Party on just how to talk about Vietnam?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Dave, I don't think we ever said -- at least the leadership never said, that Vietnam would be the major policy issue.

As a matter of fact, Senator Dirksen and myself have



repeatedly urged all Republicans to not make Vietnam a political issue. The consequences are too great and the crisis is too serious for us, from the point of view of the national interest, to make this a political issue.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: But, Mr. Ford, don't you have to make it a political issue? If you have to pick up votes, you have an obligation to talk about it.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Dave, I don't think we should. I don't think we have an obligation to.

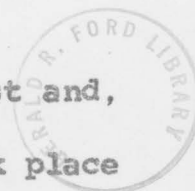
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I suspect with these kind of charges made against the President by Senator Morse and others, the American people, not the Republicans, will make Vietnam a political issue in 1966.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you think the Democrats should not be doing this?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No -- I think, Martin, that they have a right to speak I think they have an obligation, if their conscience tells them to talk about it in the Senate.

But, on the other hand, I do look with some disgust and, I think, dismay at the kind of demonstrations that took place



yesterday in many of our major cities in this country. I believe that these kind of attempts to discredit our policy, to display a lack of unity among the American people, could have the effect of prolonging the war, undermining the morale of our American troops, and in effect leading the enemy to a miscalculation as to the power and the unity of the American people.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: If the Republican Party, though, expects to pick up votes on the basis of disenchantment with the President's policy in Vietnam -- don't you have a responsibility to tell them this is what the Republicans think about Vietnam, what should be done about Vietnam, so that when they do express that disenchantment in the polling place, they know what they are voting for?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, Dave, I think we have to point out what our position is. And the position today is that we support a policy of a posture of determination against Communist aggression and terror in Vietnam.

But I add very quickly that we are not in a position in the Republican Party, in the legislative branch, to make military decisions. And these decisions have to be made by the Commander in Chief.

MR. AGRONSKY: Congressman Ford, some critics of the Republican Party have indicated that you are not fulfilling the role of the loyal opposition in promoting debate; that you

are leaving that task to the Democrats.

In January of 1950, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, of your State, the late Senator --

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: From my home town.

MR. AGRONSKY: From your home town -- wrote in a letter to a constituent that every foreign policy must be totally debated, and the loyal opposition is under special obligation to see this occurs.

Do you feel you are fulfilling the function of the loyal opposition as Senator Vandenberg says?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I think we are, Martin, because in effect we are debating those Democrats in the House and the Senate who want to withdraw, the Democrats who want to turn tail and run.

As a matter of fact, we in the Republican Party today are more effectively helping the Chief Executive, the Commander in Chief, by telling him "We stand with you as long as you are willing to face up to Communist terror and aggression".

We, as Republicans, are debating the weak-kneed Democrats who want to turn tail and run and duck the responsibility of the leadership of the free world on the part of the United States.

MR. AGRONSKY: Which ones want to turn tail and run?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, there are those who in effect have said we ought to go back and abandon all of Southeast Asia and come back to Pearl Harbor. This is what some people



have said.

MR. AGRONSKY: I don't know of any who said that. What responsible Democrats have said that?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, hasn't Senator Wayne Morse said that we ought to withdraw, we ought to end the war? What he means under the theory of those such as Secretary Rusk, who as I understand it believes in the dominoe theory -- means that in a relatively short period of time you are going to end up defending Pearl Harbor, and that is not a very good prospect.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Ford, I did not quite understand your answer to my question.

Do you feel that -- do you personally feel that we are fighting the war in Vietnam with an arm behind our back, or is that just political propaganda by the Congressional Campaign Committee?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: When you look at all the military power that the United States has, in the Air Force, in the Navy, and in the Army, and when you realize that we are not fully utilizing that military power, and when you understand that we have 220,000, 235,000 American military personnel fighting a war in Vietnam today, and probably 300,000 in a few months, and you see that they are not getting the full support of all of this military power that we have, the argument can be made --

MR. NOVAK: But do you make it?



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: -- that the soldiers, sailors and airmen out there are fighting with one hand tied behind them.

MR. NOVAK: But do you make the argument, Mr. Ford?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think there is a great deal of credence to the argument. But just how you use this power on a day to day basis, the power that we are not using, I think is the responsibility of the Commander in Chief, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

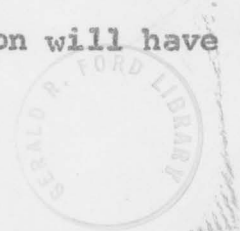
MR. NOVAK: On that position of the power, you and the other Republican leaders, and Mr. Nixon last night, repeatedly have advised against getting into a land war on the Asian continent. Now, what does a land war consist of -- 200,000 troops, 300,000? Do you think we are in a land war now?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: When you get up to 235,000, 300,000 or 400,000, and there are plans and programs in the Pentagon today to increase our commitment to those figures, I believe we are getting to the point where we are fighting a rather large-scale ground war in Southeast Asia.

I think it is well to point out that at the height of the Korean War, where we had our greatest military commitment in that conflict, there were only 325,000 U.S. military personnel stationed in South Korea.

It seems to me that very shortly President Johnson will have committed almost that number.

MR. NOVAK: And you are opposed to that?



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: And I think when we get to that figure without using more of our military power in the air and on that sea, that we are getting ourselves into a very bad military situation.

MR. NOVAK: Are you opposed to that?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I would be.

MR. AGRONSKY: You are opposed to it. You would have a ceiling, then, on the American commitment in Vietnam.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not have a ceiling as to --

MR. AGRONSKY: What do you mean, then?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think you have got to have a limitation on your commitment in ground forces unless and until we have more fully utilized our air and sea power. And we are not doing that today.

MR. AGRONSKY: Don't you regard that as a significant military criticism, that you said you were reluctant to make?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No, because what you really intended, I think, was to indicate that we believe that we should bomb Haiphong, that we should do other specific military targeting.

MR. AGRONSKY: No. We are talking about something else now.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, if you are talking in the broad sense --

MR. AGRONSKY: We are talking about a ceiling on American commitment in Vietnam. Are you for it or not?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I believe there should be a ~~ceiling~~ ~~on~~ ~~power~~



ceiling on our ground forces, unless and until we have more fully utilized our military power in the air and on the sea.

MR. NOVAK: In other words, Mr. Ford, you are saying we should use the air power more than we are using it, but you would not say exactly how.

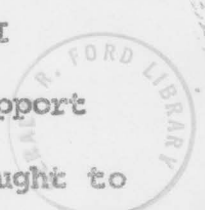
REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I think that is a fair analysis of it.

MR. AGRONSKY: Don't you regard that as a military proposal, an interference with the President, who is the Commander in Chief, and you said before we should not criticize.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No, I don't think this is a military recommendation in the sense of what the Joint Chiefs do on a day to day basis, as far as the President is concerned.

MR. AGRONSKY: It seems about as military as you could get, to put a ceiling on how many troops you would put in there and say that we should not put any more in unless we do thus and so in a military way.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, let me say this. There are a great many Americans, Martin, who are very unhappy with the way in which the conflict is being run in Vietnam today. Many Americans who support the policy of meeting the challenge of Communist aggression are saying that unless we do more with the power we have, we either ought to do it or get out. And I believe that the American people, and all of the polls support this, indicate that the President as Commander in Chief ought to



follow this course of action before committing another 100,000 U.S. military personnel to Vietnam.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you agree with those people who feel we ought to do this or get out?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not go quite that far. I would not be quite that categorical. But I can assure you this is the attitude of a great many Americans in this country today.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Mr. Ford, what about flying saucers? You have had some in Michigan in the past week. Do you really believe in flying saucers? You called for a Congressional investigation.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Dave, we have had several incidents in Michigan in the last week, incidents that many reliable, good citizens felt were sufficient to justify some action by our government, and not the kind of flippant answer that was given by the Air Force where they passed it off as swamp gas.

In addition there are other incidents that have happened from time to time, reportings by people who basically, I think, are fully sincere and who are honest.

It seems to me that this mystery that has been around the country with all of these various sightings does require that the Congress take a good look at it; bring up these witnesses from the Air Force and the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, have them interrogated by members of a House or Senate Committee, let them put their records on the line, and let the

people who have allegedly seen these unidentified flying objects come and testify.

I think the American people would be more assured that there were or were not if such a public hearing was held.

MR. NOVAK: Congressman Ford, how many seats do you think the Republican Party can pick up in the South this year?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: In the South?

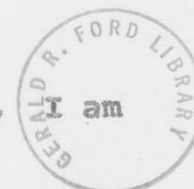
MR. NOVAK: In the South.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think we will pick up, oh, from five to six. But I am more encouraged, Bob, by the possibilities of picking up seats elsewhere in the United States. As a total I would say our prospects at the moment appear good, to pick up between 40 and 50.

MR. NOVAK: On the question of the South, how do you feel about the segregationists in the Republican Party in the South? For example, Congressman Jim Martin in Alabama has just announced for Governor. Would you go down and campaign for him, or for Senator Strom Thurmond in South Carolina, seeking re-election?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Let me say this. The segregationists in the Republican Party are minimal compared to those that have been in the past in the Democratic Party in the South. The record is crystal clear that the Democratic Party in the past and I think at the present time in the South is totally dominated by extreme segregationists.

Governor Wallace -- now he is running his wife.



sure she shares, according to him, his views on matters involving segregation.

It seems to me that the Republican Party in the South has made a very good effort to broaden its base, to raise issues other than segregation between the Democrats in the South and the Republicans in the South.

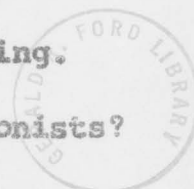
MR. NOVAK: Would you campaign for an out-and-out segregationist, like Strom Thurmond or Jim Martin?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't think you can categorize these people as outright segregationists. I think this is an unfair accusation. And I believe --

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Is it unfair to call Strom Thurmond a segregationist?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Let me talk about Jim Martin, because he serves with me in the House of Representative. I know that Jim Martin and the other Republicans from the State of Alabama worked very closely with me and others in the House to develop a voting rights bill that even today, Dave, I think it a better bill than the law that we have on the statute books. These men worked very effectively and honestly to come up with a voting rights bill that would be applicable in every one of the fifty states. And any man or any group of men, such as Jim Martin and the others, who take this approach, in no way, no way, are the kind of segregationists that you are implying.

MR. NOVAK: There are different kinds of segregationists?



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, there are all kinds of liberals, there are all kinds of radicals.

MR. NOVAK: So you would campaign for them.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: If they follow the basic principles of the Republican Party, and if they are willing to adhere to, as we have, the philosophy of the Republican Party as I know it -- I think the burden is on them -- I would campaign for a Republican in Alabama or any other state of the Union.

MR. AGRONSKY: Would regard all of the Republican candidates in the South as men for whom you could campaign no matter what their position is on segregation?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, Martin, we hope to have a full slate of candidates in all of the Southern states. I don't know them all, so I cannot categorically answer that question. But let me turn the coin over, if I may.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I go and campaign in some of our large metropolitan areas for more or less liberal Republican candidates, candidates who are more liberal than I. Should I be criticized for doing that any more than I should be criticized for doing it in the South?

What I am trying to say is the Republican Party has to elect more Republicans, and in some areas of the country liberal Republicans will be elected, and in some areas of the country conservative Republicans will be elected.



MR. NOVAK: Do you equate the liberal Republicans with the segregationists, then?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't understand the question.

MR. NOVAK: You are putting the liberal Republicans and the segregationists in the same basket.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, as long as the liberal Republican and the conservative Republican believe in the basic principles of the Republican Party, I believe they are Republicans, and I think we ought to elect Republicans -- period.

MR. AGRONSKY: Will you hold on for a second, Congressman. We will follow up in a minute. There are many more things we would like to ask you.

We will resume the questioning in a moment.

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MR. AGRONSKY: Congressman Ford, yesterday the Republican Party in South Carolina held a convention. It was lily white, not a single Negro was there. Do you approve of that, sir?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the best answer to that, Martin, is that last fall I was invited to speak to a Republican luncheon in Natchez, Mississippi, and unfortunately that luncheon in effect excluded any Negro participation. I had to cancel out, and I think my decision was right.

I have appeared at luncheons and dinners on behalf of the Republican Party in many Southern states where there were



segregated Republican audiences.

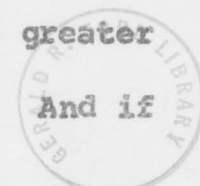
I certainly believe that the Republican Party ought to include in the South, as well as in the North, individuals from all segments of our society, whites as well as Negroes, as long as they believe in the philosophy of the Republican Party. And where there is a deliberate exclusion of one segment of our society, then I think the Republican Party ought to take a hard look at whether they should participate.

MR. AGRONSKY: What's wrong in South Carolina?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: From what I know about it, I do not know whether they specifically excluded them. But if they did, if they precluded Negroes from participation, Negroes who wanted to participate, then I think they made a mistake.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Mr. Ford, the other day you said that you did not play to be minority leader forever, that you hope to become majority leader or step down. Have you set a date for your retirement, or do you plan to become majority leader pretty soon?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the prospects, Dave, are getting better and better for the Republicans to make significant gains in the House of Representatives. At the moment I do not think the prospects are such that we can look forward to a majority in the House. But public opinion today is rapidly swinging away from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, and there is greater and greater Republican support throughout the country. And if



the Administration's credibility erodes in the next few months as it has in the last few months, there is a distinct possibility the Republicans will gain control in the House.

I happen to think we are laying a good groundwork, we are getting good candidates, we are better organized, we are more unified, and the Democrats are losing credibility, they are disorganized, and I think the American people are getting sympathetic to the kind of a program and the candidates we are offering.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: You said once there you were going to pick up 30 votes, and then it became 40 votes, and now it is almost 50 votes. What is happening? We don't see any evidence of it.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, let me tell you the evidence is pretty clear if you just look at the various opinion polls throughout the country. The President and the Democratic Administration has lost 3 to 3.5 percent nationwide. The Republicans have gained a corresponding amount of public support. And as this pendulum swings away from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to the Republicans, it automatically means that we are going to pick up more and more seats in the House and in the Senate.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Is it Vietnam that is making it swing?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I have not analyzed just what the issue is, except that on the domestic scene the Administration's failure to do anything about the increase in the cost of living,

the Administration's failure to recognize the dangers of inflation and the distinct probability and possibility if the inflation gets worse we are going to have a recession is the one thing that on the domestic scene very much worries the American people.

MR. AGRONSKY: Gentlemen, I am very sorry, but our time is up. Thank you, Congressman Ford, for being here to FACE THE NATION.

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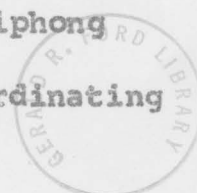
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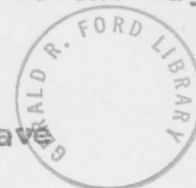
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MR. SCHOUMACHER: If the Republican Party, though, expects to pick up votes on the basis of disenchantment with the President's policy in Vietnam -- don't you have a responsibility to tell them this is what the Republicans think about Vietnam, what should be done about Vietnam, so that when they do express that disenchantment in the polling place, they know what they are voting for?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, Dave, I think we have to point out what our position is. And the position today is that we support a policy of a posture of determination against Communist aggression and terror in Vietnam.

But I add very quickly that we are not in a position in the Republican Party, in the legislative branch, to make military decisions. And these decisions have to be made by the Commander in Chief.

MR. AGRONSKY: Congressman Ford, some critics of the Republican Party have indicated that you are not fulfilling the role of the loyal opposition in promoting debate; that you

are leaving that task to the Democrats.

In January of 1950, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, of your State, the late Senator --

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: From my home town.

MR. AGRONSKY: From your home town -- wrote in a letter to a constituent that every foreign policy must be totally debated, and the loyal opposition is under special obligation to see this occurs.

Do you feel you are fulfilling the function of the loyal opposition as Senator Vandenberg says?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I think we are, Martin, because in effect we are debating those Democrats in the House and the Senate who want to withdraw, the Democrats who want to turn tail and run.

As a matter of fact, we in the Republican Party today are more effectively helping the Chief Executive, the Commander in Chief, by telling him "We stand with you as long as you are willing to face up to Communist terror and aggression".

We, as Republicans, are debating the weak-kneed Democrats who want to turn tail and run and duck the responsibility of the leadership of the free world on the part of the United States.

MR. AGRONSKY: Which ones want to turn tail and run?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, there are those who in effect have said we ought to go back and abandon all of Southeast Asia and come back to Pearl Harbor. This is what some people



have said.

MR. AGRONSKY: I don't know of any who said that. What responsible Democrats have said that?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, hasn't Senator Wayne Morse said that we ought to withdraw, we ought to end the war? What he means under the theory of those such as Secretary Rusk, who as I understand it believes in the domino theory -- means that in a relatively short period of time you are going to end up defending Pearl Harbor, and that is not a very good prospect.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Ford, I did not quite understand your answer to my question.

Do you feel that -- do you personally feel that we are fighting the war in Vietnam with an arm behind our back, or is that just political propaganda by the Congressional Campaign Committee?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: When you look at all the military power that the United States has, in the Air Force, in the Navy, and in the Army, and when you realize that we are not fully utilizing that military power, and when you understand that we have 220,000, 235,000 American military personnel fighting a war in Vietnam today, and probably 300,000 in a few months, and you see that they are not getting the full support of all of this military power that we have, the argument can be made --

MR. NOVAK: But do you make it?



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: -- that the soldiers, sailors and airmen out there are fighting with one hand tied behind them.

MR. NOVAK: But do you make the argument, Mr. Ford?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think there is a great deal of credence to the argument. But just how you use this power on a day to day basis, the power that we are not using, I think is the responsibility of the Commander in Chief, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

MR. NOVAK: On that position of the power, you and the other Republican leaders, and Mr. Nixon last night, repeatedly have advised against getting into a land war on the Asian continent. Now, what does a land war consist of -- 200,000 troops, 300,000? Do you think we are in a land war now?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: When you get up to 235,000, 300,000 or 400,000, and there are plans and programs in the Pentagon today to increase our commitment to those figures, I believe we are getting to the point where we are fighting a rather large-scale ground war in Southeast Asia.

I think it is well to point out that at the height of the Korean War, where we had our greatest military commitment in that conflict, there were only 325,000 U.S. military personnel stationed in South Korea.

It seems to me that very shortly President Johnson will have committed almost that number.

MR. NOVAK: And you are opposed to that?



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: And I think when we get to that figure without using more of our military power in the air and on that sea, that we are getting ourselves into a very bad military situation.

MR. NOVAK: Are you opposed to that?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I would be.

MR. AGRONSKY: You are opposed to it. You would have a ceiling, then, on the American commitment in Vietnam.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not have a ceiling as to --

MR. AGRONSKY: What do you mean, then?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think you have got to have a limitation on your commitment in ground forces unless and until we have more fully utilized our air and sea power. And we are not doing that today.

MR. AGRONSKY: Don't you regard that as a significant military criticism, that you said you were reluctant to make?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No, because what you really intended, I think, was to indicate that we believe that we should bomb Haiphong, that we should do other specific military targeting.

MR. AGRONSKY: No. We are talking about something else now.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, if you are talking in the broad sense --

MR. AGRONSKY: We are talking about a ceiling on American commitment in Vietnam. Are you for it or not?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I believe there should be a manpower



ceiling on our ground forces, unless and until we have more fully utilized our military power in the air and on the sea.

MR. NOVAK: In other words, Mr. Ford, you are saying we should use the air power more than we are using it, but you would not say exactly how.

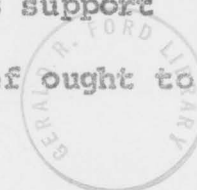
REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I think that is a fair analysis of it.

MR. AGRONSKY: Don't you regard that as a military proposal, an interference with the President, who is the Commander in Chief, and you said before we should not criticize.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No, I don't think this is a military recommendation in the sense of what the Joint Chiefs do on a day to day basis, as far as the President is concerned.

MR. AGRONSKY: It seems about as military as you could get, to put a ceiling on how many troops you would put in there and say that we should not put any more in unless we do thus and so in a military way.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, let me say this. There are a great many Americans, Martin, who are very unhappy with the way in which the conflict is being run in Vietnam today. Many Americans who support the policy of meeting the challenge of Communist aggression are saying that unless we do more with the power we have, we either ought to do it or get out. And I believe that the American people, and all of the polls support this, indicate that the President as Commander in Chief ought to



follow this course of action before committing another 100,000 U.S. military personnel to Vietnam.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you agree with those people who feel we ought to do this or get out?

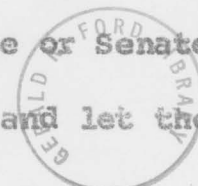
REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not go quite that far. I would not be quite that categorical. But I can assure you this is the attitude of a great many Americans in this country today.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Mr. Ford, what about flying saucers? You have had some in Michigan in the past week. Do you really believe in flying saucers? You called for a Congressional investigation.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Dave, we have had several incidents in Michigan in the last week, incidents that many reliable, good citizens felt were sufficient to justify some action by our government, and not the kind of flippant answer that was given by the Air Force where they passed it off as swamp gas.

In addition there are other incidents that have happened from time to time, reportings by people who basically, I think, are fully sincere and who are honest.

It seems to me that this mystery that has been around the country with all of these various sightings does require that the Congress take a good look at it; bring up these witnesses from the Air Force and the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, have them interrogated by members of a House or Senate Committee, let them put their records on the line, and let the



people who have allegedly seen these unidentified flying objects come and testify.

I think the American people would be more assured that there were or were not if such a public hearing was held.

MR. NOVAK: Congressman Ford, how many seats do you think the Republican Party can pick up in the South this year?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: In the South?

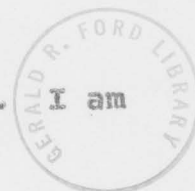
MR. NOVAK: In the South.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think we will pick up, oh, from five to six. But I am more encouraged, Bob, by the possibilities of picking up seats elsewhere in the United States. As a total I would say our prospects at the moment appear good, to pick up between 40 and 50.

MR. NOVAK: On the question of the South, how do you feel about the segregationists in the Republican Party in the South? For example, Congressman Jim Martin in Alabama has just announced for Governor. Would you go down and campaign for him, or for Senator Strom Thurmond in South Carolina, seeking re-election?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Let me say this. The segregationists in the Republican Party are minimal compared to those that have been in the past in the Democratic Party in the South. The record is crystal clear that the Democratic Party in the past and I think at the present time in the South is totally dominated by extreme segregationists.

Governor Wallace -- now he is running his wife. I am



sure she shares, according to him, his views on matters involving segregation.

It seems to me that the Republican Party in the South has made a very good effort to broaden its base, to raise issues other than segregation between the Democrats in the South and the Republicans in the South.

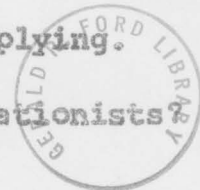
MR. NOVAK: Would you campaign for an out-and-out segregationist, like Strom Thurmond or Jim Martin?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't think you can categorize these people as outright segregationists. I think this is an unfair accusation. And I believe --

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Is it unfair to call Strom Thurmond a segregationist?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Let me talk about Jim Martin, because he serves with me in the House of Representative. I know that Jim Martin and the other Republicans from the State of Alabama worked very closely with me and others in the House to develop a voting rights bill that even today, Dave, I think it a better bill than the law that we have on the statute books. These men worked very effectively and honestly to come up with a voting rights bill that would be applicable in every one of the fifty states. And any man or any group of men, such as Jim Martin and the others, who take this approach, in no way, no way, are the kind of segregationists that you are implying.

MR. NOVAK: There are different kinds of segregationists.



REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, there are all kinds of liberals, there are all kinds of radicals.

MR. NOVAK: So you would campaign for them.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: If they follow the basic principles of the Republican Party, and if they are willing to adhere to, as we have, the philosophy of the Republican Party as I know it -- I think the burden is on them -- I would campaign for a Republican in Alabama or any other state of the Union.

MR. AGRONSKY: Would regard all of the Republican candidates in the South as men for whom you could campaign no matter what their position is on segregation?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, Martin, we hope to have a full slate of candidates in all of the Southern states. I don't know them all, so I cannot categorically answer that question. But let me turn the coin over, if I may.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I go and campaign in some of our large metropolitan areas for more or less liberal Republican candidates, candidates who are more liberal than I. Should I be criticized for doing that any more than I should be criticized for doing it in the South?

What I am trying to say is the Republican Party has to elect more Republicans, and in some areas of the country liberal Republicans will be elected, and in some areas of the country conservative Republicans will be elected.



MR. NOVAK: Do you equate the liberal Republicans with the segregationists, then?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't understand the question.

MR. NOVAK: You are putting the liberal Republicans and the segregationists in the same basket.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, as long as the liberal Republican and the conservative Republican believe in the basic principles of the Republican Party, I believe they are Republicans, and I think we ought to elect Republicans -- period.

MR. AGRONSKY: Will you hold on for a second, Congressman. We will follow up in a minute. There are many more things we would like to ask you.

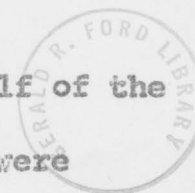
We will resume the questioning in a moment.

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MR. AGRONSKY: Congressman Ford, yesterday the Republican Party in South Carolina held a convention. It was lily white, not a single Negro was there. Do you approve of that, sir?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the best answer to that, Martin, is that last fall I was invited to speak to a Republican luncheon in Natchez, Mississippi, and unfortunately that luncheon in effect excluded any Negro participation. I had to cancel out, and I think my decision was right.

I have appeared at luncheons and dinners on behalf of the Republican Party in many Southern states where there were



segregated Republican audiences.

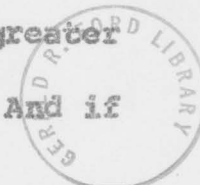
I certainly believe that the Republican Party ought to include in the South, as well as in the North, individuals from all segments of our society, whites as well as Negroes, as long as they believe in the philosophy of the Republican Party. And where there is a deliberate exclusion of one segment of our society, then I think the Republican Party ought to take a hard look at whether they should participate.

MR. AGRONSKY: What's wrong in South Carolina?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: From what I know about it, I do not know whether they specifically excluded them. But if they did, if they precluded Negroes from participation, Negroes who wanted to participate, then I think they made a mistake.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Mr. Ford, the other day you said that you did not play to be minority leader forever, that you hope to become majority leader or step down. Have you set a date for your retirement, or do you plan to become majority leader pretty soon?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the prospects, Dave, are getting better and better for the Republicans to make significant gains in the House of Representatives. At the moment I do not think the prospects are such that we can look forward to a majority in the House. But public opinion today is rapidly swinging away from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, and there is greater and greater Republican support throughout the country. And if



the Administration's credibility erodes in the next few months as it has in the last few months, there is a distinct possibility the Republicans will gain control in the House.

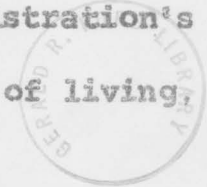
I happen to think we are laying a good groundwork, we are getting good candidates, we are better organized, we are more unified, and the Democrats are losing credibility, they are disorganized, and I think the American people are getting sympathetic to the kind of a program and the candidates we are offering.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: You said once there you were going to pick up 30 votes, and then it became 40 votes, and now it is almost 50 votes. What is happening? We don't see any evidence of it.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, let me tell you the evidence is pretty clear if you just look at the various opinion polls throughout the country. The President and the Democratic Administration has lost 3 to 3.5 percent nationwide. The Republicans have gained a corresponding amount of public support. And as this pendulum swings away from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to the Republicans, it automatically means that we are going to pick up more and more seats in the House and in the Senate.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Is it Vietnam that is making it swing?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I have not analyzed just what the issue is, except that on the domestic scene the Administration's failure to do anything about the increase in the cost of living,



the Administration's failure to recognize the dangers of inflation and the distinct probability and possibility if the inflation gets worse we are going to have a recession is the one thing that on the domestic scene very much worries the American people.

MR. AGRONSKY: Gentlemen, I am very sorry, but our time is up. Thank you, Congressman Ford, for being here to FACE THE NATION.

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"FROM THE PEOPLE"

Interview with: Gerald Ford, House of Representative Leader, (R., Mich.)

Moderator: Herb Brubaker

Panelist: John Chambers, Washington Bureau Chief of UPI Audio Network and
Frank Eleazer, UPI Chief Correspondent in the House of Representatives.

Brubaker: This election year, Republicans, pointing to rising consumer prices and heavy spending for the war in Vietnam, believe inflation will be a key issue, the minority is trying to cut back Administration programs and if it fails it plans to complain to the people about what it considers reckless Administration fiscal policies. Much of the attention is focused on the House, where this week the GOP almost succeeded in killing appropriations for the Administrations Teacher Corp and Rent Supplement Programs. This weeks guest on From the People is the House of Representative Republican Leader, Gerald Ford of Michigan.

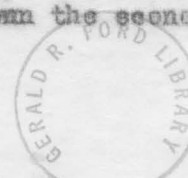
Congressman Ford, how do you assess Republican chances to cut back some of these Administration programs?

FORD: Well we are always hopeful but this past week we were disappointed because the Administration from the President on down did so much and made such a big effort to twist arms and brow-beat Democrats that we got very, very little help from Democratic members of the House in trying to ~~what~~ eliminate a program that over a period of years would cost almost 500 million dollars. The so called rent subsidy program. We are going to keep trying because as Republicans we feel the best way to fight inflation is to cut back on non military spending and if we can cut back non military spending we can ~~bid~~ war time taxes which the President undoubtedly will recommend to the Congress in order to tackle the problem of inflation.

Chambers: Congressman Ford, do you see any excuse for the Administration raising taxes again this year?

FORD: Of course the White House feels that one way to tackle the problem of the increase in the cost of living is to have another wartime tax increase. I don't see any excuse for it at the present time, if the Congress, with the help of the President, would make certain reductions the kind of reductions that would relieve the pressure in the area of inflation. But unfortunately the President takes the other tack, he wants to spend as much as he proposed and in order to do that the President apparently feels that there should be additional taxes to finance these expenditures.

Chambers: Do you believe these suggestions the President made the other day of a 5-7% tax increase is merely an incentive for business men to voluntarily slow down the economy? Do you think it's a threat to the business community?



FORD: It certainly has that prospect. But it seems that we ought to try the effort and make a big effort to reduce expenditures first. I think the White House is taking the cart before the horse and it would seem to me that these threats of additional taxes that come from President Johnson could have a very unfortunate reaction because what it does is to unsettle our economy generally, it tends to upset the plans of industry and communities to undertake projects and programs that are aimed at building a solid economy for the future. I think it is unfortunate also that the President is calling upon communities, business and individuals to cut back on spending and the White House, under his leadership, is expanding our non military expenditures to the extent of about 3 billion 200 million dollars in the next fiscal year. This double standard confused me and I think the White House ought to be condemned for it.

Chambers: Do you think then that the voluntary cooling down of the economy as it's called at the White House makes sense.

FORD: I certainly do not.

Eleazer: Mr. Ford, is it the intention of the Republicans in the House to oppose spending on other great society programs during the year as it did this past week on Rent Subsidies and the Teacher Corps?

FORD: I think we will generally take that approach Frank. We were certainly a little disappointed this past week when we didn't get much cooperation from the Democrats in the House, very limited effort by the Democrats to cut back non military spending but this shouldn't prevent Republicans from making attacks when the opportunity presents itself to hold the line or defer or to defeat proposals for some of the great society programs in the months ahead.

Eleazer: Well how then do you answer the Democratic charge that Republicans in the House are trying to load the cost of the war onto the people least able to afford it, the poor?

FORD: I don't think that's a legitimate charge by the Democrats, because if we spend all that the President wants us to spend and the Democrats in the House apparently want us to spend for non military programs and projects, we are going to have worse and worse inflation and certainly inflation hurts the poor more than anything else. And it hurts the poor in big cities so our answer to them is, if you really want to help the people least able to pay, we better make a maximum effort to cut back on non military expense, we'd better do something about inflation right away.

Eleazer: The President pointed out this past week that he himself had made sharp reductions in the budget and pointed out that he had proposed about almost a billion dollars in cuts in various programs which the Congress apparently intends to put back. One of those cuts was in the aid to impacted school areas. Why was it this week that the Republicans in the House did not support a move to support that cut?

FORD: Well I'm sure you remember Frank that on the floor of the House it was a Republican, Frank Bow, the senior Republican on the Committee of Appropriations, who offered an amendment to support President Johnson's budget to hold the line on the impact school aid program.

Eleazer: Very few of your members went along with Mr. Bow on that.



FORD: I supported that and I think the majority of support in this area came from our side of the aisle. The only one who spoke against the program was a Democrat, accusing the President of unfairly reducing the expenditures in this area. So I think Republicans in this particular instance were consistent as I hope we'll be consistent in the months ahead.

Brubaker: Congressman Ford, are we in inflation right now?

FORD: There is no doubt about it. Ten days or two weeks ago the bureau of labor statistics announced that the wholesale price index went up .7% in the month of February and if you analyse that increase it indicates that the wholesale price index will go up over 6% in a 12 month period. In the last four months it's gone up almost 5% as I recall and this is unfortunate because over a period of 6 or 7 years the wholesale price index had been relatively stable and then this past week the bureau of labor statistics announced that the consumer price index went up .5% for the largest increase since 1951 in the month of February and of course last year under the Johnson-Humphrey administration the cost of living went up 2% and under their own forecast for the year of 1966 the cost of living will go up at least 3% and undoubtedly more. So we are in inflation, wartime inflation right now and unless the Administration does something affirmatively and effectively more than they have done the people least able to get through the problems of inflation will be hit the worst and I think the President has a major responsibility right now to do something about inflation. He hasn't done much so far.

Brubaker: Well if the President has a major responsibility and if he doesn't take this responsibility as you see it and if Republicans fear they won't be able to cut back some of these programs, why don't you introduce them some tax reduction legislation?

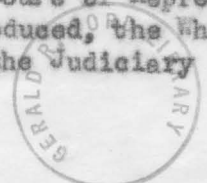
FORD: I don't think we should introduce tax reduction legislation ...

Brubaker: Increase, excuse me....

FORD: The Republicans would prefer and I think rightly so, to reduce non military expense. We can concentrate our efforts in this area and we could achieve results in this area if we got some cooperation and I underline some from the White House. So far we have gotten little. Let's try the reduction of non military expenditures first and do it right now. As a matter of fact, the President himself with the money that Congress appropriated last year if he didn't want to spend it wouldn't have to spend it. He can refuse to spend funds that Congress has appropriated if he really believes that some of these programs can be held back, could be deferred. All I see is continuous spending in non military area by the administration, by the President, by the White House and I think it is unforgivable really that we aren't getting any cooperation from them in holding the line in this area.

Chambers: Mr. Ford, the President has talked about civil rights at various times, but he's been rather slow in getting his message up here. Do you think he sort of put civil rights in the back of the bus?

FORD: Well it looks to me John as the they must be having some trouble down at the White House and the Dept. of Justice in putting together a bill to carry out what we understood was to be the administration program in area of civil rights. I think it's appropriate to note that at least a month ago 25 Republicans in the House of Representatives put together a proposed civil rights bill and it has been introduced, the White House hasn't done anything about it, the Democratic Control Committee on the Judiciary



has done nothing about it, I can't understand what the delay is. I think one of the problems is, however, that after Congress passed the voting rights bill in 1965 and after we had passed the civil rights act of 1964 there is considerable concern that the Dept. of Justice has relatively sat on its hands, that there has not been the kind of administration of those two major laws that the Dept. of Justice should have done more. Maybe they have a little guilty conscience, I don't know about the lack of initiative on the basis of the tools they already have.

Brubaker: Are you charging the Administration as dragging its feet in the area of civil rights and this possibly may be an issue this election year?

FORD: It seems to many people on the Republican side of the aisle that the Administration has dragged its feet in the administration of legislation which they already have.

Chambers: Mr. Ford in that connection the Republican Party seems to be coming up with quite a few congressional candidates in southern states who are segregationists. Some of them seem to have pretty good prospects of being elected. Is this going to embarrass the Republican Party nationally?

FORD: Let me take the broad subject because I think it is very important for us to discuss here as well as elsewhere. The Republican Party in three states in 1964 elected 7 very good members of the House in areas that had formerly been represented by the Democratic Party. I am told that these Republican candidates ran on basic issues, federal power, expansion of the federal government in Washington, the areas of fiscal responsibility, they didn't run on the issue of race relation. Now, it is appropriate to point out and it was noted by one of the members of the Alabama delegation from the Republican Party that two of the most avowed segregationists in the state of Ala., one of the I think was Sherrif in some Ala. wanted to run as a Republican and the Republican party in Ala. turned him down, another one of the men who got into some difficulty last year or the year before with the Dept. of Justice I think it was in Birmingham he wanted to run on the Republican ticket in Ala. and the Republican party in Ala. turned him down. The Republican Party in Ala. and the other southern states in my judgment from what I hear about it is trying to build up the party with a rather broad base and they are getting good candidates who are not running on their race issue but are running in these forth coming elections on broader issues that involve our national security and on domestic problems as a whole.

Chambers: Congressman Ford, do you believe in Flying Saucers and Little green men?

FORD: John, all I know is that a number of people throughout the country in 1966 and a number of people in years gone by have honestly believed that they have sighted unidentified flying objects. There are enough of these reported sightings, I believe, to justify a full scale investigation by a congressional committee at such a congressional investigation it would be possible for the air force or other federal agencies to put on the record for the benefit of the public what they know about these alledged sightings. And those people who have believed in all sincerity, they have made these sightings they ought to come down to Washington before a congressional hearing and tell the public what they know about it and then the public will have an opportunity to evaluate the position of the air force and other federal agencies and the public will have an opportunity to evaluate the people who contend and allege they have sighted these ufos. I can assure you of this, that the American people are interested

the American people are concerned and somebody owes the American people the opportunity to get a full investigation for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

Chambers. But aren't you going to get alot of eye witnesses down here then, little old ladies who perhaps have saucers landing in their back garden and the men come out and talk to them? We had an eye witness from Tulsa who said, yes, there was the man in the ~~khaki~~ khaki uniform with the chevrons on his sleeve who came out. Aren't you going to get all these people down here?

FORD: I know John there are a number of people who have made some statements that are certainly, border on the incredible. I've had some telephone calls in fact I got one the other night, about 1:30 or 2 o'clock when I was sound asleep this individual called me and told me about his or her experience. I'm sure there are these that would fall in to the area of some degree of unreliability but I add, there are a number of people whose credibility I will not challenge until they have had an opportunity to present their case before a congressional hearing. One of the major nationwide magazines in the last week had quite a story and they made some finding or they presented some pictures - let me assure the public that this isn't going to pass out of existence and the sooner the Congress grabs the thing and tacksels it and gives the public the opportunity to get the facts the better off we'll all be.

Brubaker: Congressman, why do you believe the Air Force is withholding this information?

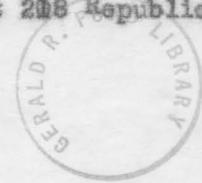
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"FROM THE PEOPLE"

Interview with: Gerald Ford, House of Representative Leader, (R., Mich.)

Moderator: Herb Brubaker

Panelist: John Chambers, Washington Bureau Chief of UPI Audio Network and
Frank Eleazer, UPI Chief Correspondent in the House of Representatives.

Brubaker: This election year, Republicans, pointing to rising consumer prices and heavy spending for the war in Vietnam, believe inflation will be a key issue, the minority is trying to cut back Administration programs and if it fails it plans to complain to the people about what it considers reckless Administration fiscal policies. Much of the attention is focused on the House, where this week the GOP almost succeeded in killing appropriations for the Administrations Teacher Corp and Rent Supplement Programs. This weeks guest on From the People is the House of Representative Republican Leader, Gerald Ford of Michigan.

Congressman Ford, how do you assess Republican chances to cut back some of these Administration programs?

FORD: Well we are always hopeful but this past week we were disappointed because the Administration from the President on down did so much and made such a big effort to twist arms and brow-beat Democrats that we got very, very little help from Democratic members of the House in trying to ~~eliminate~~ eliminate a program that over a period of years would cost almost 500 million dollars. The so called rent subsidy program. We are going to keep trying because as Republicans we feel the best way to fight inflation is to cut back on non military spending and if we can cut back non military spending we can ~~avoid~~ avoid war time taxes which the President undoubtedly will recommend to the Congress in order to tackle the problem of inflation.

Chambers: Congressman Ford, do you see any excuse for the Administration raising taxes again this year?

FORD: Of course the White House feels that one way to tackle the problem of the increase in the cost of living is to have another wartime tax increase. I don't see any excuse for it at the present time, if the Congress, with the help of the President, would make certain reductions the kind of reductions that would relieve the pressure in the area of inflation. But unfortunately the President takes the other tack, he wants to spend as much as he proposed and in order to do that the President apparently feels that there should be additional taxes to finance these expenditures.

Chambers: Do you believe these suggestions the President made the other day of a 5-7% tax increase is merely an incentive for business men to voluntarily slow down the economy? Do you think it's a threat to the business community?



FORD: It certainly has that prospect. But it seems that we ought to try the effort and make a big effort to reduce expenditures first. I think the White House is taking the cart before the horse and it would seem to me that these threats of additional taxes that come from President Johnson could have a very unfortunate reaction because what it does is to unsettle our economy generally, it tends to upset the plans of industry and communities to undertake projects and programs that are aimed at building a solid economy for the future. I think it is unfortunate also that the President is calling upon communities, business and individuals to cut back on spending and the White House, under his leadership, is expanding our non military expenditures to the extent of about 3 billion 200 million dollars in the next fiscal year. This double standard confused me and I think the White House ought to be condemned for it.

Chambers: Do you think then that the voluntary cooling down of the economy as it's called at the White House makes sense.

FORD: I certainly do not.

Eleazer: Mr. Ford, is it the intention of the Republicans in the House to oppose spending on other great society programs during the year as it did this past week on Rent Subsidies and the Teacher Corps?

FORD: I think we will generally take that approach Frank. We were certainly a little disappointed this past week when we didn't get much cooperation from the Democrats in the House, very limited effort by the Democrats to cut back non military spending but this shouldn't prevent Republicans from making attacks when the opportunity presents itself to hold the line or defer or to defeat proposals for some of the great society programs in the months ahead.

Eleazer: Well how then do you answer the Democratic charge that Republicans in the House are trying to load the cost of the war onto the people least able to afford it, the poor?

FORD: I don't think that's a legitimate charge by the Democrats, because if we spend all that the President wants us to spend and the Democrats in the House apparently want us to spend for non military programs and projects, we are going to have worse and worse inflation and certainly inflation hurts the poor more than anything else. And it hurts the poor in big cities so our answer to them is, if you really want to help the people least able to pay, we better make a maximum effort to cut back on non military expense, we'd better do something about inflation right away.

Eleazer: The President pointed out this past week that he himself had made sharp reductions in the budget and pointed out that he had proposed about almost a billion dollars in cuts in various programs which the Congress apparently intends to put back. One of those cuts was in the aid to impacted school areas. Why was it this week that the Republicans in the House did not support a move to support that cut?

FORD: Well I'm sure you remember Frank that on the floor of the House it was a Republican, Frank Bow, the senior Republican on the Committee of Appropriations, who offered an amendment to support President Johnson's budget to hold the line on the impact school aid program.

Eleazer: Very few of your members went along with Mr. Bow on that.



FORD: I supported that and I think the majority of support in this area came from our side of the aisle. The only one who spoke against the program was a Democrat, accusing the President of unfairly reducing the expenditures in this area. So I think Republicans in this particular instance were consistent as I hope we'll be consistent in the months ahead.

Brubaker: Congressman Ford, are we in inflation right now?

FORD: There is no doubt about it. Ten days or two weeks ago the bureau of labor statistics announced that the wholesale price index went up .7% in the month of February and if you analyse that increase it indicates that the wholesale price index will go up over 6% in a 12 month period. In the last four months it's gone up almost 5% as I recall and this is unfortunate because over a period of 6 or 7 years the wholesale price index had been relatively stable and then this past week the bureau of labor statistics announced that the consumer price index went up .5% for the largest increase since 1951 in the month of February and of course last year under the Johnson-Humphrey administration the cost of living went up 2% and under their own forecast for the year of 1966 the cost of living will go up at least 3% and undoubtedly more. So we are in inflation, wartime inflation right now and unless the Administration does something affirmatively and effectively more than they have done the people least able to get through the problems ~~in~~ of inflation will be hit the worst and I think the President has a major responsibility right now to do something about inflation. He hasn't done much so far.

Brubaker: Well if the President has a major responsibility and if he doesn't take this responsibility as you see it and if Republicans fear they won't be able to cut back some of these programs, why don't you introduce them some tax reduction legislation?

FORD: I don't think we should introduce tax reduction legislation ...

Brubaker: Increase, excuse me....

FORD: The Republicans would prefer and I think rightly so, to reduce non military expense. We can concentrate our efforts in this area and we could achieve results in this area if we got some cooperation and I underline some from the White House. So far we have gotten little. Let's try the reduction of non military expenditures first and do it right now. As a matter of fact, the President himself with the money that Congress appropriated last year if he didn't want to spend it wouldn't have to spend it. He can refuse to spend funds that Congress has appropriated if he really believes that some of these programs can be held back, could be deferred. All I see is continuous spending in non military area by the administration, by the President, by the White House and I think it is unforgivable really that we aren't getting any cooperation from them in holding the line in this area.

Chambers: Mr. Ford, the President has talked about civil rights at various times, but he's been rather slow in getting his message up here. Do you think he sort of put civil rights in the back of the bus?

FORD: Well it looks to me John as tho they must be having some trouble down at the White House and the Dept. of Justice in putting together a bill to carry out what we understood was to be the administration program in area of civil rights. I think it's appropriate to note that at least a month ago 25 Republicans in the House of Representatives put together a proposed civil rights bill and it has been introduced, the White House hasn't done anything about it, the Democratic Control Committee on the Judiciary



has done nothing about it, I can't understand what the delay is. I think one of the problems is, however, that after Congress passed the voting rights bill in 1965 and after we had passed the civil rights act of 1964 there is considerable concern that the Dept. of Justice has relatively sat on its hands, that there has not been the kind of administration of those two major laws that the Dept. of Justice should have done more. Maybe they have a little guilty conscience, I don't know about the lack of initiative on the basis of the tools they already have.

Brubaker: Are you charging the Administration as dragging its feet in the area of civil rights and this possibly may be an issue this election year?

FORD: It seems to many people on the Republican side of the aisle that the Administration has dragged its feet in the administration of legislation which they already have.

Chambers: Mr. Ford in that connection the Republican Party seems to be coming up with quite a few congressional candidates in southern states who are segregationists. Some of them seem to have pretty good prospects of being elected. Is this going to embarrass the Republican Party nationally?

FORD: Let me take the broad subject because I think it is very important for us to discuss here as well as elsewhere. The Republican Party in three states in 1964 elected 7 very good members of the House in areas that had formerly been represented by the Democratic Party. I am told that those Republican candidates ran on basic issues, federal power, expansion of the federal government in Washington, the areas of fiscal responsibility, they didn't run on the issue of race relation. Now, it is appropriate to point out and it was noted by one of the members of the Alabama delegation from the Republican Party that two of the most avowed segregationists in the state of Ala., one of the I think was Sherrif in some Ala. wanted to run as a Republican and the Republican party in Ala. turned him down, another one of the men who got into some difficulty last year or the year before with the Dept. of Justice I think it was in Birmingham he wanted to run on the Republican ticket in Ala. and the Republican party in Ala. turned him down. The Republican Party in Ala. and the other southern states in my judgment from what I hear about it is trying to build up the party with a rather broad base and they are getting good candidates who are not running on their race issue but are running in these forth coming elections on broader issues that involve our national security and on domestic problems as a whole.

Chambers: Congressman Ford, do you believe in Flying Saucers and Little green men?

FORD: John, all I know is that a number of people throughout the country in 1966 and a number of people in years gone by have honestly believed that they have sighted unidentified flying objects. There are enough of these reported sightings, I believe, to justify a full scale investigation by a congressional committee at such a congressional investigation it would be possible for the air force or other federal agencies to put on the record for the benefit of the public what they know about these alleged sightings. And those people who have believed in all sincerity, they have made these sightings they ought to come down to Washington before a congressional hearing and tell the public what they know about it and then the public will have an opportunity to evaluate the position of the air force and other federal agencies and the public will have an opportunity to evaluate the people who contend and allege they have sighted these ufos. I can assure you of this, that the American people are interested



the American people are concerned and somebody owes the American people the opportunity to get a full investigation for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

Chambers. But aren't you going to get a lot of eye witnesses down here then, little old ladies who perhaps have saucers landing in their back garden and the men come out and talk to them? We had an eye witness from Tulsa who said, yes, there was the man in the ~~khaki~~ khaki uniform with the chevrons on his sleeve who came out. Aren't you going to get all these people down here?

FORD: I know John there are a number of people who have made some statements that are certainly, border on the incredible. I've had some telephone calls in fact I got one the other night, about 1:30 or 2 o'clock when I was sound asleep this individual called me and told me about his or her experience. I'm sure there are those that would fall in to the area of some degree of unreliability but I add, there are a number of people whose credibility I will not challenge until they have had an opportunity to present their case before a congressional hearing. One of the major nationwide magazines in the last week had quite a story and they made some finding or they presented some pictures - let me assure the public that this isn't going to pass out of existence and the sooner the Congress grabs the thing and tacks it and gives the public the opportunity to get the facts the better off we'll all be.

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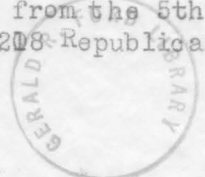
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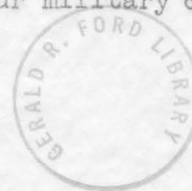
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FOR RELEASE SUNDAY 5/1/66 A.M.
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OPINION IN THE CAPITAL

A METROMEDIA TELEVISION PRESENTATION

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER
MARK EVANS

PRODUCER
FLORENCE LOWE

DIRECTOR
MICHAEL SEAGLY

GUEST: REP. GERALD FORD (R) MICHIGAN
HOST: HERB BRUBAKER UNITED PRESS RADIO
REPORTER: WARREN ROGERS LOOK MAGAZINE - WASHINGTON BUREAU
EDITOR

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12AM

PAGE ONE

BRUBAKER: CONGRESSMAN FORD, AS REPUBLICAN LEADER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT VIETNAM WILL BE THE NUMBER ONE POLITICAL ISSUE IN THIS ELECTION YEAR?

FORD: IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE PROBLEMS IN VIETNAM WILL BE MADE THE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BETWEEN NOW AND NOVEMBER 8TH. I FEEL THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF UNCERTAINTY, DISSATISFACTION, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED. AS A RESULT, IT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE THE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT.

ROGERS: MR. FORD, YOU SAY YOU BELIEVE THE VOTERS WILL MAKE VIETNAM THE MAJOR ISSUE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION CAMPAIGN. LET ME ASK YOU, DO YOU THINK THAT WHETHER THE REPUBLICANS WIN LARGE NUMBERS OF SEATS OR NOT, WHETHER THIS DEPENDS PRIMARILY UPON THE ISSUE OF VIETNAM?

FORD: NO, I DON'T THINK THE VOTERS DECISIONS ON THE PROS AND CONS, THE MANAGEMENT OR MISMANAGEMENT, OF THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM WILL BE THE DECIDING FACTOR. THERE ARE ENOUGH OTHER ISSUES WARREN, THAT WILL CONCERN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE; THE INCREASE IN THE COST OF LIVING UNDER THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION, THE LACK OF CREDIBILITY IN MANY AREAS, THE NEED ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC TO RESTORE TWO-PARTY GOV'T IN AMERICA, THE OTHER AREAS OF MISMANAGEMENT AND LACK OF PROPER ADMINISTRATION...THESE ARE THINGS THAT WILL ALSO HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE AMERICAN VOTERS.

ROGERS: LET ME ASK YOU A CRYSTAL BALL QUESTION...WHAT DO YOU THINK IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN VIETNAM BETWEEN NOW AND THE ELECTION?

FORD: WARREN, I WISH, AS AN AMERICAN, I COULD GIVE YOU AN ANSWER... AN ANSWER THAT WOULD MEAN THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE ACHIEVED AN HONORABLE PEACE, A PERMANENT SOLUTION, WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL TO WITHDRAW, YET LEAVE OUR OVERALL POSITION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ONE OF STRENGTH. THIS IS WHAT I HOPE. I BELIEVE THAT OUR AMERICAN POLICY,

PAGE TWO

BOTH MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC MUST BE AIMED AT THAT OBJECTIVE.

ROGERS: YOU'VE BEEN VERY CRITICAL OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE WAR. YOU'VE TALKED ABOUT SHORTAGES, ETC., BLAMED MR. MACNAMARA FOR DOING WHAT YOU CONSIDER AN INADEQUATE JOB. GIVEN THIS CRITICISM, WHICH YOU OBVIOUSLY BELIEVE, HOW CAN WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE ANY SORT OF SUCCESS TO THE POINT WHERE WE COULD WITHDRAW FROM VIETNAM?

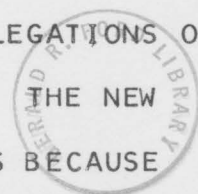
FORD: EVEN THOUGH I THINK THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE OF WHAT I HAVE DESCRIBED AS MISMANAGEMENT, SENATOR DIRKSEN HAS DESCRIBED IT SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY, BUT THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR QUESTIONS OR OUR ALLEGATIONS ARE THE SAME. DESPITE THESE MISTAKES IN JUDGEMENT, WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE FACT THAT SECRETARY MACNAMARA HAS HAD OVER 50 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, AND WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE FACT THAT WE HAVE ALL THE OTHER POWER IN THE ARMY, THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE, WE'RE BOUND TO BE SUCCESSFUL IF THE PROPER MILITARY MEANS ARE USED.

ROGERS: SINCE YOU BEGAN YOUR CRITICISM, SECRETARY MACNAMARA HAS COME BACK AS HE ALWAYS DOES IN A DEBATE, WITH THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF STATISTICS. HE TALKS ABOUT BILLIONS OF BULLETS BEING AVAILABLE...

FORD: MOST OF THEM IRRELEVANT TO THE G.I. OUT IN THE FIELD.....

ROGERS: NOW ARE YOU STILL FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT HE IS MISMANAGING THIS WAR AND THE RESULTANT SHORTAGES? HAS HIS ARGUMENT IN ANY WAY SWAYED YOU FROM YOUR ORIGINAL CRITICISM?

FORD: THE SNOW JOB THAT SECRETARY MACNAMARA GIVES TO THE CONGRESS AND OTHERS WHEN HE'S QUESTIONED,THIS TACTIC ON HIS PART HAS NOT CONVINCED ME THAT THERE ARE NOT AREAS WHERE A BETTER JOB COULD BE DONE. THE FINE REPORTER IN SAIGON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES MADE ALLEGATIONS OF MISMANAGEMENT WHEN HE SAID THERE WERE BOMB FUSE SHORTAGES. THE NEW YORK TIMES WAS APPARENTLY CONVINCED OF THE ACCURACY OF THIS BECAUSE THEY WROTE AN EDITORIAL SUPPORTING THEIR REPORTER AND CONTRADICTED



PAGE THREE

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ROGERS: DO YOU THINK THE MISMANAGEMENT OF THE WAR, AS YOU CALL IT, HAS CAUSED UNNEEDED CASUALTIES AMONG THOSE AMERICANS?

FORD: I WOULD HESITATE TO MAKE THAT ALLEGATION BECAUSE THIS IS A VERY SERIOUS CHARGE, BUT WHERE THERE ARE SHORTAGES OF NEEDED WEAPONS, I'M SURE THAT THE MAN IN THE FIELD WHO GOES OUT WITH BOMBS THAT DON'T HAVE FUSES, HAS MANY, MANY, APPREHENSIVE AS TO THE JOB HE'S ABLE TO DO ON BEHALF OF OUR COUNTRY.

BRUBAKER: MR. FORD, HAVE YOU COME UP WITH ANY NEW EXAMPLES OF MISMANAGEMENT?

FORD:+ SINCE MY ORIGINAL CHARGE, THERE HAS BEEN A NUMBER OF OTHERS WHO HAVE JOINED IN, INCLUDING HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES. I BELIEVE SENATOR STENNIS, ON A MAJOR NETWORK, WHEN ASKED A QUESTION SAID "THERE IS, AND THERE HAS BEEN, MISMANAGEMENT BY THE DEPT. OF DEFENSE!" I'M CONVINCED THAT AS WE GO DOWN THE ROAD, AND MY MAIL REFLECTS IT WITH MOTHERS WRITING SAYING THAT THEIR SON DIDN'T HAVE THIS, AND WIVES WRITING AND SAYING THAT THEIR HUSBANDS DIDN'T HAVE THIS PARTICULAR WEAPON, OR THIS PART OF A WEAPON, ...THERE IS A GROWING ACCUMMULATION IN AREAS WHERE THERE IS A LEGITIMATE REASON TO CHARGE MISMANAGEMENT.

PAGE FOUR

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BRUBAKER: WHY HASN'T SENATOR DIRKSEN ASKED FOR YOUR INFORMATION ON THESE MISMANAGEMENT CHARGES? WHY DOES HE CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT HE'LL RELY ON THE SENATE'S INFORMATION? WHY ISN'T THERE REPUBLICAN UNITY OF THOUGHT?

FORD: I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT SENATOR DIRKSEN AND MYSELF HAVE DISCUSSED THIS MATTER ALONG WITH OTHER REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND IT'S MY FEELING THAT EVEN THOUGH HE USES DIFFERENT WORDS, AND I WISH I COULD HAVE THE FLOW OF LANGUAGE THAT HE HAS, THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR ALLEGATIONS AND QUESTIONS ARE EXACTLY THE SAME. AS HE SAID A WEEK OR SO AGO, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE, WHERE, I SUSPECT, BOTH OF YOU WERE THERE, HE IN EFFECT, JOINED WITH ME, AND I STAYED WITH HIM.

BRUBAKER: WHEN YOU WENT BACK HOME DURING THE EASTER RECESS YOU MUST DETECTED GROWING UNREST AMONG THE PEOPLE ON VIETNAM POLICIES.

FORD: I THINK THAT'S AN ACCURATE APPRAISAL OF MY OBSERVATIONS IN TALKING WITH PEOPLE AT HOME DURING THE RECESS. WHEN YOU TALK TO EITHER DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS, WHO WERE HOME AT THAT TIME, AND YOU ASK THEM WHAT THE QUESTIONS WERE THAT THEY WERE ASKED BY THEIR CONSTITUENTS, ALL OF THEM, OR VIRTUALLY ALL, WERE CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS OF VIETNAM.

BRUBAKER: ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THIS ISSUE, SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY FEARS GROWING ESCALATION OF THE WAR BECAUSE OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF MIG 21'S DOG FIGHTS OVER NORTH VIETNAM. DO YOU HAVE ANY EVIDENCE THAT COMMUNIST CHINA'S AIRCRAFT HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN THESE AIR BATTLES AND DO YOU FEAR THE POSSIBILITY OF A DIRECT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND COMMUNIST CHINA?

FORD: THERE APPEARS TO BE EVIDENCE OF COMMUNIST AIRCRAFT. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THEY ARE CHINESE BUILT OR SOVIET BUILT. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THE PILOTS HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN THE SOVIET UNION OR RED CHINA. THEY ARE

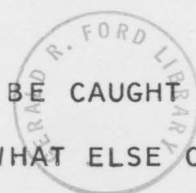
PAGE FIVE

CERTAINLY AIRCRAFT THAT NORTH VIETNAM COULDN'T BUILD. CERTAINLY THE PILOTS COULDN'T HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN NORTH VIETNAM. SO THERE IS SOME INVOLVEMENT FROM EITHER THE SOVIET UNION OR RED CHINA. A VAST MAJORITY OF GOV'T EXPERTS DO THINK THERE IS NOT A GREAT PROBABILITY THAT RED CHINA WOULD NOT GET INVOLVED IN THIS CONFLICT DIRECTLY. THIS IS WHAT WE'RE TOLD BY PEOPLE WHO TESTIFY BEFORE THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES.

ROGERS: SINCE THE GULF OF TONKIN INCIDENT A YEAR AND A HALF AGO, THE RED CHINESE HAVE BUILT FIVE OR SIX NEW AIRFIELDS ON THE PERIMETER OF NORTH VIETNAM. THE AIRCRAFT ARE FLYING OUT OF THESE AIRFIELDS FROM RED CHINA AND I UNDERSTAND THAT THE COMMANDANT CONTROL STRUCTURE, THE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM, IS NOW INTEGRATED BETWEEN RED CHINA AND NORTH VIETNAM. NOW SENATOR KENNEDY ARGUES THAT WHAT HAPPENS IF AIRCRAFT FLYING OUT OF THESE RED CHINESE BASES SHOULD ATTACK OUR AIRCRAFT FLYING OVER NORTH VIETNAM, AND UNDER THE DOCTRINE OF HOT PURSUIT, AND WE HAVE SAID TIME AND AGAIN THERE IS NO SANCTUARY ANY MORE, WHAT HAPPENS IF WE THEN STRIKE THOSE AIR BASES AS WE HAVE TO DO IF WE'RE GOING TO FOLLOW THIS HOT PURSUIT POLICY, THEN THE RED CHINESE COME BACK AND PERHAPS STRIKE THE TONSANUT (SP) AIRPORT IN SAIGON? ISN'T THAT AN ESCALATION? IS THERE NO END TO THIS? WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THIS ESCALATION TIT FOR TAT?

FORD: I THINK THERE IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY IN THIS AREA THAT YOU'VE BEEN DESCRIBING THERE COULD BE SOME ADDITIONAL CONFLICT DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE RED CHINESE AND OURSELVES, PARTICULARLY WHEN SECRETARY RUSK SAID SIX OR NINE MONTHS AGO, THERE WOULD BE NO SANCTUARY IF ANOTHER NATION, AND HE CERTAINLY IMPLIED RED CHINA GOT INTO THIS THING IN A VERY ACTIVE AND A VERY LARGE WAY,

ROGERS: NOW IF THAT'S THE COURSE WE'RE ON, ARE WE GOING TO BE CAUGHT WILLY-NILLY ON THIS THING AND ROLL DOWN HILL SO TO SPEAK, WHAT ELSE CAN WE DO....HOW DO WE REVERSE THIS THING?



CTIVE

PAGE SIX

FORD: I THINK YOU HAVE TO LOOK AT IT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE INDIVIDUAL PILOT OR CREW. THE PRESIDENT, AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, HAS DECIDED TO SEND THESE PILOTS TO VIETNAM TO DO A JOB ON OUR BEHALF. WE'VE GIVEN THEM GOOD WEAPONS, AND THEIR MILITARY LEADERS HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY HAVE THIS PARTICULAR MISSION OR RESPONSIBILITY. NOW, IF IT'S IMPORTANT FOR THEIR OWN LIFE PROTECTION, WE HAVE TO GIVE THEM SOME FLEXIBILITY IN MY JUDGEMENT.

BRUBAKER: ARE YOU SAYING THIS ISN'T A MATTER TO BE DECIDED HERE IN WASHINGTON...THE DANGER OF ESCALATING THE WAR?

FORD: I THINK THE OVERALL, YES. THE PRESIDENT, THE SEC. OF DEFENSE, AND THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF ASSIGN CERTAIN MISSIONS, THEN THEY HAVE TO BEAR THE BASIC RESPONSIBILITY OF WHAT THOSE PILOTS HAVE TO DO FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR OWN LIVES.

BRUBAKER: OTHER THAN VIETNAM, WHAT ARE THE OTHER ISSUES AS YOU SEE THEM CONGRESSMAN FORD?

FORD: ALL OF THE INDICATORS PROVE BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THE INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING UNDER THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION WILL BE THE MAJOR DOMESTIC ISSUE IN 1966.

BRUBAKER: ISN'T THE ADMINISTRATION TAKING ANY STEPS TO PREVENT INFLATION? IT SAYS SO.

FORD: PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID HE'S TAKING SOME STEPS. HE'S REPRIMANDING HOUSEWIVES...HE'S Clobbering BUSINESSMEN, AND HE IS HITTING, TO SOME EXTENT, LABOR LEADERS WHO ARE DEMANDING WAGES ABOVE HIS GUIDELINES, BUT THE PRESIDENT IS DOING ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO HIT THE BASIC CAUSE, ONE OF THE PRIME CAUSES OF INFLATION, WHICH IS THE EXCESSIVE SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOV'T ON THE NON-MILITARY AREAS. IT SEEMS TO ME THE PRESIDENT'S CONDEMNATION OF OTHER PEOPLE, AND OTHER SEGMENTS OF OUR POPULATION WOULD BE IN BETTER TASTE IF HE WOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE AREA WHERE HE HAS COMPLETE CONTROL - THE EXCESSIVE SPENDING OF THE FEDERAL GOV'T.

PAGE SEVEN

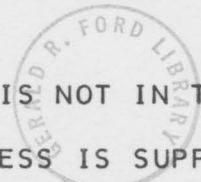
BRUBAKER: MR. FORD, THIS IS ONE POINT THAT SOME DON'T UNDERSTAND...

DESPITE THE REPUBLICANS DEMAND FOR A REDUCTION IN SPENDING EARLY LAST WEEK WHEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HAD RECOMMENDED A CUT IN THE SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS, REPUBLICANS REFUSED TO GO ALONG. WHY?

FORD: THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE. THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM IS FOR THE HEALTH OF THE POOR PEOPLE IN THE CITIES OF THIS COUNTRY. THE MILK PROGRAM IS ALSO FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POOR PEOPLE IN THE LARGER METROPOLITAN AREAS. THE LAND GRANT COLLEGE PROGRAM, THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROGRAM.... THESE WERE PROGRAMS THAT OVER A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS HAVE PROVEN TO BE BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE AND TO THOSE LEAST ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES. IT WAS JUST POOR POLITICS ON THE PART OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO CUT THESE ESTABLISHED PROGRAMS THAT HAD DONE A JOB, AND THEN TAKE THAT MONEY AND THROW IT INTO THESE GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS WHICH ARE UNPROVEN, WHICH HAVE NOT WORKED, WHICH ARE COSTLY AND WHICH IN MANY INSTANCES, ARE NOT HELPING THE POOR. WE JUST THINK THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES USED ITS OWN JUDGEMENT, AS IT SHOULD, TO HELP THOSE PROGRAMS THAT HAVE PROVEN BENEFICIAL RATHER THAN GAMBLE ON SOME OF THESE GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS WHERE THE POOR AND OTHERS HAVE NOT REALLY GOT ANY HELP AND ASSISTANCE.

ROGERS: TO GO BACK TO AN EARLIER TOPIC, AS ONE OF THE CHIEF CRITICS OF SEC. MACNAMARA, YOU HAVE ACCUSED HIM OF MISMANAGEMENT AND ONE THING OR ANOTHER, YET, AT THE SAME TIME, WHEN SOMEBODY ASKED YOU IF YOU THOUGHT HE OUGHT TO BE GOTTEN RID OF, YOU SAID "NO, YOU SHOULDN'T CHANGE HORSES IN MID-STREAM. NOW, ISN'T THIS A PRETTY GOOD SLOGAN FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE DEMOCRATS TO USE IN THE UP-COMING ELECTION WITH RESPECT TO ALL OF CONGRESS?

FORD: I THINK IT'S DIFFERENT WARREN, BECAUSE THE CONGRESS IS NOT IN THE DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, THE CONGRESS IS SUPPOSED TO BE INDEPENDENT BODY THAT CHECKS AND BALANCES THE ACTIONS OF THE



PAGE EIGHT

EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOV'T. THE CONGRESS IS SUPPOSED TO PASS LAWS, TO INVESTIGATE AND TO KEEP THE PRESIDENT FROM GETTING AND USING TOO MUCH POWER. THE CONGRESS IN 1965 AND 1966, A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, HAS BEEN PRETTY MUCH A PAWN OR A PUPPET IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITE HOUSE SO I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IF THEY WANT A REAL CHECKREIN BROUGHT ABOUT THE EXCESSIVE USE OF THE TREMENDOUS USE OF POWER IN THE WHITE HOUSE THEY HAD BETTER ELECT MORE REPUBLICAN SENATORS TO CONGRESS.

ROGERS; YOU'RE THE LEADER IN THE HOUSE, SENATOR DIRKSEN IS THE LEADER IN THE SENATE; DESPITE WHAT YOU SAY, WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, I THINK YOU DON'T AGREE ON VIETNAM, I THINK THAT WHAT WE SEE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOW, WHICH IS ASKING THE PEOPLE TO GIVE IT CONTROL OF CONGRESS, THAT WHAT WE SEE IS THE OLD BUSINESS OF BEING SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE AND FIGHTING FOR HARMONY AS NEAR AS I CAN TELL. YOU DON'T HAVE A SINGLE LEADERSHIP OF LEFT, RIGHT, MIDDLE, IT SEEMS TO ME THERE IS A GREAT DISPARITY AMONG REPUBLICANS. AS A MINORITY PARTY, HOW ARE YOU GOING TO PULL THIS GREAT THING TOGETHER, AND GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE AND CONVINCED THEM THAT THEY SHOULD GIVE YOU CONGRESS?

FORD: FIRST, LET ME SAY THAT WE, SENATOR DIRKSEN AND I, WERE THE PRINCIPAL SPONSORS OF WHAT WE CALL THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WHICH IS COMPOSED OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE, CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY, AND THIS REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE HAS DONE A WONDERFUL JOB OF PULLING THE PARTY TOGETHER, WHERE WE'VE HAD SOME GOOD STATEMENTS ON THE CONFLICT ON VIETNAM, ON INFLATION AND RELATED MATTERS. LET ME TURN THE POINT OVER, THERE IS A MINIMUM OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE AND ELSEWHERE. CONTRAST THAT IF YOU WILL WITH THE DISUNITY, AND THE DISARRAY, AND THE BITTER BACK-BITING IN THE SENATE AMONG DEMOCRATS. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE SENATE IS TORN ASUNDER WITH DISUNITY AND IT'S IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT THAT THEY ARE DISUNIFIED ON THE BASIC ISSUE OF HOW TO ACHIEVE THE PEACE AND MAINTAIN

NATIONAL SECURITY AND I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL WANT A MAJORITY PARTY IN THE CONGRESS THAT IS SPLIT ALL OVER THE LOT ON THIS ISSUE OF PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY.

BRUBAKER: SPEAKING OF PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY, THERE WERE REPORTS EARLIER THIS WEEK THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN URGING WEST GERMANY TO ABANDON EVEN NOMINAL CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS - SAY A MULTI-LATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE. IS THERE ANY SUBSTANCE TO THE REPORT AND CAN THIS KIND OF THING BE AN ISSUE FOR THE REPUBLICANS?

FORD: THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF NATO IS A VERY SERIOUS ONE TO THE NATION AND TO THE WESTERN WORLD. I PERSONALLY DON'T HAVE ANY KNOWLEDGE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE ADMINISTRATION IS GOING TO TOTALLY BACK OFF OF THE MLF...THEY CERTAINLY HAVE NOT BEEN VERY ACTIVE IN PROMOTING IT, NOT AS ACTIVE AS THEY WERE A FEW MONTHS OR A YEAR AGO. I HAVE THE FEELING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONFOUNDED BY THE MULTITUDE OF PROBLEMS IN NATO AND THEY REALLY AREN'T DOING VERY MUCH ABOUT IT, AND TRAGICALLY, THIS IS HURTING NATO AND IT'S HURTING OUR EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE KIND OF STRENGTH WE NEED AGAINST POSSIBLE SOVIET AGGRESSION IN WESTERN EUROPE.

BRUBAKER: WHAT DIRECTION SHOULD REPUBLICANS TAKE? SHOULD THEY DO MORE TO ACCOMMODATE DE GAULLE FOR EXAMPLE?

FORD: IT SEEMS TO ME YOU SHOULDN'T POINT A FINGER AT DE GAULLE AND BLAME HIM FOR EVERYTHING AS SOME PEOPLE APPARENTLY DO. I'M SURE THAT OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS, WE HAVEN'T DONE AS MUCH AS WE SHOULD TO TRY TO KEEP DE GAULLE WITH US, AND NOW WE FIND THAT THERE IS A TENDENCY ON THE PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO BLAME ALL THE EVILS OF NATO ON DE GAULLE. THERE MUST BE SOME WAY THAT WE CAN FIND A FORMULA TO BRING FRANCE AND DE GAULLE INTO THE NATO OPERATION SO THAT IT'S NOT TORN ASUNDER...SO THAT WE DON'T HAVE TO SPEND TWO BILLION DOLLARS MORE TO BUILD THESE ADDITIONAL MILITARY FACILITIES TO GIVE OUR FORCES THE KIND OF OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY THEY NEED.

PAGE TEN

ROGERS: A MOMENT AGO YOU TALKED ABOUT THE DEMOCRATS BEING DISCOMBOBULATED AMONG THEMSELVES...HOW DO YOU PLAN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS AND HOW MANY SEATS DO YOU THINK YOU'LL PICK UP IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION?

FORD: SENATOR THRUSTON MORTON IS BY FAR A BETTER WITNESS ON HOW MANY SEATS WE'LL PICK UP . HE ESTIMATES BETWEEN FOUR AND SIX AND I THINK HE IS THE BEST ONE TO ANSWER WHAT STRATEGY THEY WILL USE IN TRYING TO ACHEIVE. THIS.

ROGERS:LET ME ASK ;YOU ABOUT THE HOUSE THEN...NORMALLY IN AN OFF YEAR ELECTION, THE OUT-OF-POWER PARTY PICKS UP ABOUT 37 SEATS..THAT'S ABOUT AVERAGE. WIL L YOU BE ABLE TO HIT THIS AVERAGE...DO YOU THINK YOU'LL GET MORE OR LESS?

FORD: WARREN, I THINK WE'LL PICK UP 40 OR MORE HOUSE SEATS FOR THE REPUBLICANS. SENATOR DIRKSEN SAYS 50 OR MORE. WE DISAGREE IN THIS AREA. I HOPE THAT HIS ESTIMATE IN THIS CASE IS MORE ACCURATE THAN MINE. I'M WILLING TO ADMIT THAT THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS THAT WE CAN PICK UP 50 SEATS THROUGHOUTTHE U.S.



FOR RELEASE SUNDAY 5/1/66 A.M.
TELECAST 5/1/66 10:30 P.M.

OPINION IN THE CAPITAL

A METROMEDIA TELEVISION PRESENTATION

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER
MARK EVANS

PRODUCER
FLORENCE LOWE

DIRECTOR
MICHAEL SEAGLY

GUEST: REP. GERALD FORD (R) MICHIGAN
HOST: HERB BRUBAKER UNITED PRESS RADIO
REPORTER: WARREN ROGERS LOOK MAGAZINE - WASHINGTON BUREAU
EDITOR

THIS PROGRAM IS ALSO TELECAST ON THE FOLLOWING STATIONS:

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RADIO

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KCSD	KANSAS CITY, MO	KMBC	KANSAS CITY, MO.
KMBC	KANSAS CITY, MO.	WCBM	BALTIMORE, MD.
KQED	SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.	WHK	CLEVELAND, OHIO
KUED	SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH	WIP	PHILA. PA.
KTTV	LOS ANGELES, CALIF.	WNEW	NEW YORK, N.Y.
WCBB	LEWISTON, ME.		ARMED FORCES RADIO NETWORK
WEDH	HARTFORD, CONN.		
WGBH	BOSTON, MASS.		
WMEB	ORONO, ME.		
WMED	CALAIS, ME.		
WHYY	PHILA. PA.		
WMEM	PRESQUE ISLE, ME.		
WMHT	SCHENECTADY, N.Y.		
WNED	BUFFALO, N.Y.		
WQED	PITTSBURGH, PA.		
WTTG	WASHINGTON, D.C.		
WIRL	PEORIA, ILL.		
WTVP	DECATUR, ILL.		

PLEASE CRÉDIT METROMEDIA IN ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS PROGRAM



TEAM

BRUBAKER: CONGRESSMAN FORD, AS REPUBLICAN LEADER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT VIETNAM WILL BE THE NUMBER ONE POLITICAL ISSUE IN THIS ELECTION YEAR?

FORD: IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE PROBLEMS IN VIETNAM WILL BE MADE THE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BETWEEN NOW AND NOVEMBER 8TH. I FEEL THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF UNCERTAINTY ^{and} DISSATISFACTION, ~~AND~~ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED. AS A RESULT, IT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE THE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT.

ROGERS: MR. FORD, YOU SAY YOU BELIEVE THE VOTERS WILL MAKE VIETNAM THE MAJOR ISSUE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION CAMPAIGN. LET ME ASK YOU, DO YOU THINK THAT WHETHER THE REPUBLICANS WIN LARGE NUMBERS OF SEATS OR NOT, WHETHER THIS DEPENDS PRIMARILY UPON THE ISSUE OF VIETNAM?

FORD: NO, I DON'T THINK THE VOTERS DECISIONS ON THE PROS AND CONS, THE MANAGEMENT OR MISMANAGEMENT, OF THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM WILL BE THE DECIDING FACTOR. THERE ARE ENOUGH OTHER ISSUES WARREN, THAT WILL CONCERN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE; THE INCREASE IN THE COST OF LIVING UNDER THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION, THE LACK OF CREDIBILITY IN MANY AREAS, THE NEED ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC TO RESTORE TWO-PARTY GOV'T IN AMERICA, THE OTHER AREAS OF MISMANAGEMENT AND LACK OF PROPER ADMINISTRATION... THESE ARE THINGS THAT WILL ALSO HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE AMERICAN VOTERS.

ROGERS: LET ME ASK YOU A CRYSTAL BALL QUESTION...WHAT DO YOU THINK IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN VIETNAM BETWEEN NOW AND THE ELECTION?

FORD: WARREN, I WISH, AS AN AMERICAN, I COULD GIVE YOU AN ANSWER... AN ANSWER THAT WOULD MEAN THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE ACHIEVED AN HONORABLE PEACE, A PERMANENT SOLUTION, WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL TO WITHDRAW, YET LEAVE OUR OVERALL POSITION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ONE OF STRENGTH. THIS IS WHAT I HOPE. I BELIEVE THAT OUR AMERICAN POLICY,

PAGE TWO

BOTH MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC MUST BE AIMED AT THAT OBJECTIVE.

ROGERS: YOU'VE BEEN VERY CRITICAL OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE WAR. YOU'VE TALKED ABOUT SHORTAGES, ETC., BLAMED MR. MACNAMARA FOR DOING WHAT YOU CONSIDER AN INADEQUATE JOB. GIVEN THIS CRITICISM, WHICH YOU OBVIOUSLY BELIEVE, HOW CAN WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE ANY SORT OF SUCCESS TO THE POINT WHERE WE COULD WITHDRAW FROM VIETNAM?

FORD: EVEN THOUGH I THINK THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE OF WHAT I HAVE DESCRIBED AS MISMANAGEMENT, SENATOR DIRKSEN HAS DESCRIBED IT SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY, BUT THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR QUESTIONS OR OUR ALLEGATIONS ARE THE SAME. DESPITE THESE MISTAKES IN JUDGEMENT, WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE FACT THAT SECRETARY MACNAMARA HAS HAD OVER 50 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, AND WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE FACT THAT WE HAVE ALL THE OTHER POWER IN THE ARMY, THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE, WE'RE BOUND TO BE SUCCESSFUL IF THE PROPER MILITARY MEANS ARE USED.

ROGERS: SINCE YOU BEGAN YOUR CRITICISM, SECRETARY MACNAMARA HAS COME BACK AS HE ALWAYS DOES IN A DEBATE, WITH THOUSANDS UPON THOUSANDS OF STATISTICS. HE TALKS ABOUT BILLIONS OF BULLETS BEING AVAILABLE...

FORD: MOST OF THEM IRRELEVANT TO THE G.I. OUT IN THE FIELD.....

ROGERS: NOW ARE YOU STILL FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT HE IS MISMANAGING THIS WAR AND THE RESULTANT SHORTAGES? HAS HIS ARGUMENT IN ANY WAY SWAYED YOU FROM YOUR ORIGINAL CRITICISM?

FORD: THE SNOW JOB THAT SECRETARY MACNAMARA GIVES TO THE CONGRESS AND OTHERS WHEN HE'S QUESTIONED, ...THIS TACTIC ON HIS PART HAS NOT CONVINCED ME THAT THERE ARE NOT AREAS WHERE A BETTER JOB COULD BE DONE. THE FINE REPORTER IN SAIGON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES MADE ALLEGATIONS OF MISMANAGEMENT WHEN HE SAID THERE WERE BOMB FUSE SHORTAGES. THE NEW YORK TIMES WAS APPARENTLY CONVINCED OF THE ACCURACY OF THIS BECAUSE THEY WROTE AN EDITORIAL SUPPORTING THEIR REPORTER AND CONTRADICTED

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I JUST HOPE THEY'RE CORRECTIVE ^{ed} BECAUSE THIS INVOLVES ^{the} LIVES OF 240,000 AMERICANS WHO PRESIDENT JOHNSON SENT TO VIETNAM LAST YEAR.

BRUBAKER: WHY HASN'T SENATOR DIRKSEN ASKED FOR YOUR INFORMATION ON THESE MISMANAGEMENT CHARGES? WHY DOES HE CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT HE'LL RELY ON THE SENATE'S INFORMATION? WHY ISN'T THERE REPUBLICAN UNITY OF THOUGHT?

FORD: I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT SENATOR DIRKSEN AND MYSELF HAVE DISCUSSED THIS MATTER ALONG WITH OTHER REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND IT'S MY FEELING THAT EVEN THOUGH HE USES DIFFERENT WORDS, AND I WISH I COULD HAVE THE FLOW OF LANGUAGE THAT HE HAS, THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR ALLEGATIONS AND QUESTIONS ARE EXACTLY THE SAME. AS HE SAID A WEEK OR SO AGO, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE, WHERE, I SUSPECT, BOTH OF YOU WERE THERE, HE IN EFFECT, JOINED WITH ME, AND I STAYED WITH HIM.

BRUBAKER: WHEN YOU WENT BACK HOME DURING THE EASTER RECESS YOU MUST DETECTED GROWING UNREST AMONG THE PEOPLE ON VIETNAM POLICIES.

FORD: I THINK THAT'S AN ACCURATE APPRAISAL OF MY OBSERVATIONS IN TALKING WITH PEOPLE AT HOME DURING THE RECESS . WHEN YOU TALK TO EITHER DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS, WHO WERE HOME AT THAT TIME, AND YOU ASK THEM WHAT THE QUESTIONS WERE THAT THEY WERE ASKED BY THEIR CONSTITUENTS, ALL OF THEM, OR VIRTUALLY ALL, WERE CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS OF VIETNAM.

BRUBAKER: ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THIS ISSUE, SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY FEARS GROWING ESCALATION OF THE WAR BECAUSE OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF MIG 21'S ^w DOG FIGHTS OVER NORTH VIETNAM. DO YOU HAVE ANY EVIDENCE THAT COMMUNIST CHINA'S AIRCRAFT HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN THESE AIR BATTLES AND DO YOU FEAR THE POSSIBILITY OF A DIRECT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND COMMUNIST CHINA?

FORD: THERE APPEARS TO BE EVIDENCE OF COMMUNIST AIRCRAFT. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THEY ARE CHINESE BUILT OR SOVIET BUILT. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THE PILOTS HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN THE SOVIET UNION OR RED CHINA. THEY ARE

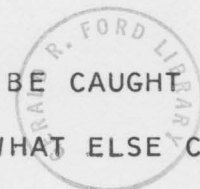
PAGE FIVE

CERTAINLY AIRCRAFT THAT NORTH VIETNAM COULDN'T BUILD. CERTAINLY THE PILOTS COULDN'T HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN NORTH VIETNAM. SO THERE IS SOME INVOLVEMENT FROM EITHER THE SOVIET UNION OR RED CHINA. A VAST MAJORITY OF GOV'T EXPERTS DO THINK THERE IS NOT A GREAT PROBABILITY THAT RED CHINA WOULD NOT GET INVOLVED IN THIS CONFLICT DIRECTLY. THIS IS WHAT WE'RE TOLD BY PEOPLE WHO TESTIFY BEFORE THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES.

ROGERS: SINCE THE GULF OF TONKIN INCIDENT A YEAR AND A HALF AGO, THE RED CHINESE HAVE BUILT FIVE OR SIX NEW AIRFIELDS ON THE PERIMETER OF NORTH VIETNAM. THE AIRCRAFT ARE FLYING OUT OF THESE AIRFIELDS FROM RED CHINA AND I UNDERSTAND THAT THE COMMANDANT CONTROL STRUCTURE, THE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM, IS NOW INTEGRATED BETWEEN RED CHINA AND NORTH VIETNAM. NOW SENATOR KENNEDY ARGUES THAT WHAT HAPPENS IF AIRCRAFT FLYING OUT OF THESE RED CHINESE BASES SHOULD ATTACK OUR AIRCRAFT FLYING OVER NORTH VIETNAM, AND UNDER THE DOCTRINE OF HOT PURSUIT, AND WE HAVE SAID TIME AND AGAIN THERE IS NO SANCTUARY ANY MORE, WHAT HAPPENS IF WE THEN STRIKE THOSE AIR BASES AS WE HAVE TO DO IF WE'RE GOING TO FOLLOW THIS HOT PURSUIT POLICY, THEN THE RED CHINESE COME BACK AND PERHAPS STRIKE THE TONSANUT (SP) AIRPORT IN SAIGON? ISN'T THAT AN ESCALATION? IS THERE NO END TO THIS? WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THIS ESCALATION TIT FOR TAT?

FORD: I THINK THERE IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY IN THIS AREA THAT YOU'VE BEEN DESCRIBING THERE COULD BE SOME ADDITIONAL CONFLICT DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE RED CHINESE AND OURSELVES, PARTICULARLY WHEN SECRETARY RUSK SAID SIX OR NINE MONTHS AGO, THERE WOULD BE NO SANCTUARY IF ANOTHER NATION, AND HE CERTAINLY IMPLIED RED CHINA GOT INTO THIS THING IN A VERY ACTIVE AND A VERY LARGE WAY,

ROGERS: NOW IF THAT'S THE COURSE WE'RE ON, ARE WE GOING TO BE CAUGHT WILLY-NILLY ON THIS THING AND ROLL DOWN HILL SO TO SPEAK, WHAT ELSE CAN WE DO....HOW DO WE REVERSE THIS THING?



P. FIVE

PAGE SIX

FORD: I THINK YOU HAVE TO LOOK AT IT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE INDIVIDUAL PILOT OR CREW. THE PRESIDENT, AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, HAS DECIDED TO SEND THESE PILOTS TO VIETNAM TO DO A JOB ON OUR BEHALF. WE'VE GIVEN THEM GOOD WEAPONS, AND THEIR MILITARY LEADERS HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY HAVE THIS PARTICULAR MISSION OR RESPONSIBILITY. NOW, IF IT'S IMPORTANT FOR THEIR OWN LIFE PROTECTION, WE HAVE TO GIVE THEM SOME FLEXIBILITY IN MY JUDGEMENT.

BRUBAKER: ARE YOU SAYING THIS ISN'T A MATTER TO BE DECIDED HERE IN WASHINGTON...THE DANGER OF ESCALATING THE WAR?

FORD: I THINK THE OVERALL, YES. THE PRESIDENT, THE SEC. OF DEFENSE, AND THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF ASSIGN CERTAIN MISSIONS, THEN THEY HAVE TO BEAR THE BASIC RESPONSIBILITY OF WHAT THOSE PILOTS HAVE TO DO FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR OWN LIVES.

BRUBAKER: OTHER THAN VIETNAM, WHAT ARE THE OTHER ISSUES AS YOU SEE THEM, CONGRESSMAN FORD?

FORD: ALL OF THE INDICATORS PROVE BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THE INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING UNDER THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION WILL BE THE MAJOR DOMESTIC ISSUE IN 1966.

BRUBAKER: ISN'T THE ADMINISTRATION TAKING ANY STEPS TO PREVENT INFLATION? IT SAYS SO.

FORD: PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID HE'S TAKING SOME STEPS. HE'S REPRIMANDING HOUSEWIVES...HE'S CLOBBERING BUSINESSMEN, AND HE IS HITTING, TO SOME EXTENT, LABOR LEADERS WHO ARE DEMANDING WAGES ABOVE HIS GUIDELINES, BUT THE PRESIDENT IS DOING ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO HIT THE BASIC CAUSE, ONE OF THE PRIME CAUSES OF INFLATION, WHICH IS THE EXCESSIVE SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOV'T ON THE NON-MILITARY AREAS. IT SEEMS TO ME THE PRESIDENT'S CONDEMNATION OF OTHER PEOPLE, AND OTHER SEGMENTS OF OUR POPULATION WOULD BE IN BETTER TASTE IF HE WOULD DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE AREA WHERE HE HAS COMPLETE CONTROL - THE EXCESSIVE SPENDING OF THE FEDERAL GOV'T.

PAGE SEVEN

BRUBAKER: MR. FORD, THIS IS ONE POINT THAT SOME DON'T UNDERSTAND...
DESPITE THE REPUBLICANS DEMAND FOR A REDUCTION IN SPENDING EARLY LAST
WEEK WHEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HAD
RECOMMENDED A CUT IN THE SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL
PROGRAMS, REPUBLICANS REFUSED TO GO ALONG. WHY?

FORD: THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE. THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM IS FOR THE HEALTH
OF THE POOR PEOPLE IN THE CITIES OF THIS COUNTRY. THE MILK PROGRAM IS
ALSO FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POOR PEOPLE IN THE LARGER METROPOLITAN AREAS.
THE LAND GRANT COLLEGE PROGRAM, THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROGRAM....
THESE WERE PROGRAMS THAT OVER A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS HAVE PROVEN TO BE
BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE AND TO THOSE LEAST ABLE TO TAKE CARE
OF THEMSELVES. IT WAS JUST POOR POLITICS ON THE PART OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON
TO CUT THESE ESTABLISHED PROGRAMS THAT HAD DONE A JOB, AND THEN TAKE THAT
MONEY AND THROW IT INTO THESE GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS WHICH ARE UNPROVEN,
WHICH HAVE NOT WORKED, WHICH ARE COSTLY AND WHICH IN MANY INSTANCES, ARE
NOT HELPING THE POOR. WE JUST THINK THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES USED ITS
OWN JUDGEMENT, AS IT SHOULD, TO HELP THOSE PROGRAMS THAT HAVE PROVEN
BENEFICIAL RATHER THAN GAMBLE ON SOME OF THESE GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS
WHERE THE POOR AND OTHERS HAVE NOT REALLY GOT ANY HELP AND ASSISTANCE.

ROGERS: TO GO BACK TO AN EARLIER TOPIC, AS ONE OF THE CHIEF CRITICS OF
SEC. MACNAMARA, YOU HAVE ACCUSED HIM OF MISMANAGEMENT AND ONE THING OR
ANOTHER, YET, AT THE SAME TIME, WHEN SOMEBODY ASKED YOU IF YOU THOUGHT HE
OUGHT TO BE GOTTEN RID OF, YOU SAID "NO, YOU SHOULDN'T CHANGE HORSES IN
MID-STREAM. NOW, ISN'T THIS A PRETTY GOOD SLOGAN FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON
AND THE DEMOCRATS TO USE IN THE UP-COMING ELECTION WITH RESPECT TO ALL
OF CONGRESS?

FORD: I THINK IT'S DIFFERENT WARREN, BECAUSE THE CONGRESS IS NOT IN THE
DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, THE CONGRESS IS SUPPOSED
TO BE INDEPENDENT BODY THAT CHECKS AND BALANCES THE ACTIONS OF THE

PAGE EIGHT

EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOV'T. THE CONGRESS IS SUPPOSED TO PASS LAWS, TO INVESTIGATE AND TO KEEP THE PRESIDENT FROM GETTING AND USING TOO MUCH POWER. THE CONGRESS IN 1965 AND 1966, A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, HAS BEEN PRETTY MUCH A PAWN OR A PUPPET IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITE HOUSE SO I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, IF THEY WANT A REAL CHECKREIN BROUGHT ABOUT THE EXCESSIVE USE OF THE TREMENDOUS USE OF POWER IN THE WHITE HOUSE THEY HAD BETTER ELECT MORE REPUBLICAN SENATORS TO CONGRESS.

ROGERS; YOU'RE THE LEADER IN THE HOUSE, SENATOR DIRKSEN IS THE LEADER IN THE SENATE; DESPITE WHAT YOU SAY, WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, I THINK YOU DON'T AGREE ON VIETNAM, I THINK THAT WHAT WE SEE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOW, WHICH IS ASKING THE PEOPLE TO GIVE IT CONTROL OF CONGRESS, THAT WHAT WE SEE IS THE OLD BUSINESS OF BEING SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE AND FIGHTING FOR HARMONY AS NEAR AS I CAN TELL. YOU DON'T HAVE A SINGLE LEADERSHIP OF LEFT, RIGHT, MIDDLE, IT SEEMS TO ME THERE IS A GREAT DISPARITY AMONG REPUBLICANS. AS A MINORITY PARTY, HOW ARE YOU GOING TO PULL THIS GREAT THING TOGETHER, AND GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE AND CONVINCED THEM THAT THEY SHOULD GIVE YOU CONGRESS?

FORD: FIRST, LET ME SAY THAT WE, SENATOR DIRKSEN AND I, WERE THE PRINCIPAL SPONSORS OF WHAT WE CALL THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WHICH IS COMPOSED OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE, CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY, AND THIS REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE HAS DONE A WONDERFUL JOB OF PULLING THE PARTY TOGETHER, WHERE WE'VE HAD SOME GOOD STATEMENTS ON THE CONFLICT ON VIETNAM, ON INFLATION AND RELATED MATTERS.

LET ME TURN THE POINT OVER, THERE IS A MINIMUM OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE AND ELSEWHERE. CONTRAST THAT IF YOU WILL WITH THE DISUNITY, AND THE DISARRAY, AND THE BITTER BACK-BITING IN THE SENATE AMONG DEMOCRATS. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE SENATE IS TORN ASUNDER WITH DISUNITY AND IT'S IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT THAT THEY ARE DISUNIFIED ON THE BASIC ISSUE OF HOW TO ACHIEVE THE PEACE AND MAINTAIN

NATIONAL SECURITY AND I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL WANT A MAJORITY PARTY IN THE CONGRESS THAT IS SPLIT ALL OVER THE LOT ON THIS ISSUE OF PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY.

BRUBAKER: SPEAKING OF PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY, THERE WERE REPORTS EARLIER THIS WEEK THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN URGING WEST GERMANY TO ABANDON EVEN NOMINAL CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS - SAY A MULTI-LATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE. IS THERE ANY SUBSTANCE TO THE REPORT AND CAN THIS KIND OF THING BE AN ISSUE FOR THE REPUBLICANS?

FORD: THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF NATO IS A VERY SERIOUS ONE TO THE NATION AND TO THE WESTERN WORLD. I PERSONALLY DON'T HAVE ANY KNOWLEDGE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE ADMINISTRATION IS GOING TO TOTALLY BACK OFF OF THE MLF...THEY CERTAINLY HAVE NOT BEEN VERY ACTIVE IN PROMOTING IT, NOT AS ACTIVE AS THEY WERE A FEW MONTHS OR A YEAR AGO. I HAVE THE FEELING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONFOUNDED BY THE MULTITUDE OF PROBLEMS IN NATO AND THEY REALLY AREN'T DOING VERY MUCH ABOUT IT, AND TRAGICALLY, THIS IS HURTING NATO AND IT'S HURTING OUR EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE KIND OF STRENGTH WE NEED AGAINST POSSIBLE SOVIET AGGRESSION IN WESTERN EUROPE.

BRUBAKER: WHAT DIRECTION SHOULD REPUBLICANS TAKE? SHOULD THEY DO MORE TO ACCOMMODATE DE GAULLE FOR EXAMPLE?

FORD: IT SEEMS TO ME YOU SHOULDN'T POINT A FINGER AT DE GAULLE AND BLAME HIM FOR EVERYTHING AS SOME PEOPLE APPARENTLY DO. I'M SURE THAT OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS, WE HAVEN'T DONE AS MUCH AS WE SHOULD TO TRY TO KEEP DE GAULLE WITH US, AND NOW WE FIND THAT THERE IS A TENDENCY ON THE PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO BLAME ALL THE EVILS OF NATO ON DE GAULLE. THERE MUST BE SOME WAY THAT WE CAN FIND A FORMULA TO BRING FRANCE AND DE GAULLE INTO THE NATO OPERATION SO THAT IT'S NOT TORN ASUNDER...SO THAT WE DON'T HAVE TO SPEND TWO BILLION DOLLARS MORE TO BUILD THESE ADDITIONAL MILITARY FACILITIES TO GIVE OUR FORCES THE KIND OF OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY THEY NEED.

PAGE TEN

ROGERS: A MOMENT AGO YOU TALKED ABOUT THE DEMOCRATS BEING DISCOMBOBULATED AMONG THEMSELVES...HOW DO YOU PLAN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS AND HOW MANY SEATS DO YOU THINK YOU'LL PICK UP IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION?

FORD: SENATOR THRUSTON MORTON IS BY FAR A BETTER WITNESS ON HOW MANY SEATS WE'LL PICK UP . HE ESTIMATES BETWEEN FOUR AND SIX AND I THINK HE IS THE BEST ONE TO ANSWER WHAT STRATEGY THEY WILL USE IN TRYING TO ACHEIVE. THIS.

ROGERS:LET ME ASK ;YOU ABOUT THE HOUSE THEN...NORMALLY IN AN OFF YEAR ELECTION, THE OUT-OF-POWER PARTY PICKS UP ABOUT 37 SEATS..THAT'S ABOUT AVERAGE. WIL L YOU BE ABLE TO HIT THIS AVERAGE...DO YOU THINK YOU'LL GET MORE OR LESS?

FORD: WARREN, I THINK WE'LL PICK UP 40 OR MORE HOUSE SEATS FOR THE REPUBLICANS. SENATOR DIRKSEN SAYS 50 OR MORE. WE DISAGREE IN THIS AREA. I HOPE THAT HIS ESTIMATE IN THIS CASE IS MORE ACCURATE THAN MINE. I'M WILLING TO ADMIT THAT THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS THAT WE CAN PICK UP 50 SEATS THROUGHOUTTHE U.S.



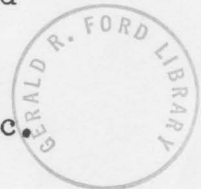
Inf. of Broadcasts

CBS NEWS SPECIAL
"The 72¢ Dollar"
as broadcast over the
CBS RADIO NETWORK
Sunday, May 15, 1966
3:30 - 4:00 PM, EDT

P. 12, 14

WRITTEN AND PRODUCED BY: Joel Heller
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Joseph Dembo

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CHARLES KURALT: This is a sound of money being made. An exhaust pipe being bolted to a car moving on an assembly line in Detroit. Soon a customer will take delivery of that 1966 model car and pay for it with 1966 model dollars. But, while the customer's car is the biggest and best in history, his dollars are the smallest. Compared with what dollars could buy in 1946, they're only worth 72 cents, and before the end of this year they may be worth even less. Americans are facing a hazard of prosperity. It's called inflation.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS NEWS: "THE 72¢ DOLLAR," a special broadcast with CBS NEWS Correspondent Charles Kuralt.

TOUR GUIDE: Off to our right, we should see a car leave the line every 54 seconds, under its own power, giving us some 66 cars an hour.

KURALT: The number of cars Detroit makes is a barometer of our times. When auto sales are good, it's usually a reflection of what's going on everywhere else. This country - like the auto business - has had five years of steady growth. We're now enjoying the greatest prosperity in our history. But that prosperity is beginning to hurt. For six years price rises were few and far between, and then about a year and a half ago prices stopped easing up at a slow and steady rate and suddenly began to climb faster. Food and medicine, transportation and housing, all started to cost more. To find out why, CBS NEWS went to Detroit to talk to a young couple whose way of life depends on that symbol of the high-horsepower economy, the automobile.



Assembly line worker Tim Mikulen and his wife Connie helped us illustrate the problems of inflation by telling their story.

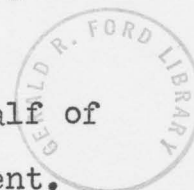
TIM MIKULEN: When I first got discharged from the service, I came out - and I was looking for a job, and couldn't find a job any place, besides menial part-time jobs - I washed walls, caddied, did odd jobs - nothing you could make a decent living at. And this went on for about 11½ months. Everybody was out of work. There were tradesmen, skilled tradesmen, plumbers, electricians, the ones out of the Big Three: General Motors, Chrysler's, Ford's. Tried the public utilities. Tried to get on the Police Department even. And that was sewed up also.

KURALT: As the nation's economy began to pick up, things began to look brighter in Detroit, especially for Tim Mikulen.

TIM MIKULEN: The last part of 1961, I went down the Ford Motor Company and they were hiring everybody. People started buying cars, and they couldn't get enough people to work then. There were - had a shortage of manpower. So things picked up pretty well for us.

KURALT: Tim's first job with the Ford Company was loading cars on railroad trains. Today he's on the assembly line, repairing the interior trim of Mustangs. He's paid \$3.08 an hour. He gets ten hours a week of overtime. But Connie, Tim's wife, says a lot of that extra money is being used up by higher prices at the supermarket.

CONNIE MIKULEN: I'd like a pound and a half of pork and a pound and half of veal... No, I want the 89 cent.



That's too expensive - \$1.09 a pound, veal cutlets. And what were they before? They were -

BUTCHER: Eighty - eighty-nine cents a pound.

CONNIE MIKULEN: Eighty-nine cents a pound. Now they're up to \$1.09 a pound. And you can't cook the cheaper stuff because it isn't as good. It shrinks anyway. So you might as well get the better one if you - you know, want something to eat.

KURALT: Back home Tim and Connie discussed what they bought.

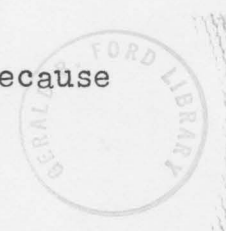
CONNIE MIKULEN: There were a few things that went up, like tomatoes, for instance, went up. Five cost \$1.06 cents. And milk went up. And hamburger went up. How much was it last week?

TIM MIKULEN: Last week, hamburger - ground chuck was fifty-seven cents a pound. And this week, in just one week's time, it went up - up to sixty-six cents a pound.

CONNIE MIKULEN: We just buy what we need and our bill still ends up around \$35.00 and \$40.00.

KURALT: Higher food prices have aggravated inflation. A cut-back in meat production a few years ago and costs went up. Last year's drought came along - and they went up further. What about the future? Nate Fink, a vice president of the Great Scot Supermarket chain where Connie shops.

FINK: We're not looking for any increased costs and we're not buying against the market, because we feel that prices are definitely on a downward trend.



KURALT: But other prices continue to rise and they're beginning to have an important effect on peoples' lives. Tim, for example, dreamed of owning his own home.

TIM MIKULEN: My wife and I - we've been living on rent now for four years, so we've been saving a dollar here, a dollar there, and last year we went out pricing homes. We don't want a new home, we're looking at older homes. So then this year we went out again, looking; we figured we had enough for a down payment anyway. And prices went up \$2,000 on the same home, in a year's time. So this puts us in a bind again, so we have to wait longer now. So we can't afford to invest into a home.

KURALT: Connie has another way of measuring inflation.

CONNIE MIKULEN: My first child, Eric, was born November 21 of 1963, and at the time the pregnancy cost \$85. My second son, Mark, was born January 6th, 1965, and he cost \$90. Now, this baby will be born around August 17th, 1966, and it'll cost \$100. Since everything else has gone up, I figured the doctor had to go up, too.

KURALT: The Director of Detroit's Hospital Council, D. Eugene Sibery:

SIBERY: The trend in hospital cost to the patient in the Greater Detroit area, during the last two years has been an upward one because of the increase in salaries to hospital employees. And as medical science advances, of necessity we're going to have to have more personnel and better-trained personnel to provide these services. And as a result the cost is going to rise.

KURALT: This month in Detroit, the National Association of Purchasing Agents held its annual convention. The Chairman of its Survey Committee, E.F. Andrews, is also a vice president of the Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corporation.

ANDREWS: After the steel strike in 1959 and the '60, '61 recession, and within that whole period of great price stability, the members reporting prices up were outnumbered by the members reporting prices unchanged, or the members reporting prices down. But in late 1964, we crossed over and those members reporting prices up began to outnumber those members reporting prices down. And that has consistently, every month, gone up, up, up. And this is why we came out in last month's report and said, quote: "Inflation is here."

KURALT: When this happens, some people get hurt, people like Connie Mikulen's mother, Mary Horeski. She's been a widow for seven years. She collects \$95.30 a month in Social Security. To keep up, she's taken a job, working through the night as a janitress in the Ford building.

MRS. HORESKI: As the prices have gone up, I find it more difficult to manage on the money that I get. I don't know, you take \$10, it seems like a dollar bill. Not enough. I cut down on the food because everything is so high, you know. I never buy butter because I can't afford it. There're just a lot of other things I can't afford, like the best of meats, you know, and - I can't afford it.

KURALT: Michigan's Democratic Senator

Philip Hart:



HART: The Social Security benefits are up-graded occasionally, but they always lag behind. And they're way behind the ratio they were when we first put them on the books. So it's the older person or anybody on a fixed income we're most concerned about now, with respect to the evils, the grim suffering that inflation can cause.

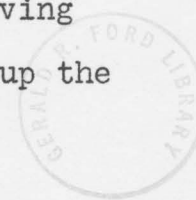
KURALT: Other people get left behind, too. At Greenfield Village, Henry Ford's Museum of the way things used to be, a schoolteacher told us the way things are now.

SCHOOLTEACHER: I'm concerned with what this inflation is doing to the people who are really dedicated and want to stay in the profession. The income stays fixed but the prices go up and there doesn't seem to be any way where you can have a balance between the two, wages and the cost of living.

KURALT: The Detroit Fire Department has its headquarters upstairs over the fire house, at the corner of Washington and Larned Streets. The Chief is Glen Thom, who wants his men to get a \$1,000 raise this year.

THOM: We in the fire service are in a predicament right now. In a time of prosperity we are probably suffering somewhat of a depression: number one in wages, and number two in our inability to recruit new employees. I think this is the first time since World War II that we've been in a position where we haven't been able to get new people into the department.

KURALT: Not only is Chief Thom having trouble getting men, but he's also watched inflation pump up the price of the new engine he wants.



THOM: A few years ago, engines cost us in the neighborhood of about \$24,000. Today they'll run up close to \$28,000 or \$29,000. One change, of course, is they're adding Diesel engines to them, which adds about \$1,000 or \$1,200 to the cost. But you can see the difference between the \$24,000 and a \$29,000 in - just in the engines.

KURALT: The war in Vietnam. Is this what's really behind inflation? To some extent it is. The military build-ups come at a time when business is booming. Unemployment is at a 12-year low. Wages and profits are the highest ever - so high, in fact, that we're buying almost as much as the economy can produce. We're buying more homes, color TV, and in spite of this week's cutbacks, more new cars than ever before.

SPEAKER: The major impact of the Vietnamese war on our own operations has been an increase in our material costs, and a shortage of skilled labor.

KURALT: The president of the Ford Motor Company, Arjay Miller:

MILLER: In my mind there's no question but that we at Ford, and industry generally, could operate at a very high level without the stimulus of military demand. A reduction of defense spending, on the other hand, in my opinion at least, would strengthen our present prosperity by reducing the inflationary pressures present at the present time.

KURALT: And so our demands for bigger and better things have had to compete with the demands of the war. The result: supplies are strained, prices have gone up. How long will that strain last? Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor:

CONNOR: We hope that after the middle of this year, we will be able to level off our defense spending and thus help to slow down total demand. But we must at first devote as much of our resources as is required to meet our obligations in that area.

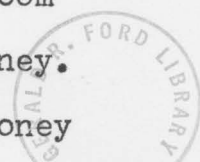
KURALT: The Korean war cost us four times as much as Vietnam. During one year of it the cost of living went up nine per cent. The current rise has been three per cent since last year, but the trend is still up; that's the worry. While this war has not yet puffed up the dollar as Korea did, it is contributing a straw that is bending the back of the economy. If the war suddenly escalates, taking away more men and material, we might be left with a lot of money to spend but with less to buy. The result, an escalation of prices.

Here's another side of inflation as seen by Detroit cab driver Alden Morris, whose own company recently raised its fares.

MORRIS: If you have the money, they'll spend it - and if you spend too much of it, even businesses and services that don't even have an excuse to raise wages, can't stand to see all the gravy go by like that without upping the prices, and getting in on the gravy train.

KURALT: Prices go up when people have enough money to demand more than can be produced. The cure for higher prices is to either raise the production or take away the money. But it's hard to raise production during war and boom when labor and materials are scarce. So, away goes the money.

When it comes to taking money away, nobody can beat the Federal Government. To fight inflation



the Federal Government can raise interest rates, raise taxes or cut down on their own spending. With less cash the customer postpones that new car. The factory owner doesn't put up the new plant. Demand goes rolling down the hill and prices come tumbling after.

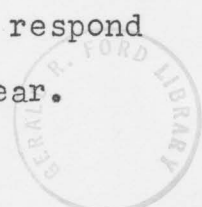
Some experts, like William McChesney Martin, head of the Federal Reserve Board, are so concerned about inflation that they favor tax increases immediately. They don't want the Government to use its last resort, the strict regulation of prices and wages.

There's another way of fighting higher prices. It's the jawbone technique in which the President asks the country to do something about inflation before he has to.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON: This year, we must sacrifice the luxury of tax reduction. We must hold the expansion of our civilian Great Society programs below what would have been possible without Vietnam. We must all exercise wage and price restraints, in Government, in business and in labor.

KURALT: As the result of the President's salesmanship Detroit trimmed its budget. Mayor Jerome Cavanagh:

CAVANAGH: There's about 15-to-20-million dollars of capital spending which I had in the budget and took out after the President's request, even though it was felt by not just the departments but by the Budget Bureau and by our office, that these had a sense of urgency to them, and were, if not essential, close to it. But I did feel that we should respond to the President's request and at least defer until next year.



KURALT: Detroit is an exception. Most of the leading cities in the country have not held back on their budgets. New York City, for example, raised its budget by more than half a billion dollars. San Diego is going ahead with a \$27-million sports stadium. Louisville, Kentucky, will put another million and a half into its new zoo. And, ironically, many cities are saying the President's own Great Society program is acting as the focal point around which they're basing their own spending.

In Detroit, the new president of the National Association of Purchasing Agents, G. Lloyd Nunnaly, who also happens to head up the buying for the Commonwealth of Virginia.

NUNNALY: I don't really see how that we can hold this line and continue to give the type of services to the non-productive, non-tax-paying public without this entire program continuing to escalate.

KURALT: At the Ford Company, a power shovel gives the styling center a face lifting. But that shovel may not be so busy in the future. President Johnson has asked business for voluntary cutbacks in expansion to take the pressure off the building and machine industries. Some companies have complied with the President's request. For example, A.T.&T. alone will not spend \$200 million it had planned for expansion this year. At the Ford Motor Company reductions are in order too. Ford president Arjay Miller:

MILLER: In response to the President's request to cut back capital expenditures, we have come to the

conclusion that we can reduce our planned expenditures by 10 per cent. We think we can do this without hurting, to any serious degree, our ability to produce vehicles. We want to continue to increase our output of vehicles because increased production is one way to meet the danger of inflation.

KURALT: While many companies will not spend as much as they planned, they're still going to spend more than ever before - and that keeps inflation rolling.

And what about Tim Mikulen?

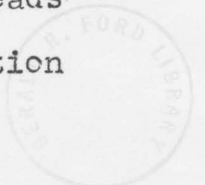
Will he cut back on his spending?

MIKULEN: Well, I think if a man could afford a color TV or a little nicer car or a nicer piece of furniture or a better-looking suit, he's working for it, I think he should be able to go out there and buy it. If I want it and I think I could afford it, I'd get it.

KURALT: A schoolteacher agrees in principle.

SCHOOLTEACHER: Well, I think President Johnson had a very good point when he pleaded with the housewife to watch what she took off the supermarket shelf and to shy away from the high cost items. But then again we are a country where we like nice things. So I don't know if you're going to change the pattern of living in a short time. I - I really don't know exactly what the answer is.

KURALT: One man who thinks he does know what the answer is is Michigan Congressman Gerald Ford, who leads the House Minority. He takes the traditional Republican position in naming the chief culprit of inflation.



FORD: We have to go back to the fundamental fact that the Federal Government is the principal cause, and you can't blame employees, you can't blame employers, you can't blame housewives. The finger should be pointed directly at those who are managing the Federal Government, and they thus far have not held the line or cut back in non-military expenditures.

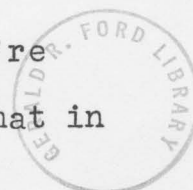
HART: Oh, my good Republican friends have made inflation an issue, all the time except when they were responsible for a depression.

KURALT: Michigan Democratic Senator
Philip Hart.

HART: Sure, it'll be a political issue; it always is. I don't think it sells many newspapers, collects many votes. Maybe it should. But I think that in the kind of world in which we live and the obscurity of economics, we're much more prone to vote a more direct issue. Even though tomatoes cost more, John's bringing home a whole lot more than he did. So, let's not rock the boat. Certainly, it'll be an issue. But that doesn't mean that it will be decisive.

KURALT: The voluntary curb-inflation-yourself program continues. The chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Gardner Ackley, joined the Johnson campaign when he told the United States Chamber of Commerce that take-home pay hasn't risen as fast as profits. Then he made a request.

ACKLEY: Is the price increase you're considering really necessary? Are there not some prices that in



the long run competition is going to force down, and that you can cut now? Are you doing your part to fight inflation?

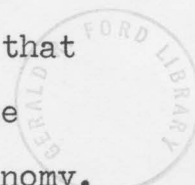
KURALT: Another recommendation of the Council of Economic Advisers has been the 3.2 guideline. It's a suggestion that wages can increase about 3.2 per cent a year without adding much to the cost of things. To many people that doesn't seem realistic. Among them is an executive of Tim's union, the United Auto Workers. Vice President Leonard Woodcock:

WOODCOCK: I don't think the guidelines as set at 3.2 per cent are realistic. First of all the arithmetic is wrong. As first set up by the Council of Economic Advisers a few years ago, it provided for a moving five-year period. And had that five-year moving period been observed, we would have, today, 3.6 not 3.2. Secondly, this is a wage and price policy only and not an income policy. And if we consider General Motors, for example, the owners of the enterprise have over the last five years obtained 21 per cent additional income through dividends on a compounded basis annually, and you can't say to one portion of the enterprise, "You must be restricted to 3.2 for the good of the nation," when another portion of the enterprise is galloping along at 21 per cent. So that my estimate is that when we come to 1967 we will not be satisfied by any stretch of the imagination by a mechanical application of 3.2 per cent.

MILLER: The figures that I see indicate that 3.2 per cent is more than adequate.

KURALT: Ford president, Arjay Miller.

MILLER: Generally, the consensus is that there's something less than three per cent, is the appropriate figure for the rate of productivity increase in the total economy.



If you go back over a period of five years only, the average is, say, 3.6, or something over three per cent. I think though that any objective person would recognize that the past five years have not been typical. It's almost been a period of uninterrupted production increases. And during the period of production increases you have an increase in productivity. You've got to go back over cycles when there're both ups and downs. And if you go through any period of time in which there's an up-and-down cycle, the rate of productivity increase is closer to 3.2 per cent and I think below.

KURALT: And on the same subject, Tim

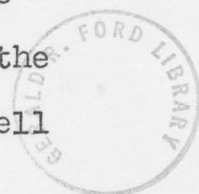
Mikulen:

MIKULEN: 3.2? No, I'd be very dissatisfied with this because it wouldn't be doing nothing for me. It's just - what - what is it - nine cents an hour or \$5.00 a week? This is nothing nowadays. That can't even buy me two good steaks.

If Mr. Reuther signed this type of contract, then he'd be selling us down the river.

KURALT: Most economists feel we're only a short way over the threshold of this inflationary period. But that's far enough for Congressman Gerald Ford.

FORD: I think the record is clear from past experiences. When you let inflation go too far, when you let the cost of living get out of hand - as it is at the present time, without some remedial action, what you in effect are doing is planting the seeds of a recession. And it seems to me that the Johnson Administration has let it go so far that there may well



be the seeds being planted for a recession which means, of course, fewer jobs and more people unemployed.

I'm not in favor of a tax increase at this point, because I honestly believe we can cut back non-military expenditures sufficiently to justify not having one. As long as we make an honest effort on the Republican side to cut back these areas of Federal spending, we could, in my opinion, justify a vote against a second tax increase in 1966.

KURALT: One of the ironies about the present session of Congress is that it's added close to \$3 billion to ~~the~~ President's budget. The Congressmen, like Tim Mikulen, have traditionally found it difficult to make cuts when self-interest is at stake. The present attitude of the Administration toward handling inflation is expressed by Senator Hart.

HART: The concern is that by our action, at the level of the Federal Government, we will in a sense reach up and switch off the light instead of finding a rheostat or a thermostat or whatever it is that lets you turn the thing off a little bit, and a little bit, and a little bit. It would be disastrous to jobs if to prevent an inflation of X per cent we slashed public spending, increased interest rates, raised taxes, with the net effect of withdrawing \$20 billion or \$40 billion a quarter. This is the kind of brutal punch to the jaw that could occur if our response to an inflationary danger is unrealistic. And it would hurt jobs. It would hurt everybody.



But, again, I think that while we're none of us are truly eligible for Ph.Ds in economics, everybody in and out of government in the 1960's has learned a lot of lessons. And we will not reverse the whole cycle if we identify inflation as having reached a point where we must take action.

KURALT: Last week when the automobile production lines gently slowed down, Wall Street shuddered. Some people thought the business boom was going bust. But even with less production than planned, the auto industry and everything else continues to set new records. Inflation is continuing on its way. Tim Mikulen doesn't speculate in the stock market, but he does worry about a cutback, because that would cost him his overtime and send him back to a 40-hour week.

MIKULEN: If I go back to 40 hours, I think I'd feel it pretty heavy. I have two boys now. I have another one on the way, and I've still got a car payment, and I've got more doctor bills. I - I think I'd feel the decrease in hours or earnings quite a bit.

KURALT: Negroes, who have done well by the current boom by and large would be the first to suffer if a setback came. Detroit City Councilman Nicholas Hood - himself a Negro - explained why.

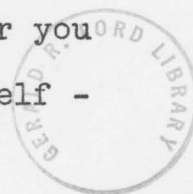
HOOD: One thing that has happened in the past is that the Negro has been the first to be hurt by a cutback. He would be thrown out of work, and what gains he has made - he doesn't have enough seniority to really maintain the job. So he would be highly disadvantaged by a cutback.

KURALT: Prices have been going up since the cave man discovered a demand for improved rocks. The greatest jumps usually come during or after a war. When they've gone up slowly and steadily we've been able to live with them, but rapid increases hurt. They hurt people like Mary Horeski. They hurt the price of our products overseas. They make the things we want in life harder to get. Connie Mikulen has her own inflation lament.

MIKULEN: He leaves the house about three o'clock in the afternoon to go to work. The other day he came home. It was 5:30 in the morning. So he comes home; he has a sandwich, flops in bed. The next thing you know it's time for me to get the poor guy up for lunch, and wash and shave, and it's time for him to go to work. He doesn't see the boys. It makes me feel terrible that he has to do this in order for us to survive. If prices went down I think a man would have more time to spend with his family. He wouldn't have to kill himself to make that dollar to pay for the things that we need, so he has to sacrifice and what he's sacrificing is his family.

KURALT: And Tim himself feels inflation is a kind of pervasive nightmare, inhabited by strange creatures.

MIKULEN: The way things look I don't know what's going to happen. Everything's going up higher and higher and higher, and you wonder when the heck it's going to stop. It's just a thing that's an octopus or some kind of monster. You can't get away from it. It's just - it's on you. It's after you day after day, month after month, year after year, but I myself - I just sit back and dig in my pockets. That's all.



KURALT: If Tim Mikulen feels he's being chased by the inflation monster, at least he's not running alone. Recently President Johnson brought his Labor-Management Advisory Committee to the White House to suggest ways of fighting inflation. He asked them, "If you were President, what would you do?" The committee is thinking about that. Its members can suggest waiting to see what happens or an immediate tax boost. They can suggest that labor trim its wage demands or that business hold down its profits. They can plead for a cutback in Federal spending, or even higher interest rates on loans. They can recommend one or all or a combination of those things. And then the President has to decide, for on his decision will depend whether or not Tim and Connie Mikulen's inflation monster is slain in this the Year of the 72¢ Dollar.

This is Charles Kuralt.

ANNOUNCER: "The 72¢ Dollar" was written and produced by Joel Heller and researched by Maurice Berk. Executive producer, Joe Dembo. This was a special presentation of CBS NEWS.



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2 TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "ABC'S ISSUES AND ANSWERS."

3 I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

4 - - -

5 SUNDAY, JUNE 19, 1966

6 GUEST: Congressman Gerald R. Ford (R. Mich)
7 House Minority Leader

8 INTERVIEWED BY: Bill Lawrence, ABC Correspondent
9 and
10 Wally Bruner, ABC Correspondent

11 - - -

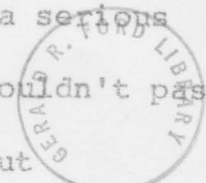
12 MR. LAWRENCE: Congressman Ford, now that you have labeled
13 the war in Vietnam "President Johnson's war," does this mean
14 that the basic bipartisan support of that conflict has ended?
15

16 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I think to set the record
17 straight if I might, I'd like to read what I said, one
18 sentence.

19 I said, "It is an undeclared war and in that sense it is
20 President Johnson's war."

21 In that context I think it is accurate to label it as I
22 did. The President is Commander-in-Chief. He has committed
23 285,000 U. S. military personnel to South Vietnam. He
24 determines the strategy and the tactics and so forth.

25 On the other hand, I think in all honesty the House and
the Senate, the Democrats and Republicans, do have a serious
responsibility here and we can't duck it and we shouldn't pass
it off or seek to pass it off to the President. But



1 even more importantly in conflict because of its serious
2 consequences is a war involving the whole United States.
3 Now, I don't think that the conflict in Vietnam is going to be
4 a political issue unless we don't find some solution quickly.

5 MR. BRUNER: In labeling this as President Johnson's
6 war, was this your own personal observation, or was this a
7 decision reached perhaps through consultation with other
8 Republican leaders?

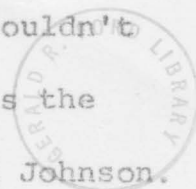
9 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: In this case, I prepared the state-
10 ment myself and I think it was accurate in the context that
11 I have tried to describe it.

12 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, does Senator Dirksen agree with
13 you, for example? Is there any conflict in the leadership of
14 the two houses here among the Republicans?

15 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't think there is any conflict
16 in the overall position of the Republican Party as far as the
17 conflict in Vietnam is concerned.

18 Senator Dirksen and I have repeatedly said that the
19 United States should stand forthrightly and steadfastly against
20 Communist aggression in South Vietnam, in Southeast Asia,
21 Berlin or any place else.

22 On the other hand, we in the Minority party in the Legis-
23 lative Branch should not try to run the war. We shouldn't
24 pick the weapons or determine the strategy. This is the
25 responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief, President Johnson.



1 But, as long as he takes a firm stand against Communist
2 aggression and terror, the Republicans will stand with him.

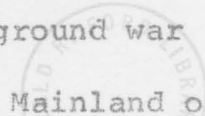
3 MR. BRUNER: Well, what else would you have him do that
4 he isn't doing now?

5 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: The Republicans, last December, in
6 their Coordinating Committee meeting, Wally, where we have
7 representatives from the House and the Senate and the Governors
8 and the former candidates for the presidency, we said that the
9 Republican Party was against an expanded large-scale ground
10 war on the Mainland of China.

11 We are fearful that the added commitment of about
12 15,000 U. S. military personnel each month by the President
13 is getting us into that position.

14 We, on the other hand, believe there are some steps that
15 can be taken, such as the closing of the Port of Haiphong
16 by any one of three or four different means or methods. We
17 think there ought to be a greater contribution by some of
18 our allies and if they won't help us, the least they ought to
19 do is stop helping the enemy. We don't feel it is our respon-
20 sibility to pick the target, determine the strategy or the
21 tactics.

22 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, Congressman, you said just a moment
23 ago -- I am sure you misspoke yourself, but let's get the
24 record straight -- you were against an expanded ground war
25 on the Mainland of China. I think you meant the Mainland of



1 Asia, though you are against the war with Asia too.

2 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I meant in the broad sense, Bill,
3 we are against a large-scale ground war on the Mainland of
4 Asia. That is the more correct way to put it.

5 We certainly would include the Mainland of China within
6 that definition.

7 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you see any danger that we are escalat-
8 ing into that kind of a conflict?

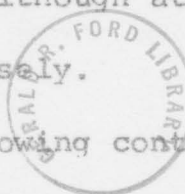
9 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, I think you can go back to
10 about 12 to 18 months ago when we had in South Vietnam
11 approximately 20,000 U. S. military personnel. We now have
12 287,000 U. S. troops in South Vietnam and we have other air
13 and sea forces around the periphery of South Vietnam.

14 It does appear, when you look at the numbers, that we are
15 approximating a large scale war in Southeast Asia and if the
16 trend continues to the figure some people are discussing,
17 400,000 or more, then I think we are engaged in a real big
18 conflict. Bigger, for example, numerically speaking, than we
19 had in Korea some ten or twelve years ago.

20 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you now see Vietnam in its present
21 condition a limited war expanding into a meaningful issue
22 in the 1966 congressional election?

23 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think it could be although at the
24 moment it is very hard, Bill, to determine precisely.

25 If this strategy that the President is following continues



1 to indicate that we could be involved in a prolonged war,
2 I think the American people will take some action at the polls
3 next November, particularly if they think there is another
4 method that would bring the war to a conclusion more quickly,
5 such as, I think, more effective utilization of air and sea
6 power.

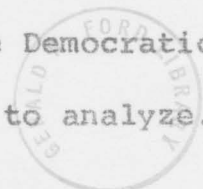
7 The American people will not stand for a long, drawn-out,
8 large-scale military conflict.

9 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, you think we want to get
10 in and get out. You think this is the philosophy of the
11 American people one way or the other.

12 MR. FORD: Yes, Wally. My mail reflects it. I think
13 the various polls and surveys show that the American
14 people do want to be successful in South Vietnam. They
15 understand the consequences if we withdrew, but they are
16 getting more and more dissatisfied with the fact that we seem
17 to be making a bigger and bigger effort but we are not getting
18 the kind of success that will bring about negotiations and a
19 settlement, and the American people are on the breaking point
20 I really believe, of "either get in there and prevail, achieve
21 your objectives, or get out."

22 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, how do you translate this into a
23 vote in November? Do those who want to expand the war and
24 hit harder, do they vote Republican or do they vote Democratic?

25 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, this is difficult to analyze.



1 I wish I had the answer. I suspect that those who supported
2 President Johnson in 1964 when he in effect said, "We aren't
3 going to expand the war," they are probably very disillusioned
4 with the President's promise and his performance and they may
5 stay away from the polls.

6 On the other hand, those people who were Republicans
7 and who voted for the President may return to the Republican
8 fold and say, "Well, we made a bad choice. Let's try the
9 Republicans again."

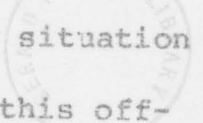
10 I think this is probably what will happen. All of the
11 polls show the President's personal popularity is
12 plummeting downward, the support for the Democratic party is
13 being eroded away.

14 I think this will redound very greatly to the Republican
15 Party in November.

16 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you see a parallel between '66 and '68,
17 say, with 1952, when the Korean War was very unpopular, when
18 the Republicans called it "Truman's War?" Are you looking
19 for --

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I would go back to 1950. I
21 think right now we are more comparable to 1950 when the
22 Republicans made significant gains. There was no presidential
23 contest involved.

24 It seems to me that we are in a very similar situation
25 and the Republicans will be the beneficiaries in this off-



1 presidential year. If the President isn't more successful,
2 doesn't achieve more results by 1968, then I think we will
3 be in a comparable year to 1952.

4 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, where do the people go
5 who want to withdraw from Vietnam?

6 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, I don't think there are very
7 many voters in this country who do want to withdraw because
8 most Americans appreciate that withdrawal would be a significant
9 defeat for the United States and would, for a good many years,
10 put us in a position of a paper tiger.

11 The United States has a great stake in maintaining free-
12 dom and maintaining our own national security in South Vietnam
13 and it is a minority group, thank goodness, that says "Let's
14 pick up our chips, withdraw, go back to Pearl Harbor."

15 And so I think in this regard they won't have much of an
16 impact on the elections in 1966.

17 * * *

18 MR. LAWRENCE: As the Republican leader of the House, what
19 do you think of your party's chances in the '66 election?

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I am convinced we are going
21 to make very significant Republican gains from the court
22 houses to the Congress, including the state houses, in 1966.
23 It is my honest judgment, based on traveling in 25 states in
24 1966, and 40 some states in 1965, that we will pick up at
25 least 40 net gain in the House and could go fifty or more



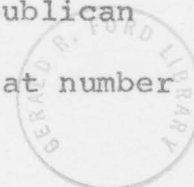
1 probably five to seven extra Senate seats, anywhere from four
2 to six more Governors. This is the year of the elephant, as
3 we take a look at the public opinion polls, and our own sur-
4 veys.

5 MR. LAWRENCE: With the year of the elephant and even with
6 fifty seats you would still have a Democratic Congress.

7 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, but, Bill, there would be a
8 little different ballgame, I might say. I think that some of
9 these extensive spending programs, so-called Great Society
10 programs that the President has been ramming through the
11 Congress in the last 18 months, would run into some more search-
12 ing interrogation, some opposition that would end up with a
13 better program rather than just open-ended authorization with
14 unlimited spending.

15 MR. BRUNER: How do you evaluate Ronald Reagan's victory
16 in California? He is a so-called Conservative Republican.
17 Does this mean the Republican Party perhaps is moving back to
18 the Goldwater right-wing philosophy, a little farther away
19 from center, or how do you look at it?

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, anybody who got all the votes
21 that Ronald Reagan got in that primary got them from a wide
22 spectrum of Republican voters. He got a tremendous vote and
23 this was not just a right-wing element in the Republican
24 Party. It was a substantial vote by a great, great number
25 of Republicans.



1 I think he conducted, from my observations, a very
2 skillful campaign. He brought people in to work those who
3 had been divided in the past, and he certainly got the kind
4 of support that a candidate needs to win against Governor
5 Brown who, incidentally, himself, had a pretty rough ball-
6 game in his own primary against Mayor Yorty.

7 MR. BRUNER: Was it a personal victory or Republican
8 victory for Reagan?

9 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Based on what I understand he
10 espoused, the programs that he put forth, it was a Republican
11 victory. He didn't go off in one part of the political
12 spectrum as far as the Republican Party was concerned. He
13 talked about common sense, broad solutions to the problems of
14 the State of California, and, as a consequence, he got broad
15 support.

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1 1 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, if Mr. Reagan can beat Governor
2 Brown in November, do you see him as a Presidential
3 hopeful in '68?

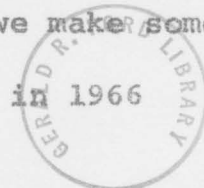
4 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, certainly he would be
5 among those who would be considered, Bill. As you look at
6 the starters, so to speak at this stage of the ballgame, I
7 think you have got former Vice President Nixon, my own Governor
8 George Romney, the possibility of Mayor John Lindsay of New
9 York, and if Reagan wins he certainly ought to be considered
10 and maybe some others as we move down the path here.

11 MR. BRUNER: Who is your personal preference, Congressman?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, I am so busy trying to find
13 Republican candidates for the House and help them get
14 elected I haven't given it much thought. I will wait for the
15 convention in 1968.

16 MR. BRUNER: I noticed as you ticked off the possibilities
17 you mentioned Mr. Nixon first. Many people feel that you are
18 closer to him politically, both domestic and foreign. Is
19 that a fair observation?

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I have a great admiration for Dick
21 Nixon. He is a close personal friend and I thought he did a
22 great job as Vice President. I think he would have been a
23 fine President if he had been elected. But I am not picking
24 any Republican candidate in 1966 because unless we make some
25 gains in the House races and in the Senate races in 1966



2 1 we will have a hard time finding a good Republican candidate
3 in 1968. But if we can make the kind of gains that I am
4 sure we will make November 8, we will have a whole bevy of
5 first class candidates and the convention will do a good
6 job in selecting them.

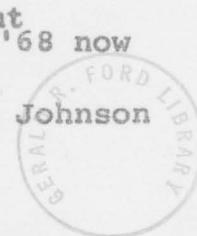
7 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, it is said that you might
8 be quite receptive to the Vice Presidential nomination
9 yourself. Is this an accurate statement?

10 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, let me make a very firm
11 comment in that regard. I am not seeking, nor do I intend to
12 seek any elective office involving the Executive Branch of
13 the government. I am a candidate for reelection to the House
14 of Representatives. I would consider it the highest possible
15 honor to continue the job that I have or something on the
16 majority side, come after the November elections, so let's
17 eliminate once and for all any comments about me being a
18 candidate for any elective office in the Executive Branch
19 of the government.

20 MR. LAWRENCE: Once and for all, you now decline the
21 Vice Presidency even if it is offered to you in '68,
22 right?

23 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think so, Bill.

24 MR. LAWRENCE. Is the Republican thinking ^{about} / '68 now
25 based on the widely held assumption that President Johnson
will seek another term?



3

1 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well certainly President Johnson
2 would want another term if he comes out of the Vietnam
3 war successfully, if he keeps the economy at the level that
4 he thinks it should be.

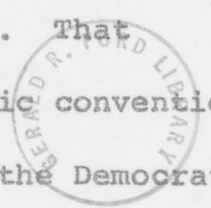
5 I see no reason why he shouldn't seek the Presidency
6 in 1968 but I am just as confident that a Republican candidate
7 could give him a good battle, as I see the picture now. And
8 it is not a political campaign that the Republicans should just
9 say we shouldn't engage in. We ought to get a good
10 candidate, we will have good issues, and I think we will have
11 a chance to win.

12 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, one of his aides told me the other
13 day he wouldn't bet a nickel either way on whether he would
14 run.

15 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, Bill, they are better
16 informed than I am. I could only --

17 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, would it change your thinking a lot
18 though, if you were running against another man?

19 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't think so. We should
20 nominate our candidate based on what our delegates think
21 is the best man, and we shouldn't worry about whether
22 President Johnson is going to seek reelection or whether it
23 will be Vice President Humphrey or Bobby Kennedy. That
24 would be an interesting conflict in the Democratic convention.
25 I think we'd better make our own choice and let the Democrats



4
1 make their determination.

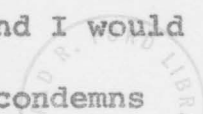
2 MR. BRUNER: Do you see it clear and positively,
3 though, that Mr. Johnson will seek another term? In your own
4 mind, and personally?

5 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I see no evidence to the contrary.
6 Most Presidents like to seek reelection, and I don't think
7 President Johnson is any different in that regard from his
8 predecessors.

9 MR. LAWRENCE: Congressman, to come back to the '66
10 campaign in which we are now engaged, what are the main
11 domestic issues on which you hope to profit politically?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: The principal domestic issue,
13 Bill, is the failure of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration
14 to control the increases in the cost of living. The cost
15 of living went up two percent last year in 1965. In the
16 first four months of 1966 the cost of living went up 1.4 per-
17 cent, and if you analyze that for 1966 it will mean a price
18 increase of approximately four percent.

19 Now the President condemns labor and management for in-
20 creasing prices, or seeking wage increases. He tells
21 housewives they should buy cheaper, or buy less. But the
22 President doesn't do very much about controlling or cutting
23 back non-military expenditures, and this is where the problem
24 is and this is where he could do the most good, and I would
25 hope that he would tackle this problem before he condemns



5 1 others.

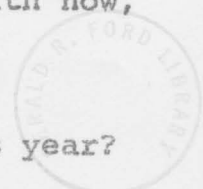
2 Now the second important issue, I think, is that the
3 American people are concerned about a lack of a two-party
4 system in this country. They are concerned that the Executive
5 Branch is getting too powerful and that the Legislative
6 Branch with the overwhelming Democratic majorities,
7 simply does what the President tells them to do.

8 Now we have a tradition in this country of real compe-
9 tition in the House and the Senate between the two
10 major parties. We don't have that now, with the Democrats
11 having two to one majorities. The American people are fearful
12 that we are losing one of the basic cornerstones or
13 ingredients in our system by the Democrats having such a
14 wide superiority numerically speaking.

15 I think also another issue is the lack of credibility
16 of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. We have got a file
17 of a great many pages where there have been many comments or
18 releases by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration which shows
19 they have told half the truth or failed to disclose all
20 of the facts, and then of course out in the Middlewest the
21 farmers are furious with the Johnson-Humphrey-Freeman
22 Administration, and for good reasons.

23 MR. BRUNER: Well, that is enough to start with now,
24 Congressman, for some questions on them.

25 On inflation do you favor a tax increase this year?



1 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't, unless the President
2 can show that the costs of the war in Vietnam are getting out
3 of hand. In other words, if the President comes up with
4 a supplemental for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines
5 of a very, very substantial amount, I think the Republicans
6 would have to take a look at it to see whether we could afford
7 to have that kind of added deficit, particularly when
8 we haven't been able to cut back on non-military expenditures.

9 MR. BRUNER: of course you have charged, though -- you
10 know, that the Vietnam budget has been hidden and that
11 we haven't been told the true cost of the Vietnam war. If
12 this is the case, won't we need increased taxes?

13 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, there is no doubt that
14 they have failed to disclose the true cost of the war in Vietnam.
15 Last year the President sent up a budget for the Defense
16 Department and before the end of the year the Congress had
17 to add at his request almost \$15 billion in extra funds to
18 finance the military.

19 Now this year the President sent up a budget for the
20 Defense Department, including the costs of Vietnam, and
21 already they are running short of money for this fiscal year
22 with the increasing prospects of the next fiscal year.

23 All people who are knowledgeable in this area, the Members
24 of the Committee on Appropriations in the House and in the
25 Senate, are sure that the President's budget underfunded



1 our military needs in Vietnam and elsewhere, and we can expect
2 anywhere from a five to six billion dollar supplement. Now
3 I don't think this is being honest with the American people.
4 I think that the President or the Secretary of Defense or
5 his fiscal people in the Pentagon should have known, should
6 have been able to forecast what the costs were going to be and
7 in all honesty should have told the American people what this
8 conflict in dollars and possible taxes would mean.

9 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you think as a practical matter if
10 the President decided he wanted a tax increase at this late
11 date he could get it from this Congress?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: If the President relates the
13 absolute need for additional funds for the war in Vietnam
14 to a tax increase, his prospects are good because most
15 Americans under no circumstances would want to deprive the
16 Defense Department of needed funds. But on the other hand
17 the President's chances of getting such a tax increase would
18 be improved if he would take some action to cut back non-
19 military expenditures.

20 * * * * *



1 MR. LAWRENCE: Congressman Ford, what is the Republican
2 Party doing to try to attract the new Negro voter in the
3 south where the Negro has been pretty well kicked around
4 by the local Democratic Party?

5 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, it is interesting, Bill.

6 You know some of these ultra-racists in the Democratic
7 Party who caused all the trouble down in Alabama, for example,
8 in 1964 and '65, several of them came to the Republican Party
9 this year and said they wanted to run as Republicans, and
10 the Republican organization in Alabama said, "No, we are
11 building a Republican Party in Alabama on a different basis
12 and we don't want you in our party as a candidate for the
13 Republicans."

14 I think this is the best evidence of what we are trying
15 to do in Alabama and elsewhere. We want a Republican Party
16 not built on the traditional Democratic basis, but on a new
17 basis in the South.

18 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, how do you stand on the
19 Civil Rights Bill, the one that is in Congress now,
20 concerning the section that would prohibit discrimination in
21 sales and rentals -- very briefly?

22 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the Republicans generally
23 will vote against the so-called Title IV as it stands. I
24 think this goes far too far at the present time.

25 MR. BRUNER: Thank you very much, Congressman Ford, for

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being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

* * *

(Next week: Robert F. Kennedy (Dem. - New York).)

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2 TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "ABC'S ISSUES AND ANSWERS."

3 I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

4 - - -

SUNDAY, JUNE 19, 1966

5 GUEST: Congressman Gerald R. Ford (R. Mich)
6 House Minority Leader

7 INTERVIEWED BY: Bill Lawrence, ABC Correspondent
8 and
9 Wally Bruner, ABC Correspondent

9 - - -

10 MR.LAWRENCE: Congressman Ford, now that you have labeled
11 the war in Vietnam "President Johnson's war," does this mean
12 that the basic bipartisan support of that conflict has ended?

13 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I think to set the record
14 straight if I might, I'd like to read what I said, one
15 sentence.

16 I said, "It is an undeclared war and in that sense it is
17 President Johnson's war."

18 In that context I think it is accurate to label it as I
19 did. The President is Commander-in-Chief. He has committed
20 285,000 U. S. military personnel to South Vietnam. He
21 determines the strategy and the tactics and so forth.

22 On the other hand, I think in all honesty the House and
23 the Senate, the Democrats and Republicans, do have a serious
24 responsibility here and we can't duck it and we shouldn't pass
25 it off or seek to pass it off to the President. But



1 even more importantly in conflict because of its serious
2 consequences is a war involving the whole United States.
3 Now, I don't think that the conflict in Vietnam is going to be
4 a political issue unless we don't find some solution quickly.

5 MR. BRUNER: In labeling this as President Johnson's
6 war, was this your own personal observation, or was this a
7 decision reached perhaps through consultation with other
8 Republican leaders?

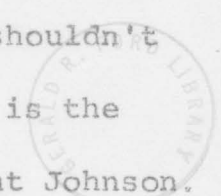
9 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: In this case, I prepared the state-
10 ment myself and I think it was accurate in the context that
11 I have tried to describe it.

12 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, does Senator Dirksen agree with
13 you, for example? Is there any conflict in the leadership of
14 the two houses here among the Republicans?

15 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't think there is any conflict
16 in the overall position of the Republican Party as far as the
17 conflict in Vietnam is concerned.

18 Senator Dirksen and I have repeatedly said that the
19 United States should stand forthrightly and steadfastly against
20 Communist aggression in South Vietnam, in Southeast Asia,
21 Berlin or any place else.

22 On the other hand, we in the Minority party in the Legis-
23 lative Branch should not try to run the war. We shouldn't
24 pick the weapons or determine the strategy. This is the
25 responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief, President Johnson.



1 But, as long as he takes a firm stand against Communist
2 aggression and terror, the Republicans will stand with him.

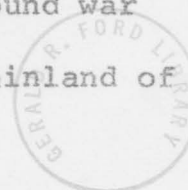
3 MR. BRUNER: Well, what else would you have him do that
4 he isn't doing now?

5 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: The Republicans, last December, in
6 their Coordinating Committee meeting, Wally, where we have
7 representatives from the House and the Senate and the Governors
8 and the former candidates for the presidency, we said that the
9 Republican Party was against an expanded large-scale ground
10 war on the Mainland of China.

11 We are fearful that the added commitment of about
12 15,000 U. S. military personnel each month by the President
13 is getting us into that position.

14 We, on the other hand, believe there are some steps that
15 can be taken, such as the closing of the Port of Haiphong
16 by any one of three or four different means or methods. We
17 think there ought to be a greater contribution by some of
18 our allies and if they won't help us, the least they ought to
19 do is stop helping the enemy. We don't feel it is our respon-
20 sibility to pick the target, determine the strategy or the
21 tactics.

22 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, Congressman, you said just a moment
23 ago -- I am sure you misspoke yourself, but let's get the
24 record straight -- you were against an expanded ground war
25 on the Mainland of China. I think you meant the Mainland of



1 Asia, though you are against the war with Asia too.

2 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I meant in the broad sense, Bill,
3 we are against a large-scale ground war on the Mainland of
4 Asia. That is the more correct way to put it.

5 We certainly would include the Mainland of China within
6 that definition.

7 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you see any danger that we are escalat-
8 ing into that kind of a conflict?

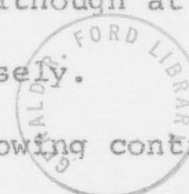
9 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, I think you can go back to
10 about 12 to 18 months ago when we had in South Vietnam
11 approximately 20,000 U. S. military personnel. We now have
12 287,000 U. S. troops in South Vietnam and we have other air
13 and sea forces around the periphery of South Vietnam.

14 It does appear, when you look at the numbers, that we are
15 approximating a large scale war in Southeast Asia and if the
16 trend continues to the figure some people are discussing,
17 400,000 or more, then I think we are engaged in a real big
18 conflict. Bigger, for example, numerically speaking, than we
19 had in Korea some ten or twelve years ago.

20 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you now see Vietnam in its present
21 condition a limited war expanding into a meaningful issue
22 in the 1966 congressional election?

23 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think it could be although at the
24 moment it is very hard, Bill, to determine precisely.

25 If this strategy that the President is following continues



1 to indicate that we could be involved in a prolonged war,
2 I think the American people will take some action at the polls
3 next November, particularly if they think there is another
4 method that would bring the war to a conclusion more quickly,
5 such as, I think, more effective utilization of air and sea
6 power.

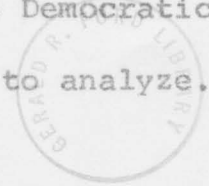
7 The American people will not stand for a long, drawn-out,
8 large-scale military conflict.

9 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, you think we want to get
10 in and get out. You think this is the philosophy of the
11 American people one way or the other.

12 MR. FORD: Yes, Wally. My mail reflects it. I think
13 the various polls and surveys show that the American
14 people do want to be successful in South Vietnam. They
15 understand the consequences if we withdrew, but they are
16 getting more and more dissatisfied with the fact that we seem
17 to be making a bigger and bigger effort but we are not getting
18 the kind of success that will bring about negotiations and a
19 settlement, and the American people are on the breaking point
20 I really believe, of "either get in there and prevail, achieve
21 your objectives, or get out."

22 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, how do you translate this into a
23 vote in November? Do those who want to expand the war and
24 hit harder, do they vote Republican or do they vote Democratic?

25 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, this is difficult to analyze.



1 I wish I had the answer. I suspect that those who supported
2 President Johnson in 1964 when he in effect said, "We aren't
3 going to expand the war," they are probably very disillusioned
4 with the President's promise and his performance and they may
5 stay away from the polls.

6 On the other hand, those people who were Republicans
7 and who voted for the President may return to the Republican
8 fold and say, "Well, we made a bad choice. Let's try the
9 Republicans again."

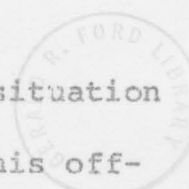
10 I think this is probably what will happen. All of the
11 polls show the President's personal popularity is
12 plummeting downward, the support for the Democratic party is
13 being eroded away.

14 I think this will redound very greatly to the Republican
15 Party in November.

16 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you see a parallel between '66 and '68,
17 say, with 1952, when the Korean War was very unpopular, when
18 the Republicans called it "Truman's War?" Are you looking
19 for --

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I would go back to 1950. I
21 think right now we are more comparable to 1950 when the
22 Republicans made significant gains. There was no presidential
23 contest involved.

24 It seems to me that we are in a very similar situation
25 and the Republicans will be the beneficiaries in this off-



1 presidential year. If the President isn't more successful,
2 doesn't achieve more results by 1968, then I think we will
3 be in a comparable year to 1952.

4 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, where do the people go
5 who want to withdraw from Vietnam?

6 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, I don't think there are very
7 many voters in this country who do want to withdraw because
8 most Americans appreciate that withdrawal would be a significant
9 defeat for the United States and would, for a good many years,
10 put us in a position of a paper tiger.

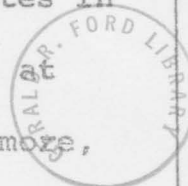
11 The United States has a great stake in maintaining free-
12 dom and maintaining our own national security in South Vietnam
13 and it is a minority group, thank goodness, that says "Let's
14 pick up our chips, withdraw, go back to Pearl Harbor."

15 And so I think in this regard they won't have much of an
16 impact on the elections in 1966.

17 * * *

18 MR. LAWRENCE: As the Republican leader of the House, what
19 do you think of your party's chances in the '66 election?

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I am convinced we are going
21 to make very significant Republican gains from the court
22 houses to the Congress, including the state houses, in 1966.
23 It is my honest judgment, based on traveling in 25 states in
24 1966, and 40 some states in 1965, that we will pick up
25 least 40 net gain in the House and could go fifty or more,



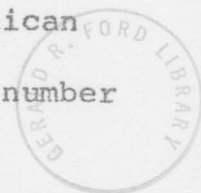
1 probably five to seven extra Senate seats, anywhere from four
2 to six more Governors. This is the year of the elephant, as
3 we take a look at the public opinion polls, and our own sur-
4 veys.

5 MR. LAWRENCE: With the year of the elephant and even with
6 fifty seats you would still have a Democratic Congress.

7 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, but, Bill, there would be a
8 little different ballgame, I might say. I think that some of
9 these extensive spending programs, so-called Great Society
10 programs that the President has been ramming through the
11 Congress in the last 18 months, would run into some more search-
12 ing interrogation, some opposition that would end up with a
13 better program rather than just open-ended authorization with
14 unlimited spending.

15 MR. BRUNER: How do you evaluate Ronald Reagan's victory
16 in California? He is a so-called Conservative Republican.
17 Does this mean the Republican Party perhaps is moving back to
18 the Goldwater right-wing philosophy, a little farther away
19 from center, or how do you look at it?

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, anybody who got all the votes
21 that Ronald Reagan got in that primary got them from a wide
22 spectrum of Republican voters. He got a tremendous vote and
23 this was not just a right-wing element in the Republican
24 Party. It was a substantial vote by a great, great number
25 of Republicans.



1 I think he conducted, from my observations, a very
2 skillful campaign. He brought people in to work those who
3 had been divided in the past, and he certainly got the kind
4 of support that a candidate needs to win against Governor
5 Brown who, incidentally, himself, had a pretty rough ball-
6 game in his own primary against Mayor Yorty.

7 MR. BRUNER: Was it a personal victory or Republican
8 victory for Reagan?

9 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Based on what I understand he
10 espoused, the programs that he put forth, it was a Republican
11 victory. He didn't go off in one part of the political
12 spectrum as far as the Republican Party was concerned. He
13 talked about common sense, broad solutions to the problems of
14 the State of California, and, as a consequence, he got broad
15 support.

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1 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, if Mr. Reagan can beat Governor
2 Brown in November, do you see him as a Presidential
3 hopeful in '68?

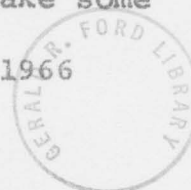
4 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, certainly he would be
5 among those who would be considered, Bill. As you look at
6 the starters, so to speak at this stage of the ballgame, I
7 think you have got former Vice President Nixon, my own Governor
8 George Romney, the possibility of Mayor John Lindsay of New
9 York, and if Reagan wins he certainly ought to be considered
10 and maybe some others as we move down the path here.

11 MR. BRUNER: Who is your personal preference, Congressman?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, I am so busy trying to find
13 Republican candidates for the House and help them get
14 elected I haven't given it much thought. I will wait for the
15 convention in 1968.

16 MR. BRUNER: I noticed as you ticked off the possibilities
17 you mentioned Mr. Nixon first. Many people feel that you are
18 closer to him politically, both domestic and foreign. Is
19 that a fair observation?

20 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I have a great admiration for Dick
21 Nixon. He is a close personal friend and I thought he did a
22 great job as Vice President. I think he would have been a
23 fine President if he had been elected. But I am not picking
24 any Republican candidate in 1966 because unless we make some
25 gains in the House races and in the Senate races in 1966



2 1 we will have a hard time finding a good Republican candidate
3 in 1968. But if we can make the kind of gains that I am
4 sure we will make November 8, we will have a whole bevy of
5 first class candidates and the convention will do a good
6 job in selecting them.

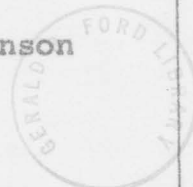
7 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, it is said that you might
8 be quite receptive to the Vice Presidential nomination
9 yourself. Is this an accurate statement?

10 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, let me make a very firm
11 comment in that regard. I am not seeking, nor do I intend to
12 seek any elective office involving the Executive Branch of
13 the government. I am a candidate for reelection to the House
14 of Representatives. I would consider it the highest possible
15 honor to continue the job that I have or something on the
16 majority side, come after the November elections, so let's
17 eliminate once and for all any comments about me being a
18 candidate for any elective office in the Executive Branch
19 of the government.

20 MR. LAWRENCE: Once and for all, you now decline the
21 Vice Presidency even if it is offered to you in '68,
22 right?

23 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think so, Bill.

24 MR. LAWRENCE. Is the Republican thinking ^{about} / '68 now
25 based on the widely held assumption that President Johnson
will seek another term?



3 1 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well certainly President Johnson
2 would want another term if he comes out of the Vietnam
3 war successfully, if he keeps the economy at the level that
4 he thinks it should be.

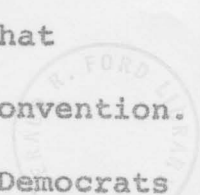
5 I see no reason why he shouldn't seek the Presidency
6 in 1968 but I am just as confident that a Republican candidate
7 could give him a good battle, as I see the picture now. And
8 it is not a political campaign that the Republicans should just
9 say we shouldn't engage in. We ought to get a good
10 candidate, we will have good issues, and I think we will have
11 a chance to win.

12 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, one of his aides told me the other
13 day he wouldn't bet a nickel either way on whether he would
14 run.

15 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, Bill, they are better
16 informed than I am. I could only --

17 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, would it change your thinking a lot
18 though, if you were running against another man?

19 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't think so. We should
20 nominate our candidate based on what our delegates think
21 is the best man, and we shouldn't worry about whether
22 President Johnson is going to seek reelection or whether it
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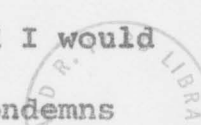
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6 Most Presidents like to seek reelection, and I don't think
7 President Johnson is any different in that regard from his
8 predecessors.

9 MR. LAWRENCE: Congressman, to come back to the '66
10 campaign in which we are now engaged, what are the main
11 domestic issues on which you hope to profit politically?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: The principal domestic issue,
13 Bill, is the failure of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration
14 to control the increases in the cost of living. The cost
15 of living went up two percent last year in 1965. In the
16 first four months of 1966 the cost of living went up 1.4 per-
17 cent, and if you analyze that for 1966 it will mean a price
18 increase of approximately four percent.

19 Now the President condemns labor and management for in-
20 creasing prices, or seeking wage increases. He tells
21 housewives they should buy cheaper, or buy less. But the
22 President doesn't do very much about controlling or cutting
23 back non-military expenditures, and this is where the problem
24 is and this is where he could do the most good, and I would
25 hope that he would tackle this problem before he condemns



5 1 others.

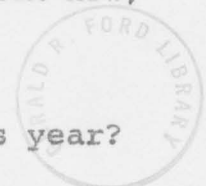
2 Now the second important issue, I think, is that the
3 American people are concerned about a lack of a two-party
4 system in this country. They are concerned that the Executive
5 Branch is getting too powerful and that the Legislative
6 Branch with the overwhelming Democratic majorities,
7 simply does what the President tells them to do.

8 Now we have a tradition in this country of real compe-
9 tition in the House and the Senate between the two
10 major parties. We don't have that now, with the Democrats
11 having two to one majorities. The American people are fearful
12 that we are losing one of the basic cornerstones or
13 ingredients in our system by the Democrats having such a
14 wide superiority numerically speaking.

15 I think also another issue is the lack of credibility
16 of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. We have got a file
17 of a great many pages where there have been many comments or
18 releases by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration which shows
19 they have told half the truth or failed to disclose all
20 of the facts, and then of course out in the Middlewest the
21 farmers are furious with the Johnson-Humphrey-Freeman
22 Administration, and for good reasons.

23 MR. BRUNER: Well, that is enough to start with now,
24 Congressman, for some questions on them.

25 On inflation do you favor a tax increase this year?



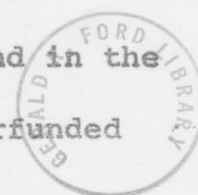
1 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't, unless the President
2 can show that the costs of the war in Vietnam are getting out
3 of hand. In other words, if the President comes up with
4 a supplemental for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines
5 of a very, very substantial amount, I think the Republicans
6 would have to take a look at it to see whether we could afford
7 to have that kind of added deficit, particularly when
8 we haven't been able to cut back on non-military expenditures.

9 MR. BRUNER: of course you have charged, though -- you
10 know, that the Vietnam budget has been hidden and that
11 we haven't been told the true cost of the Vietnam war. If
12 this is the case, won't we need increased taxes?

13 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Wally, there is no doubt that
14 they have failed to disclose the true cost of the war in Vietnam.
15 Last year the President sent up a budget for the Defense
16 Department and before the end of the year the Congress had
17 to add at his request almost \$15 billion in extra funds to
18 finance the military.

19 Now this year the President sent up a budget for the
20 Defense Department, including the costs of Vietnam, and
21 already they are running short of money for this fiscal year
22 with the increasing prospects of the next fiscal year.

23 All people who are knowledgeable in this area, the Members
24 of the Committee on Appropriations in the House and in the
25 Senate, are sure that the President's budget underfunded



1 our military needs in Vietnam and elsewhere, and we can expect
2 anywhere from a five to six billion dollar supplement. Now
3 I don't think this is being honest with the American people.
4 I think that the President or the Secretary of Defense or
5 his fiscal people in the Pentagon should have known, should
6 have been able to forecast what the costs were going to be and
7 in all honesty should have told the American people what this
8 conflict in dollars and possible taxes would mean.

9 MR. LAWRENCE: Do you think as a practical matter if
10 the President decided he wanted a tax increast at this late
11 date he could get it from this Congress?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: If the President relates the
13 absolute need for additional funds for the war in Vietnam
14 to a tax increase, his prospects are good because most
15 Americans under no circumstances would want to deprive the
16 Defense Department of needed funds. But on the other hand
17 the President's chances of getting such a tax increase would
18 be improved if he would take some action to cut back non-
19 military expenditures.

20 * * * * *

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1 MR. LAWRENCE: Congressman Ford, what is the Republican
2 Party doing to try to attract the new Negro voter in the
3 south where the Negro has been pretty well kicked around
4 by the local Democratic Party?

5 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, it is interesting, Bill.

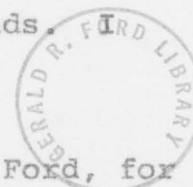
6 You know some of these ultra-racists in the Democratic
7 Party who caused all the trouble down in Alabama, for example,
8 in 1964 and '65, several of them came to the Republican Party
9 this year and said they wanted to run as Republicans, and
10 the Republican organization in Alabama said, "No, we are
11 building a Republican Party in Alabama on a different basis
12 and we don't want you in our party as a candidate for the
13 Republicans."

14 I think this is the best evidence of what we are trying
15 to do in Alabama and elsewhere. We want a Republican Party
16 not built on the traditional Democratic basis, but on a new
17 basis in the South.

18 MR. BRUNER: Well, Congressman, how do you stand on the
19 Civil Rights Bill, the one that is in Congress now,
20 concerning the section that would prohibit discrimination in
21 sales and rentals -- very briefly?

22 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the Republicans generally
23 will vote against the so-called Title IV as it stands.
24 think this goes far too far at the present time.

25 MR. BRUNER: Thank you very much, Congressman Ford, for



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being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

* * *

{Next week: Robert F. Kennedy (Dem. - New York).}

- - -



Ford - Broadcasts

*8-15-66
Mr. F. did this*

THOMAS J. DEEGAN COMPANY, INC.
802 RING BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
August 15, 1966

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Room H230, Capitol Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Ford:

By now you probably have been briefed on our request for your support of the promotion of the Metropolitan Opera Touring Company. The matter was discussed with your Press Secretary, Paul Mildrich, last Friday by our staff assistant, Wes McPheron. We would be most delighted if you will find the time today to participate in a brief interview with Miss Rise Stevens, star of the Metropolitan Opera, in the House Recording Studio, Room 160 of the Cannon Building at the time set aside for the interview by Mr. Mildrich.

Mr. Mildrich has reserved fifteen minutes for filming you and Miss Stevens in the House Recording Studio on Monday, August 15, from 12:30-12:45.

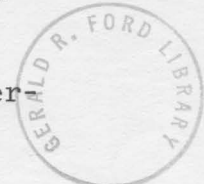
Enclosed is a proposed outline for the interview which calls attention to the pending visit of the National Company to Grand Rapids on October 14-21.

As you know, the Center is a sponsor of the Metropolitan Opera. This sponsorship is consistent with the efforts of the Center, which was established by Congress, to demonstrate its links to communities throughout the United States. Our company is involved as the public relations consultants for the Kennedy Center.

We suggest that during the interview, you bring out, as indicated in the outline, your support for the Center and similar cultural projects. Miss Stevens will respond in a similar vein.

The interview will be filmed in 16mm black and white film for use on a local television station in Grand Rapids prior to the appearance of the Touring Company there. It will last approximately three minutes. We will service the film to the station.

Other Congressmen who are scheduled to participate in interviews with Miss Stevens in regard to the appearance of the Touring Company in their district are:



Congressman Ford
August 15, 1966
Page 2

Rep. Rodney M. Love, Ohio
Rep. William L. Springer, Ill.
Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisc.
Rep. Robert E. Jones, Alabama
Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, Ark.
Rep. John C. Kunkel, Pa.
Rep. E. Ross Adair, Pa.
Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski, N. Y.
Rep. William S. Moorehead, Pa.
Rep. Albert W. Watson, S. C.
Rep. David E. Satterfield, Va.

On the Senate side we hope to arrange interviews between Miss Stevens and the following:

Senator Stuart Symington, Mo.
Senator Richard B. Russell, Ga.
Senator Birch Bayh, Ind.
Senator Vance Hartke, Ind.
Senator Albert Gore, Tenn.
Senator Robert Griffin, Mich.

In addition to the proposed outline for the interview, we have enclosed the itinerary of the Metropolitan Opera National Touring Company, a resume of the Company's background, and material on the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Sincerely,

Jack Raymond
Jack Raymond
Vice President

JR/mem

Enclosures (4)



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PROPOSED OUTLINE FOR
TELEVISION INTERVIEW WITH RISE STEVENS

ANNOUNCER: From Washington, D. C., we bring you _____,
who is talking with Miss Rise Stevens, world-famous star of the
Metropolitan Opera and co-manager of the Metropolitan Opera
National Touring Company.

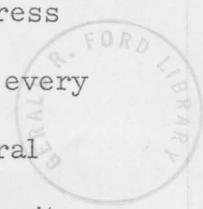
CONG: Miss Stevens, I want to tell you that we're delighted that the
Metropolitan Opera National ~~Touring~~ Company will be visiting
_____ during its nation-wide tour.

MISS STEVENS: Thank you, _____. We're looking
forward with pleasure and enthusiasm to our visit to _____,
on _____.

CONG: I understand that this tour is being sponsored by the John F.
Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

MISS STEVENS: That's right, _____, and the Friends of
the John F. Kennedy Center, a voluntary organization whose purpose
it is to emphasize the national status of the Center which is now under
construction in Washington. A Center which will give the Capitol its
first national forum for the performing arts....music, the ballet,
opera, the musical theater, drama and poetry.

CONG: One of the reasons I've supported the Center, Miss Stevens, is
because of its bi-partisan nature. It was authorized by the Congress
during the Eisenhower Administration and has had the support of every
President since then. It was originally called the National Cultural
Center, but following the death of President Kennedy, it was given its
present name.



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MISS STEVENS: Yes, there are no political lines in the performing arts. We consider the Center's potential audience the same as our National Opera Company....our national population of 186 million people.

CONG: How many cities are included on this tour of the Metropolitan Opera National Touring Company?

MISS STEVENS: Sixteen cities in fifteen states. And - to remind - we'll be in _____ on _____.

CONG: What will you be performing in _____?

MISS STEVENS: _____ . (Add identification and comment on any local artist appearing with the Company.)

CONG: I believe our time is up now, Miss Stevens, so let me close by wishing you and the Metropolitan Opera National Touring Company as much success on the rest of your tour as I know you will experience in _____.

MISS STEVENS: Thank you, _____. I know we'll enjoy our visit to _____.



THE FRIENDS OF THE KENNEDY CENTER

To: Congressional Committee of the Metropolitan Opera National Company

The repertory for the 1966-67 season of the Metropolitan Opera National Company will be Puccini's "La Boheme", Verdi's "La Traviata", Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" and Benjamin Britten's "Rape of Lucretia."

The following lists those cities and states to be visited by the Opera Company through November, 1966.

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CITY</u>	<u>DATE</u>
Alabama	Florence	Oct. 31
	Huntsville	Nov. 1
Arkansas	Little Rock	Oct. 29-30
Connecticut	Stratford	Nov. 12
Georgia	Columbus	Nov. 2
	Augusta	Nov. 3
Illinois	Champaign	Oct. 4-6
Indiana	Fort Wayne	Oct. 17-19
	Indianapolis (Opening)	Sept. 15-24
Maryland	College Park	Nov. 9
Michigan	Detroit	Oct. 10-15
	Grand Rapids	Oct. 19-21
Missouri	St. Louis	Oct. 7-8
New Jersey	Newark	Nov. 25-27
New York	Buffalo	Sept. 26-28
	Brooklyn	Nov. 10
	Rochester	Nov. 14-15
	Utica	Nov. 28
Ohio	Dayton	Oct. 3
	Cleveland	Nov. 16-19
	Columbus	Oct. 25-28
Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh	Sept. 29
	Lebanon	
Rhode Island	Providence	Nov. 22-23
Tennessee	Chattanooga	Nov. 4-5
Vermont	Burlington	Nov. 30
Virginia	Richmond	Nov. 7-8
Wisconsin	Madison	Oct. 22-23



GROWING NATIONAL OPERA

FOUR OFFICIALS OF THE METROPOLITAN DISCUSS THE SPADEWORK OF ITS NATIONAL COMPANY

THE ENTERPRISE

by Anthony A. Bliss

In the coming months the public will hear a great deal about preparations for the new touring division of the Metropolitan Opera—the National Company, a repertory opera company whose establishment was announced by President Kennedy last year at the White House. Part of its significance lies in the premise that it will absorb some of the superb talent emerging across the country. Made up almost exclusively of American singers on the threshold of the world's international opera houses, the new company will present opera in sixty-odd communities throughout the nation. For many in its audiences, this will be their first experience of operatic theater.

The Metropolitan, with its millions of friends all over North America, is a national institution, and as such it looks far beyond its image as “the old lady of Thirty-ninth Street” to wider horizons. Its own renewal in the forthcoming move to Lincoln Center is but one of many avenues of growth. Another is the National Company, with its obligation to nurture native talent and to contribute to the vitality and growth of opera throughout the country. It is no secret that over seven hundred Americans are singing in European opera houses. While we can be

National Company is dedicated to organizing or enlarging permanent support of the performing arts in each community it visits. In other words, long after the performances of the National Company are local music history, the community will benefit from increased members and patronage of the group we will have organized to assist local leadership in the performing arts fields.

Eventually, to ease the burden of cost for these local organizations, the National Company will be able to offer them its sets and costumes on loan. Other services related to many of the aspects and problems of opera production will be provided by the Metropolitan. What we will then be realizing through the National Company is a long-desired dream of the Metropolitan: that moment when the National Company itself has no further purpose and can be disbanded, because the growth of strong and healthy opera seasons interlocking in all regions of the country will have made it unnecessary.

THE ENSEMBLE

by Rudolf Bing

Within the straining walls of the Metropolitan Opera House in its last years, plans and projects for the much discussed expansion program are under way. Not the

Kennedy Center: A Cultural Blueprint

By Wolf Von Eckardt

ONLY \$600,000 MUST still be raised by June 30 before an act of Congress, establishing the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts as "the sole national memorial" to the late President in the National Capital, will become legally effective.



It is unthinkable that this last requirement will not be met somehow.

Von Eckardt The ground for architect Edward Durrell Stone's imposing marble and gold structure along the Potomac was already symbolically broken by President Johnson last fall. Working drawings are nearing completion. Bids will be taken this summer. The steam shovels should start digging this October. And no one doubts any longer that by spring 1969 at the latest, one of John F. Kennedy's fondest dreams will be realized.

As now conceived, this dream of providing our Capital with a national opera house, a theater, concert hall and cinema-studio worthy of America's cultural aspirations began to take shape seven years ago.

There were enormous problems of financing in a country that still looks askance at Government support of

the arts. And there was much heated controversy about the location of the Center's one, all-encompassing building.

As designed by Stone, who was retained under the Eisenhower Administration, the Center, with its parking garages and all its necessary amenities, will cost \$46.5 million. The Treasury has advanced a deferred loan of \$15.5 million for the substructure. Congress has appropriated \$15.5 in Federal funds provided the remaining \$15.5 are raised privately by June 30.

Private contributions keep coming in. Only last week the Italian government deposited \$1.1 million as earnest money on its generous gift of marble for the building. Operating funds, along with the Center's program and content, however, should continue to keep its chairman, Roger L. Stevens, hustling for quite some time.

THE DESIGN of the building, all of 690 feet long, 360 feet wide and just a foot lower than the Lincoln Memorial, remains essentially unchanged since its model delighted Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy at its unveiling in September, 1962, at Newport, R.I. Only the romantic idea of a convertible roofgarden for concerts and performances had to yield to the reality of airplane noise.

Their ambition is to work out sound insulation, acoustics, interior

circulation, lobbies and work, storage and rehearsal spaces so that this Center for the Performing Arts will perform to perfection for the artists and audience alike.

With one exception, this effort at intensive, functional design has not yielded any sensational innovations in theater architecture. The auditoriums and backstage arrangements for the 2200-seat opera, the 1114-seat theater and the 2744-seat concert hall are, if you like, conventional.

Rather than experiment, Stone is seeking to make the true and tried both as efficient and pleasant as modern architecture and engineering can make it.

The exception is the cinema-studio which will serve not only as a small motion picture theater, seating 510, but also for intimate performances of all kinds. Part of the steep seating platform can mechanically rotate to create an arena stage in the center. It's enchantingly ingenious.

One great advantage, not only to people in wheelchairs, is the ground level entrance through huge, 60 foot high halls that lead to the grand lobby with its river view that runs the full two-block length of the building and serves all three main auditoriums. For once we should have ample space during intermission. Tickets will be sold in the spacious entrance hallways. Elevators carry you up to the galleries and a profu-

sion of spaces that afford ample room for all kinds of exhibits and daytime uses. The restaurants and bar are on the roof with its terrace and splendid view.

Right at the entrance will be a visitors' lounge and orientation room for visitors. Though the main arteries of audience traffic — from the entrance halls or the underground garage to the auditoriums—are spacious and clear, we'll need that orientation through the building's complexity.

AS TO THE SITE, all concerned had to accept the fact that, in the end, the Center must go where Congress had put its substantial contribution — about 18 acres of parkland at the foot of E Street, opposite Roosevelt Island. President Kennedy had said so all along.

This location puts the Center somewhat remote from the city. It is visually, if not physically isolated by a messy spaghetti of freeways that, as presently designed, will be difficult to cross on foot.

Nor is this disadvantage sufficiently offset by a spacious, park-like setting. The Watergate project is woefully crowding in. The southernmost, massive, sausage-like building of this wiggly complex encroaches to within 300 feet upon what is to be a national shrine. The dignity of the John F. Kennedy Center demands more land, air and greenery around it.

The approach needs nothing more than the goodwill and some of the ample money of the Highway Department. Its rebuilt E Street Expressway now runs straight on axis towards the middle of the Center's front plaza. But when it comes to the sunken freeway it hesitates timidly and then fizzles out into wormy ramps running every which way. The highway designers have here repeated the disastrous mistake which has ruined the potentially dignified continuation of Constitution Avenue across Theodore Roosevelt Bridge.

Nothing but the expense prevents the E Street Expressway from proudly crossing the freeway on a bridge that is suitably adorned and would thus give the Center a dignified approach for both people and cars. The ramps for the cars that want to enter the freeway could easily be tucked under this bridge.

Visually, symbolically and physically such an approach would at once link the Center to the city, particularly since the now lost E Street will eventually have to be run under the White House grounds to connect it with the other E Street downtown which the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission hopes to turn into a main traffic artery.

The Watergate complex, a design for which the Italian architect Luigi Moretti must have had a Riviera playground but not our city in mind.

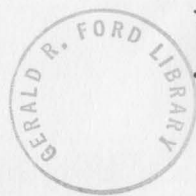
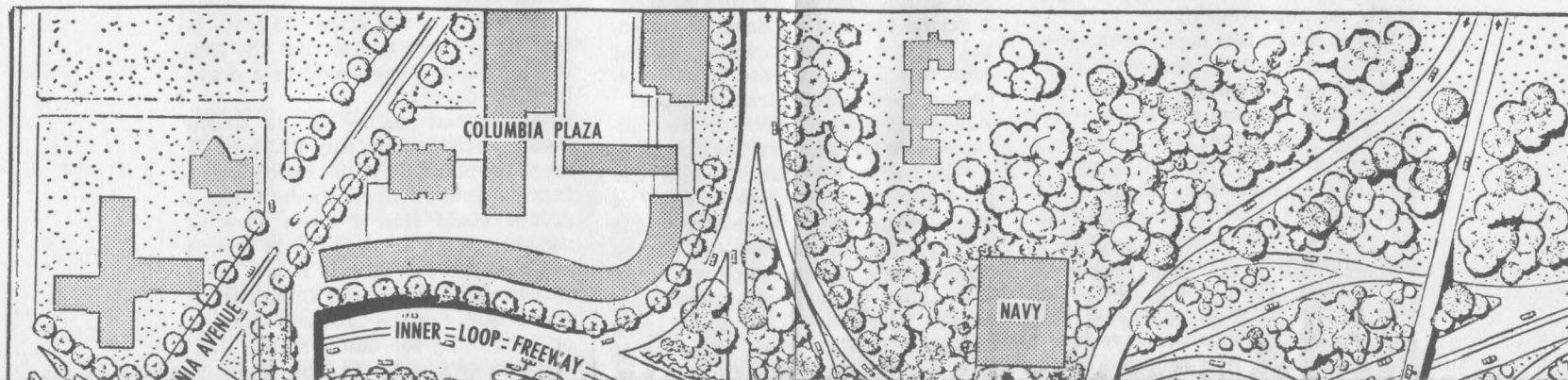
consists of five buildings to house fabulous luxury apartments, a hotel, offices, stores, swimming pools and a restaurant. It is owned by a combined United States and Italian investment.

The last building of the complex which would crowd the Center and tower over it by 28 feet does not yet have a building permit, though the rest of the complex is under construction.

A RECONSIDERATION of our non-planning of this entire stretch of the Potomac is in order, particularly since the President wants to make the river a model of beauty.

And while we are at it, we might really make the Potomac walkway, furnished with pleasant lightposts and benches, a great experience. It could be cut under Memorial Bridge. The terrace of the Center should be cantilevered all the way over Potomac Parkway right to the edge of the water. The Planning Commission has objected to this and insisted that the terrace cover only half the drive to leave the walkway open. But it might be great fun to walk for a stretch through an arcade and enjoy the delight of framed outlooks.

The Center deserves to be a complete and decisive part of our river- and cityscape and its presence should be felt on a nice Sunday stroll.



Musical
 Vistas
 Exciting

By Paul Hume

Dance
 May Gain
 The Most

By Jean Battey

August 4, 1966

Mrs. William S. Moorhead
Congressional Chairman
Friends of the Kennedy Center
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20566

Dear Mrs. Moorhead:

Thank you for your letter of July 30th, inviting me to
tape a five-minute television interview with Rise Stevens
for use in Grand Rapids when the Metropolitan Opera National
Company will be performing in Grand Rapids on October 19th.

I appreciate your giving me this opportunity and will be glad
to have my staff set up a mutually convenient time for the
taping when a member of your organization calls.

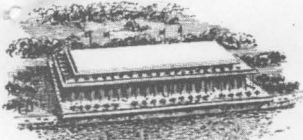
Thank you again and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford, M. C.

GRF:1





FRIENDS OF THE KENNEDY CENTER

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W. - WASHINGTON D.C. 20566

TELEPHONE 382-1933

July 30, 1966

Dear Mr. Ford:

The Metropolitan Opera National Company will be performing in your area on October 19.

The tour is being co-sponsored, as it was last year, by the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and the Metropolitan Opera Association.

In order to focus public interest, Rise Stevens, well-known opera singer and co-manager of the touring company, has agreed to tape five minute television interviews with those Members of Congress whose areas are to be visited this fall. The company's itinerary is here enclosed.

Miss Stevens and the Friends of the Kennedy Center very much hope that you will be interested in meeting with her in the House or Senate Television studio near the latter part of August. The tape would then be at your disposal to use at the appropriate moment in your area; about ten days or so before the company will perform.

One of the Friends of the Kennedy Center will call you shortly to schedule the interview and to answer any questions you may have. Meanwhile should you wish to call for more information, Miss Ellen Coolidge at the Kennedy Center (382-1937), or Miss Kay Martin, in my husband's office (225-2301) will be glad to help.

I hope that you will join Miss Stevens in assisting this fine enterprise of young American artists.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

W. S. Moorhead

Mrs. William S. Moorhead
Congressional Chairman
Friends of the Kennedy
Center



METROPOLITAN OPERA NATIONAL COMPANY

SAESON, 1966-67 (TENTATIVE)

DATE, June 17, 1966

	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	JAN.	FEB.	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE
1.		Pittsburgh	Huntsville, Ala	Ottawa	x N.Y.	New York	Greenville	Houston	Sacramento	K.C.
2.			Columbus, Ga.	↓	x N.Y.		Asheville			
3.		Dayton	Augusta, Ga.	↓	new York		Winston- Salem			
4.		Champaign	Chattanooga				↓		Portland	
5.		↓	↓	Boston					↓	Mexico
6.		ST. Louis	Richmond, Va.	↓			Jacksonville	Phoenix		
7.		↓	↓	↓			↓	↓		
8.			U. of Md. College Pk.	↓			St. Petersburg		Yakima	
9.							↓			
10.		Detroit	Brooklyn					Los Angeles	Seattle	
11.		↓	↓				Daytona		↓	
12.			Stratford, Conn	Toronto						
13.				↓		Washington D.C.	Tallahassee			
14.			Rochester	↓		↓	↓			
15.	Indianapolis	✓	↓	↓			Pensacola ?			
16.			Cleveland	↓			Baton Rouge			
17.		Ft. Wayne	↓	↓			↓			
18.		↓	↓	↓			↓			
19.		Grand Rapids	↓				Shreveport			
20.						Huntington W.Va	↓			
21.			Binghamton N.Y.			Knoxville				
22.		Madison	Providence			↓				
23.		↓	↓							
24.						Charlotte		Santa Barbara		
25.						↓		San Diego		
26.	Buffalo	Columbus, O.	Newark					↓		
27.		↓	↓					Berkeley		
28.			Utica					↓		
29.	Pittsburgh	Little Rock ?	↓					Houston		
30.	Lebanon, Pa.		Burlington, Vt.					↓		
31.		Florence, Ala.								Kansas City

to be determined

GERALD
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LIBRARY

PLEASE CREDIT ANY QUOTES OR EXCERPTS FROM THIS ABC RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "ABC'S ISSUES AND ANSWERS."

I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

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SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1966

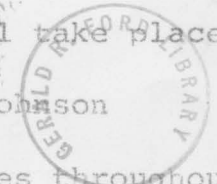
GUEST: Congressman Gerald Ford (R., Mich.)
House Minority Leader

INTERVIEWED BY: Bob Clark and
Bill Downs, ABC News Correspondents

- - -

MR. CLARK: Mr. Ford, nice to have you with us. We might as well begin with all those headlines the President has been making in Asia. Do you think the Manila Conference and the President's travels have brought us any closer to peace in Vietnam?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bob, I would like to answer that this way: The American people hoped that President Johnson would go to Manila and come back with a permanent and honorable peace. That has not been achieved. The American people hoped that the Manila Conference would result in a higher degree of solidarity between the United States and our five allies. That has not been achieved. As a matter of fact, there seems to be some undercurrent of dispute between Premier Ky and our own U. S. position involving Viet Cong participation in the ultimate government that will take place there. The American people hoped that President Johnson would come back with greater help from other allies throughout



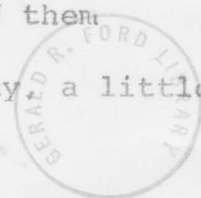
1 the world who would join us in this fight. That has not
2 materialized. The American people hoped that our prestige
3 in Southeast Asia would be improved. This apparently has not
4 been a result, when you hear and see the riots that took
5 place during the President's trip.

6 May I add I think our prestige worldwide is suffering
7 some too. I recently saw some figures by Senator Morton that
8 indicate eight out of ten Europeans feel that our prestige
9 is lower today than it was under Kennedy and Eisenhower.

10 So, when you add it all up, I really don't feel that the
11 Manila Conference has made the American people feel better
12 than before it happened.

13 MR. CLARK: The big news out of Manila was the offer
14 to withdraw all American and allied troops from South Vietnam
15 if North Vietnam does the same. What do you think of that?

16 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think we ought to know a little
17 bit more about that offer, the specifics of it. As you know,
18 there was some apparent contradiction between what our Am-
19 bassador to the U.N. offered a few weeks ago, Ambassador
20 Goldberg, when he made a rather similar proposal at the U.N.
21 There was that statement and then there was the statement
22 made October 12th by the Secretary of State that was almost
23 the same thing, and then the President's, or the Manila Con-
24 ference's statement made by the six nations. All of them
25 seemed to be somewhat -- or to a degree, I should say a little



1 contradictory and not entirely consistent.

2 MR. DOWNS: Congressman, would you favor withdrawal of
3 the United States if we can get a peaceful and just settlement?
4 Do you think we should keep troops out there or should we
5 withdraw?

6 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, it is good to say that we
7 should withdraw, but the terms upon which we withdraw, that's
8 the real question.

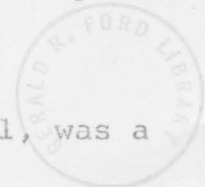
9 MR. DOWNS: Well, what terms would you set?

10 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: If we were to withdraw, I would
11 insist that the North Vietnamese take their regulars out of
12 South Vietnam. The Viet Cong would have to be deactivated
13 and there would have to be certain assurances that the Viet
14 Cong would not lurk in the background and then move in and
15 take over again.

16 It seems to me that if we withdrew without these firm
17 assurances that are necessary, we could suffer and South Vietnam
18 would suffer a delayed defeat and certainly this would not be
19 justified after all of the sacrifices that have been made by
20 the Americans, both in Vietnam and elsewhere.

21 MR. DOWNS: Doesn't the communique say in effect -- at
22 least imply it, if it does not spell it out -- "We are not going
23 to pull out our troops until they have a secure and independent
24 government in Saigon that can operate"?

25 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, the communique, Bill, was a



1 little indefinite in this regard. It didn't really point out
2 the basic terms by which we would make this withdrawal. It
3 didn't have any provisions in it that would insure the com-
4 pliance by the North Vietnam forces and by the Viet Cong.
5 This is where I think the American people have to know more
6 before they can say they are for the proposal that was made in
7 Manila.

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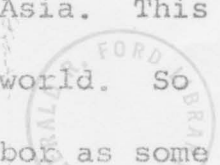


1 1 MR. CLARK: You say the Viet Cong would have to be
2 deactivated. Now as a practical matter, how can you accomplish
3 this without the presence of American troops?

4 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, this is an excellent question,
5 Bob. I have grave doubts that the South Vietnamese forces
6 are capable at the present time of handling the situation
7 by themselves. The South Vietnamese forces have had a large
8 desertion rate. They don't have the cadre of officers that
9 are needed to really do a job. I am not at all positive that
10 the Viet Cong can be properly and adequately handled by the
11 South Vietnamese forces. And if we just pulled out and
12 in effect left South Vietnam and moved our troops in
13 considerable numbers, for example to Thailand, which
14 may be a possibility, it would only move the battlefront
15 from South Vietnam to Thailand.

16 MR. DOWNS: As a Pacific power you don't really
17 think we should pull out of Southeast Asia altogether, do
18 you?

19 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I certainly do not. I have always
20 felt that the United States has an obligation and a respon-
21 sibility to steadfastly and effectively meet the challenge
22 of Communist aggression, Communist terror and Communist
23 subversion in South Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia. This
24 is to our benefit and to the benefit of the free world. So
25 I am not one who wants us to retreat to Pearl Harbor as some



2
1 Democrats unfortunately have said or implied. I believe
2 for our own security as well as the security of the free
3 world, we have an obligation to stay there and to prevail
4 over communism.

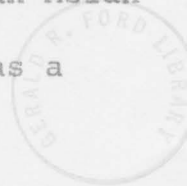
5 MR. DOWNS: I think this is the Administration's policy,
6 too. So therefore you are in agreement with that.

7 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I am in agreement, Bill, with their
8 basic aim and objective, I would put it. I do have questions
9 in other areas, but I am in agreement with the President's
10 determination to stay and to prevail over Communist aggression
11 in Southeast Asia.

12 MR. DOWNS: Isn't that where the Republicans, though, are
13 in trouble in trying to make the Vietnam war a political issue
14 in this election?

15 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, Senator Dirksen and I have
16 repeatedly said that we don't believe the Republicans should make
17 Vietnam and the war and the crisis there a political issue.
18 We have tried to be responsible in this regard. We have
19 given more help to President Johnson in this area than most
20 of the Democrats -- in the Senate, particularly. I think
21 it is unfortunate that the President hasn't been able to get
22 more support from his own Democrats in the United States
23 Senate during this crisis.

24 MR. CLARK: There have been some proposals for an Asian
25 peace conference which would include the Communists as a



1 followup to Manila. Would you like to see such a conference?

2 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bob, as you know the Republicans --
3 Charlie Percy in Illinois, and others -- have been strong
4 for what we call an all-Asian peace conference. We felt
5 that this would be a big step in the right direction to bring
6 about peace in that area of the world and if that was held, I
7 would think in time you would have to bring in some of the enemy
8 leaders as well as the Asian leaders themselves who are on
9 our side.

10 MR. CLARK: Just who would you bring in, would you include
11 the Viet Cong, for instance, or Red China?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think all of the participants,
13 all of the combatants eventually, on the other side, would
14 have to sit down with the Asian leaders themselves who are on
15 our side. I have a lot of faith in President Marcos and the
16 other Asian leaders who are on our side. They have a firm
17 position. They are very staunch in their opposition to Commun-
18 ist aggression and terror. I think they could handle Ho Chi
19 Minh, and any of the other opposition forces who would be
20 at such peace table.

21 MR. CLARK: How about the Soviet Union who have been
22 supplying missile support to North Vietnam, would you have
23 them at the conference table too?

24 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I don't believe the Soviet Union
25 qualifies as an Asian nation in the context that we are



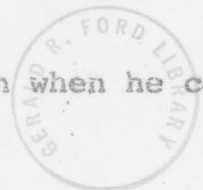
1 talking about.

2 *****

3 MR. DOWNS: Congressman Ford, two weeks ago when the
4 President left for the Far East a number of you Republican
5 leaders on the Hill feared that he would so dominate the
6 news and the headlines that you wouldn't have a fair shake on
7 this campaign for the November elections. Do you feel that
8 he has dominated the headlines and what is the political
9 impact of the Manila conference?

10 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, we were apprehensive that this
11 conference would dominate the news and that the President
12 would divert public attention from the basic issues that are
13 disturbing the American people. But my general impression
14 from traveling in about ten states in the last two weeks
15 during the time the President was in Manila is that the American
16 people are still concerned about those basic issues: high
17 prices, high interest rates, a disregard for the law. The
18 American people have been interested -- and properly so --
19 in what has taken place in Manila, but I think they have kept
20 their eye on the ball, so to speak, on the basic issues between
21 Republicans and Democrats and I don't believe any last-minute
22 political oratory by the President, when he comes back and
23 makes his whirlwind tour around the country, will change
24 very many votes.

25 MR. DOWNS: You expect a political blitz then when he comes



1 back?

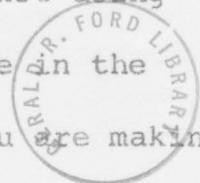
2 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, all indications are the
3 President is going to visit a number of states and try to
4 convince some of our voters that things are good. I think
5 they realize problems are here and they haven't been solved
6 and the President's last minute political oratory won't change
7 very many votes.

8 MR. CLARK: You have been campaigning furiously around the
9 country for the past several months. You have raised the
10 suspicion in some quarters that you are working for something
11 more than just the election of Republican candidates, that
12 you are running for Vice President or maybe even President
13 in 1968.

14 Would it be fair to call you the Bobby Kennedy of the
15 Republican Party?

16 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bob, in the first place there
17 isn't much resemblance between us and secondly our views are
18 very different. I have absolutely no political ambition for any
19 other office than to be reelected to my present seat in the
20 Congress and to continue to help the Republicans in the
21 House and I hope to be the Republican leader in the House in
22 the next two years.

23 MR. CLARK: But you would agree that you are not doing
24 yourself any harm for anything that might transpire in the
25 future with all these contacts and good friends you are making



1 among Republican Party people around the country?

2 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, there is no doubt that
3 when I go from one district to another that I -- or at
4 least I hope I make good friends and get to know people
5 better, but this is for the purpose, really, of stimulating
6 our candidates in these districts and getting their friends
7 and their helpers to get out and elect us a responsible
8 Congress in the next session. What happens after that,
9 why of course is beyond my own control.

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1 MR. DOWNS: Maybe we could call you the Richard Nixon
2 of Capitol Hill. Would that be more like it?

3 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, my desire, as I said a minute
4 ago, Bill, is not to come to any district for the purpose of
5 helping my own cause on a national level.

6 MR. DOWNS: You mentioned the economic issues and you
7 were one of the Republican Congressmen or Republican leaders
8 who advised the ladies who are now on the picket lines in the
9 supermarkets, instead to picket the White House or the -- I
10 think you call it the "inflationary 89th Congress."

11 What did Mrs. Ford have to say about that?

12 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, Bill, we discussed that this
13 morning and I think she agrees with me that the cause of in-
14 flation today is not the farmer; it is not the businessman;
15 it is not the working man who is trying to get higher wages.
16 The cause of inflation in this country today is the excessive
17 spending, the non-essential, non-military spending out of the
18 Federal treasury.

19 I was surprised. She knows a great deal about this aspect
20 and if she is typical of the housewives throughout the country
21 -- and I think she is -- I am very, very happy because in my
22 judgment this administration has been trying to divert public
23 opinion from the cause of inflation, which is federal spending,
24 to the businessman and to the farmer and to the supermarket
25 operator and the like.



1 I think my friend, Esther Petersen, when she went out to
2 Denver to help some of these housewives was, to some extent
3 anyhow, trying to divert attention from the cause and she, and
4 these housewives, were only showing their opposition to the
5 symptoms.

6 The housewives, I have great sympathy for them. I
7 understand their frustration, but they could do a better job
8 in the remaining days before the election to come down and
9 picket the White House and the majority members of the Congress
10 who added to the President's budget and who are equally
11 responsible for the high prices at the present time.

12 MR. DOWNS: There have been, though, signs that the
13 Congress itself saw something going wrong in the supermarkets
14 because you -- I don't know how you voted on this; how did you
15 vote on the Truth in Packaging Bill, for example?

16 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I voted for it, Bill.

17 MR. DOWNS: You voted for it. So, something has been
18 going on in the market that the housewife doesn't like. Now,
19 you were telling them, "Don't blame the supermarket, but blame
20 the President of the United States." But the supermarket is
21 there, the President isn't there. Do you think it is wrong
22 for these people to protest?

23 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I think the housewives who
24 are picketing supermarkets are aiming their ire not at the
25 products they get, but the prices they have to pay,



1 and the prices they have to pay, the highest prices in a good
2 many years, if not all-time highs, the cause of that is not
3 the businessman who sells the product; it is not the farmer
4 who produces the commodities --

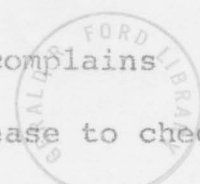
5 MR. DOWNS: It is not the trading stamps; it is
6 not the contest; it is not the "We will give you a free trip
7 to Europe;" you don't think that has anything to do with it?

8 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think those are promotion gim-
9 micks that ^{probably} could well be left aside in this crisis of high
10 prices, but the Administration has sought by one means or
11 another in the last several weeks to divert public attention
12 from the cause. They have been treating the symptoms. The
13 Federal Trade Commission, for example, has belatedly jumped
14 into the fray and they are now at this last ditch moment before
15 the election going around trying to find out whether these
16 promotion proposals and these gimmicks are bad or good, or
17 whether they are inflationary or otherwise.

18 This Administration is doing everything it possibly can
19 to get public attention away from the real cause of inflation,
20 which is the federal spending that can be cut back and should
21 be deferred.

22 It is clever. It is good politics, but it isn't good
23 economics.

24 MR. CLARK: Did Mrs. Ford tell you when she complains
25 about high prices that there should be a tax increase to check



1 inflation?

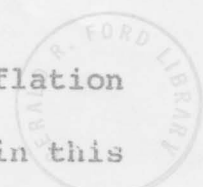
2 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: We haven't gone that far, Bob,
3 but speaking generally, most Americans, from my travels
4 around, to some extent expect President Johnson to come back
5 from Manila and before January 10th, when Congress reconvenes,
6 let the cat out of the bag that we will have to have a third
7 tax increase within 14 months.

8 The President, I am sure, fully realizes that there is a
9 backlog, a big backlog of unfunded problems in the Defense
10 Department as long as he didn't come back from Manila with
11 peace, and if he reveals the extent of this need and the
12 necessity in the Pentagon, as he should, for increased
13 expenditures for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines, I am
14 positive that he will wrap up his tax increase in a tax bill
15 for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

16 MR. DOWNS: One thing on the boycott before we leave that.
17 Do you think it is going to hurt you or help you, these women
18 picketing?

19 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I believe it will help us because,
20 despite the diversionary tactics of the Administration, eight
21 out of ten Americans know, according, I think, to the Gallup
22 or Harris poll, that inflation is caused by excessive non-
23 essential, non-military spending.

24 MR. CLARK: With the continuing threat of inflation
25 and with the almost total failure of Republicans in this



1 last Congress to make any substantial cuts in Great Society
2 programs, would you now agree with most economists that a
3 tax increase is needed now?

4 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I haven't yet seen enough evidence,
5 Bob, to convince me that a tax increase is inevitable, and,
6 furthermore, the Republicans in the House of Representatives
7 during this last session made repeated efforts to cut back on
8 non-military, non-essential spending. On five appropriation
9 bills we offered a five per cent cut in spending, which, if
10 it had been supported by the Democrats, we could have saved
11 \$5,600 million. If those savings had been made, we could have
12 dampened the fires of inflation right now, and we could have
13 possibly avoided the need and necessity for a tax increase.

14 MR. CLARK: How many Republican seats are you going to
15 have to pick up in this next Congress before you can make any
16 substantial dent in Great Society spending?

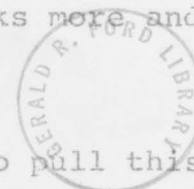
17 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: We have to get, Bob, a minimum of
18 thirty House Republicans to replace those Democrats that go
19 along almost exclusively with the President's programs.

20 I was amazed --

21 MR. DOWNS: Is this your prediction? Thirty?

22 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No, Bill, I think we will get 40 or
23 more. From my travels around the country, it looks more and
24 more encouraging every day.

25 MR. DOWNS: Well, that June 19th -- I hate to pull this on

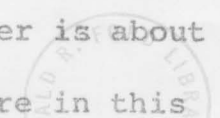


1 you -- on this same program you predicted 40 to 50 House seats.
2 Now, are you downgrading? Has something happened that has
3 made you become more conservative?

4 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Bill, I have used a phrase more
5 recently that I think gives us a little flexibility. I have
6 said 40 or more, but I must say and say it very emphatically
7 that right now I am convinced I could put more emphasis on the
8 "more" which takes me up to the 50 figure that I used a few
9 months ago on this program.

10 MR. CLARK: President Johnson seems to be trying to paint
11 Republicans into a corner by recalling, quoting statistics
12 that since the turn of the century, since 1900, the average
13 gain by the out-of-power party in off-year elections has
14 been 41 votes. Therefore, if you accept President Johnson's
15 theme, if the Republicans pick up any less than 40 votes, it
16 is a victory for the Democrats. Would you agree with Mr.
17 Johnson?

18 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the President is using
19 statistics to cover up a defeat that I believe he will suffer
20 on November 8th when we do make those kinds of gains. Dick
21 Nixon a few days ago had made a study, which is a very interest-
22 ing one, which shows in the first off-year election after a
23 President is elected, going back to Roosevelt to Truman to
24 Eisenhower, the net gain of the party out of power is about
25 ten, so if we, as Republicans, pick up 40 or more in this



1 election November 8th rather than the ten which is the
2 traditional figure in this situation, Republicans will have
3 given a big boost and the American people will have rejected
4 the Johnson-Humphrey inflation Democrat Congress, a real
5 beating.

6 MR. CLARK: The Republican leader in the Senate, Everett
7 Dirksen, is still predicting a gain of 75 seats in the House.
8 I take it you feel he is a little optimistic.

9 MR. DOWNS: You are not taking any bets on that?

10 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I like to agree with Senator
11 Dirksen and we do agree practically all the time, but on this
12 one I will go along with his figure, but I think in all
13 honesty the one that I have quoted is the more likely one.

14 * * * * *

15 MR. DOWNS: Congressman Ford, I think we agree that this
16 question of black power, the so-called white backlash, is a
17 real imponderable in the upcoming election.

18 How do you assess it?

19 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: First, all the Republican leaders
20 I know of have deplored and regretted that a limited number
21 of negro leaders have used this as a phrase and have sought to
22 exploit the situation. I don't think that the American people
23 are at all sympathetic; in fact, I think they are very much
24 opposed to it. I have the feeling that in this election the
25 American people individually will make their decision on whether

1 or not the white backlash is a factor or not.

2 No one, Bill, can forecast right now whether this will
3 or will not be a substantial factor on November 8th.

4 MR. CLARK: In some of your recent campaign speeches you
5 seem to be implying rather strongly that the Administration is
6 responsible for race riots in the big cities. Do you believe
7 that?

8 REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I have never said that. I have
9 pointed out that under this Administration crime has gone up
10 about 46 per cent while our population has gone up only eight
11 per cent. I have pointed out that the Republicans in the House
12 on several occasions have tried to get amendments offered on
13 various bills that would give better tools to the Administra-
14 tion to solve these problems and unfortunately on one or more
15 occasions the Administration has opposed these either indirectly
16 or directly, such legislation.

17 MR. CLARK: I am sorry but our time is up. Thank you very
18 much for being our guest on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

19 * * * * *

20 (Next week: Richard M. Nixon, former Vice President of the
21 United States and a leader of the Republican Party.)

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"ON THE RECORD"

An interview with the Honorable Gerald R. Ford,
Minority Leader of the House of Representatives

Tuesday, November 22, 1966, at 11:00 a.m.

Q. The Republican Conference will meet shortly,
will it?

MR. FORD: It will meet on January 9.

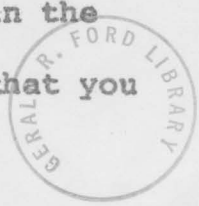
Q. Do you expect to be re-elected as Minority
Leader?

MR. FORD: I hope that the whole leadership group
which served in the 89th Congress will be re-elected.

Q. There has been some question about whether Les
Arends wants to continue on as Whip. Have you discussed that
with him?

MR. FORD: I haven't discussed it with him. I just
assumed that he wanted to continue as Whip. I have talked
to Les and he never mentioned it. I told him, as I told
everybody else in the leadership, that I strongly hope that
all of them would be candidates and would be re-elected.

Q. What are the Republicans going to do in the
House this year that they didn't do last year, now that you
have added strength?



1 MR. FORD: Well, I think the overall approach we
2 will take is that we are going to insist that the legislative
3 process be re-established in the House of Representatives.
4 I am sure all of you knew that we felt that in the last
5 Congress the legislative process as we have known it in the
6 past just didn't operate. The ratios were so great that to
7 a substantial degree on the big issues, when the Administra-
8 tion wanted something, the House didn't operate in a typical
9 legislative way.

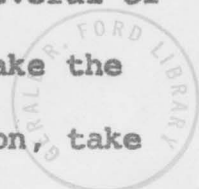
10 We are going to insist that the committees operate
11 in a proper way. There is going to be better consideration
12 of measures in the committees. We hope that the House, itself,
13 will again function as a legislative body.

14 Q. Jerry, do you favor, in line with what you just
15 mentioned, eliminating the 21-day rule?

16 MR. FORD: We haven't made any decision on that.
17 The leadership is going to get together in the next month.

18 Q. What is your personal feeling on it?

19 MR. FORD: Well, I don't believe in saying what I
20 feel as an individual until I have worked out what I think the
21 leadership as a whole should feel. There are some in the
22 leadership who have expressed themselves that we ought to
23 fight the 21-day rule and return to what it was. Several of
24 the leadership have suggested that we go back and take the
25 "Fair Play" amendments that followed the '62 election, take



1 some of the ideas we had at the time following the '64 election,
2 and incorporate those in some of the rules changes.

3 Then one of the members of the leadership has sug-
4 gested that we take the 21-day rule and fight to take from it
5 the discretion of the Speaker -- as you know, now the Speaker
6 has the discretion to recognize the Chairman of the particular
7 committee -- and make it mandatory that he recognize not only
8 the Chairman but the Ranking Minority Member. This would
9 insure that also the Ranking Minority Member can force the
10 legislation on the Floor after the 21 days has expired.

11 What I am trying to say is that we have some alterna-
12 tives that we are going to explore. We will get together some-
13 time in the next month and try to pick our course of action.

14 Q. Have you had any indication that Carl Albert,
15 who is the Democratic Majority Leader, will insist on rein-
16 stating the 21-day rule in the new Congress?

17 MR. FORD: I haven't talked to Carl about it.

18 Q. If they don't move, it won't be there, will it?

19 MR. FORD: Oh, yes, the House has to adopt its rules
20 the day the session begins. So the new Congress has full
21 flexibility on what it wants to approve.

22 Q. Do you expect to have to fight to achieve this
23 return of the legislative process, or do you think that it will
24 be a foregone conclusion?

25 MR. FORD: We have 47 more members. On its face,



1 that would insure that both in committee and on the Floor
2 there will be a re-establishment of this legislative process.

3 Q. Will you get more members on the committees?

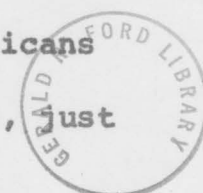
4 MR. FORD: Well, in 1965, following '64, the Democratic
5 leadership said that we had 32.-some per cent and they had
6 67.-some per cent. It was virtually 68 to 32, so let us use
7 those figures. Based on the elections of two weeks ago, it is
8 43 to 57. They said on all committees two years ago that it
9 ought to be 32-68. We couldn't do much about it. We feel
10 that if there was a mandate in '64, there is a mandate in '66,
11 and we ought to get the same consideration.

12 Q. Do you think that you will?

13 MR. FORD: We are sure going to fight for it.
14 I think we have good reasons to fight for it, because there
15 was a very substantial change in public sentiment as re-
16 flected in the gains we made. If the concept of carrying out
17 the will of the people in '64 was sound in '65, it sure is
18 sound in '67.

19 Q. Could you expect to get some support from
20 Southern Democratic committee chairmen on this matter of
21 getting a greater number of Republicans on the committees?

22 MR. FORD: Well, this brings up the whole issue of
23 the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition. My feeling two
24 years ago, and my feeling today, is that the Republicans
25 ought to make their own decisions on policy matters, just



1 like I think we ought to make our own decision on the committee
2 ratio. We want Republican representation on committees.

3 On issues we will make up our own mind or we will
4 make our own determinations on what policies should be.
5 We will get whatever help or whatever support we can get from
6 any Democrats.

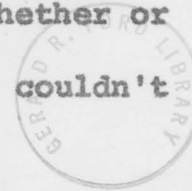
7 On the ratios on committees, if we can get any
8 Democratic help in the breakdown of committee ratios, we will
9 sure be glad to have it.

10 Q. As a practical matter, you will be getting support
11 more from Southern Democrats than anyone else, won't you?

12 MR. FORD: This is what they have to decide. But
13 I want to repeat and reiterate, the Republican policy decision
14 will be made by Republicans. We will welcome help from Northern,
15 Southern, Liberal, or Conservative Democrats.

16 Q. Is this a bargaining situation now, where you
17 are saying, in effect, the signals are out to the Southern
18 Democrats, that if they expect to get any Republican help,
19 they had better provide votes for increased Republican committee
20 holdings?

21 MR. FORD: No, I wouldn't put it that way. We have
22 187 Republicans. We will make our decisions in the leadership
23 and otherwise with those numbers in mind. We certainly ex-
24 pect some Democratic help on a number of issues. Whether or
25 not they will help us on committee ratios or not, I couldn't



1 tell you.

2 Q. The Democrat help you expect, that is Southern
3 Democrats?

4 MR. FORD: Not necessarily. We had some help on some
5 issues last year from Northern Democrats.

6 Q. What would you do in exchange? How could you
7 help the Southern Democrats if they came along to help the
8 Republicans or lend support to the Republicans?

9 MR. FORD: I don't think that I want to be in the
10 position of making any deals with any Democrats, none whatso-
11 ever. This was a Republican mandate, in my judgment, on
12 November 8. I am sure that you know we fielded more Republican
13 candidates against more Democrats across the board than we
14 ever did before. We received more results nation-wide with
15 the exception of three states. We didn't do well in New York,
16 we didn't do well in the State of Washington, and we lost one
17 seat in the State of Maine. Other than that, we made good
18 Republican progress across the board.

19 So what we have to concentrate on is making this
20 a Republican policy. Even though we don't have the majority,
21 we have to make certain that the public understands that our
22 decisions come from within the Republican Party, so we can
23 build in '68 to have Republican candidates against every
24 Democrat.

25 Q. South as well as North?



1 MR. FORD: Nation-wide.

2 Q. Isn't it more likely, though, that the Republi-
3 cans and the Southern Democrats will in fact be lined up on
4 a majority of issues?

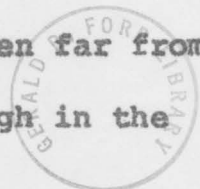
5 MR. FORD: That is up to them. After we make our
6 decision, Paul, that is their decision and not ours.

7 Q. Les Arends was quoted the other day as saying
8 that Republicans and Conservative Democrats will control the
9 next Congress. Would you agree with that?

10 MR. FORD: I don't know. We hope to maximize our
11 unanimity, and I think that we have made considerable progress
12 in that as a result of the '66 elections. I am not saying
13 that we will get unanimous Republican votes on every issue.
14 That just doesn't happen. But we will get a higher degree
15 of unity among Republicans in the next two years than we did
16 in the last two. If the Democrats want to support us, that is
17 for them to decide. We aren't going to make any deals with
18 them.

19 Q. But in shaping your policy, won't you be taking
20 into consideration, if you do this or that, you will pick up
21 25 or 30 votes from the Conservative Democrats and thereby
22 carry the day on the Floor, whereas otherwise you might go
23 down swinging?

24 MR. FORD: Well, their unanimity has been far from
25 perfect, too, on the Administration side, although in the



1 last Congress there was always the pressure of the White House,
2 which I assume will be true in the next two years.

3 Q. Do you think it will be greater?

4 MR. FORD: It will have to be greater if they want
5 to win. They have 47 less votes to start with than they had
6 before.

7 Q. Do you foresee a real battle in the House this
8 year over legislation?

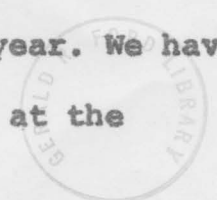
9 MR. FORD: I hope so, Paul.

10 Q. Are you going to have your own positions on war
11 and poverty? Are you going to have an alternative of some
12 sort to the war on poverty?

13 MR. FORD: Well, as you know, Quie and Goodell
14 had their proposal this year, which we offered as a motion to
15 recommit, and we offered amendments as the bill was considered.
16 It was a disappointing exercise or result, because we didn't
17 have enough votes. But I would assume that we would have the
18 same approach on that program in the next two years as we
19 had in the last two.

20 Q. Are you going to have a full range of alternative
21 programs, in effect a Republican "State of the Union" message?

22 MR. FORD: We are anticipating another State of the
23 Union message. We think it was successful last year. We have
24 some of our staff people working on ideas for it at the
25 present time.



1 Q. Would you have a Viet Nam position in it?

2 MR. FORD: Well, as you know, last year Senator
3 Dirksen took the foreign policy side, and I took the domestic
4 side. I would hope that we could have some suggestions in
5 this area in our State of the Union Message, as I know we will
6 have some on the domestic side.

7 Q. Are you going to do it that way again?

8 MR. FORD: I haven't talked to him about that detail
9 yet.

10 Q. Will you ask for free television time for this?

11 MR. FORD: We certainly expect to make the same
12 request, and we hope we get a little more time and a little
13 better time.

14 Q. How do you feel about the President's request
15 to Eisenhower to tour Asia and other parts of the world?

16 MR. FORD: Well, if General Eisenhower's health
17 permits it, I think he would be a fine goodwill emissary, as
18 far as the United States is concerned. I think he and his
19 doctors have to make up their minds as to whether he is
20 physically able to do so.

21 Q. Would that steal some of the Republican thunder
22 on Viet Nam, if Eisenhower does go out there?

23 MR. FORD: I wouldn't think so. I think Ike would
24 go as an emissary for all of us -- Democrats, Republicans,
25 and otherwise. I think his worldwide stature today is higher

1 than it was at almost any time except right after World War II.

2 Q. Wouldn't it be taken as evidence of bi-partisan
3 support for the Administration's Viet Nam policy?

4 MR. FORD: Well, I think I am right, that the Repub-
5 licans have given pretty strong bi-partisan support to the
6 Administration on Viet Nam in the last two years. In fact,
7 we have given a lot more support to the President in this area
8 than some of his Democratic Senators particularly have in the
9 last two years.

10 As a matter of fact, we have given him far more
11 support on the overall policy in Viet Nam in the House. You
12 didn't see any Republicans voting one day for an appropriation
13 and then within twelve hours signing a petition, as I think
14 seventy-some Democrats did, saying, "Well, maybe we shouldn't
15 have voted that way. We have a different position."

16 Q. Do you think Viet Nam ought to be a bi-partisan
17 issue?

18 MR. FORD: I think the overall objective of meeting
19 the Communist aggression, and Communist terror, and Communist
20 subversion in Viet Nam should be a bi-partisan aim. This
21 doesn't mean that we have to sit silently, or we can't raise
22 some questions and can't make some broad suggestions. But on
23 the overall objective I believe the Republicans will stand
24 with the Administration as long as it keeps that overall
25 objective as our national goal.



1 Q. You are saying you would feel free to criticize
2 the methods the Administration uses to reach that objective?

3 MR. FORD: Not in a nit-picking way, no. But I use
4 as an example here the coordinating committee, the statement
5 of December of 1965, which made some broad suggestions.
6 I think that they were valid then, and I think that they are
7 valid now.

8 Q. Do you think the Republicans will have a more
9 distinct Viet Nam policy than they have had in the past?

10 MR. FORD: I think it is too early to tell, Paul,
11 at this point. What we hope to do, and this is in broad out-
12 line, is this: I would hope that our leadership can sit
13 down with some experts in several fields, in the field of
14 economics to see what they tell us the prospects are for the
15 economy in the next twelve months, with perhaps some military
16 people who can give us a better perspective on the problems
17 in that area, and some experts in some of the other fields
18 that will inevitably be considered in legislation up here.

19 Until we have had that opportunity, I think it is
20 premature for us to be definitive on, we will say, Viet Nam.

21 Q. Yesterday the Administration indicated in the
22 United Nations that it was in favor of the Italian proposal
23 to study the possibility of admitting Red China into the
24 United Nations, the two-China policy. Where will the
25 Republican leadership stand on that?



1 MR. FORD: This was a little surprising to me, because
2 from everything I have ever heard the Secretary of State and
3 others say heretofore, they were opposed to the admission of
4 Red China into the United Nations. My own overall feeling
5 in this regard is that until Red China proves by some per-
6 formance that they should qualify, I don't think that they
7 should be admitted.

8 Q. I have one other question on Viet Nam.

9 You mentioned there was an agreement with the Adminis-
10 tration on the goals in Viet Nam. I wonder what do the
11 Republicans see as the goal? Is it a victory, a negotiated
12 peace, or if we do get a negotiated peace, are you then
13 going to criticize Johnson for selling out cheaply, or what
14 do you want?

15 MR. FORD: If you take the various words that have
16 been used by the Administration, sometimes they talk about
17 victory, and Hubert has been the one principally who used
18 that term, but several others have used it. Others talk
19 about a negotiated settlement. They have used a wide variety
20 of phraseology in defining their own goals. I think it would
21 be helpful if they would be more definitive themselves. But
22 I would refer here to what the coordinating committee said
23 in December of last year, when the words they used were,
24 "We do not seek unconditional surrender of North Viet Nam.
25 We seek unconditional security for South Viet Nam."



1 Those are the exact words that were used as an over-
2 all objective.

3 Q. Can that be negotiated?

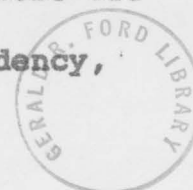
4 MR. FORD: I think it can be negotiated.

5 Q. Let me ask you about the national political
6 situation. Do you feel that the emergence of some very popular
7 Republican Governors is taking away or moving the leadership
8 of the party nationally from Washington to some of these
9 Governors?

10 MR. FORD: I would hope that the Republican victories
11 in the Senate races and the Gubernatorial races and the House
12 races and also in the legislative races would prove that the
13 Republican coordinating committee was a very, very sound
14 vehicle for the enunciation of Republican philosophy and
15 Republican policy statements, and that the leadership of the
16 party as a whole would stay in the coordinating committee.

17 Q. Hasn't the coordinating committee been pretty
18 well dominated by the Capitol Hill Republicans?

19 MR. FORD: Paul, if you had been there, and seen
20 some of the arguments -- and I use "arguments" in the right
21 sense -- you would have seen that all elements of the party
22 had a major part in the drafting of the statements we have
23 set forth. I guess numerically you could say the eleven
24 House-Senate leadership was the biggest segment. There are
25 five Governors and five ex-candidates for the Presidency,



1 and some from the National Committee, and one from the legis-
2 lative group. But it didn't always work out that the House
3 and Senate people were unanimous. There were bona fide
4 differences of opinion that were resolved without any one
5 segment of the party, the Governors, or the Capitol Hill
6 people, or others, taking ironclad positions.

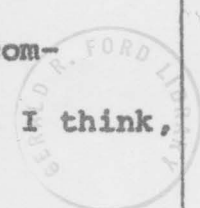
7 Q. Do you think the coordinating committee will
8 be able to continue its role in the next two years as well
9 as you think it has in the last two?

10 MR. FORD: I think it should do better. In the
11 first place, it is a going concern, Jerry, and secondly it
12 proved its worth in the last two years. We didn't have a
13 number of spokesmen going off in one direction or another.
14 We had once every three months a meeting of the group, and
15 this brought in all elements of the party. My impression was
16 that it was a major factor in our party unity. It certainly
17 kept the party from going off in ten different directions.

18 Q. Do you think the coordinating committee will
19 be in position in a major way to determine the Republican
20 platform for 1968 or the election of candidates in 1968?

21 MR. FORD: Well, certainly the policy statements
22 which will be periodically issued by the coordinating committee
23 ought to be working papers for the platform committee.

24 It is not the function, however, of the coordinating com-
25 mittee to pick the candidate for the Presidency. This, I think,



1 would be an overstepping of the charter of the coordinating
2 committee.

3 Q. Do you think the party will nominate a moderate
4 or liberal rather than a conservative in 1968?

5 MR. FORD: Well, we get into a problem of definition
6 here. I think we will nominate a good, strong, progressive
7 Republican candidate in 1968.

8 Q. Would you agree with Rockefeller and Romney
9 that, as quoted in the Times today, the party is moving away
10 from conservatism?

11 MR. FORD: I haven't read the New York Times today,
12 and so I don't know. I read the New York Times yesterday.
13 They seemed to be talking a little differently from one another.

14 Q. They washed that out.

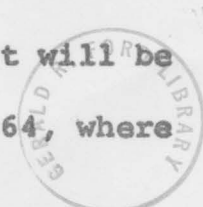
15 MR. FORD: There was a semantic difference.

16 Q. Do you think there is going to be a conservative-
17 moderate fight in 1968 as there was in 1964?

18 MR. FORD: I think the '68 convention, and I really
19 hope this, will be a rather open convention, where the dele-
20 gates who come there will not be so tied down to one candidate
21 or another that they can't exercise some judgment at the con-
22 vention.

23 Q. Well, some of them will be tied down.

24 MR. FORD: There will be some. I think it will be
25 a much more open convention in '68 than it was in '64, where



1 there will be a freer exercise of delegate discretion at the
2 convention than there was in 1964.

3 Q. Are you saying that these various candidates
4 should not try to get a leg up now? Are you telling them
5 to hold off for a while?

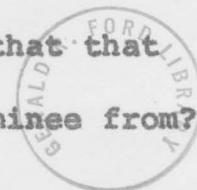
6 MR. FORD: Obviously we are going to have some
7 Presidential primary contests, and I think that this is good.
8 Of course, those delegates will be tied to the candidate
9 that prevails. But there are a lot of delegates who come from
10 states where there isn't a favorite son, where there is not a
11 Presidential primary, where the delegates can be selected
12 on the basis of their past Republican effort, their interest
13 in picking the candidate who can win, who can carry the party
14 banner.

15 I would hope we would have a lot of delegates in
16 this category who don't come to the convention totally and
17 irrevocably committed to any one candidate, so they can ex-
18 press their own viewpoint and use their own discretion at a
19 national convention.

20 Q. Do you believe that a candidate will come from
21 the ranks of the party's Governors?

22 MR. FORD: We have some pretty good potential candi-
23 dates there.

24 Q. As a practical matter, do you think that that
25 is where you are going to get your Presidential nominee from?



1 MR. FORD: Well, all I can say is we have several
2 firstclass Governors who have done an excellent job, and
3 certainly on the basis of their record they are really in the
4 forefront, and would make good candidates.

5 Q. Do you think it will be an officeholder?

6 MR. FORD: I would think so.

7 Q. An officeholder, did you say?

8 That leaves out Nixon, doesn't it?

9 MR. FORD: Let me put it this way: I would not rule
10 out any person who has contributed significantly to the
11 Republican cause over the past years.

12 Q. When you were talking about these delegates
13 going to the convention uncommitted, one of the things you
14 mentioned was the past Republican record. Were you talking
15 about the record of supporting past Presidential nominees?

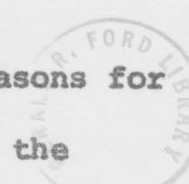
16 MR. FORD: No, their record as a Republican, as an
17 officeholder. In other words, in order to sell a candidate
18 in the political arena, you have to have a record to present.

19 Q. Do you think Romney's failure or lack of support
20 for Goldwater in '64 has hurt him or will hurt him?

21 MR. FORD: Well, it bothers a number of the most
22 devoted Goldwater people.

23 Q. Does it bother you?

24 MR. FORD: No, because I understand his reasons for
25 what he did in 1964. As you know, I nominated him at the



1 convention, and I hoped he would do as I did in '64. I sup-
2 ported Goldwater after the convention. But he had some special
3 reasons in our State for not doing so. He never opposed
4 Goldwater. He just didn't take a position, as I recall.
5 He didn't take a stand one way or another. He was running
6 for Governor on his record. The State of Michigan in '64
7 was a tough state for a Republican running statewide. He was
8 the only one who was elected, outside of Bill Milliken, and
9 they ran as a team, Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It was
10 one vote, really. He had some special problems.

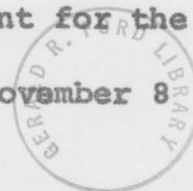
11 When you consider the fact that Johnson won Michigan
12 by about 800,000, it was a tough state for a Republican to
13 win.

14 Q. So you think Romney was completely justified in
15 doing what he did in '64?

16 MR. FORD: I can understand it.

17 Q. But you are not saying he was justified in doing
18 it?

19 MR. FORD: I thought he might have taken a little
20 different position, but I don't condemn him for the position
21 that he took. He had a real tough decision to make. It was
22 his best judgment that what he was doing was the right
23 thing. I don't question anybody under those very hard cir-
24 cumstances. The fact that he won was darned important for the
25 State of Michigan, as proven by what happened on November 8



1 of this year. If he had not won in 1964, the Republican
2 Party in Michigan would be a shambles today.

3 To take the other side of the coin, I don't know
4 whether you were out in Michigan during the last campaign,
5 but no Republican that I ever knew who was running state-
6 wide has ever done more than George Romney did in '66 for the
7 total Republican effort. Thank goodness he won in '64 so
8 he could be the key to the Republican success in '66.

9 Q. Do you think that what he did in this election
10 has cleansed his record?

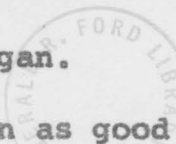
11 MR. FORD: Well, he certainly has proved beyond any
12 doubt that he can help Republicans from the Congress down to
13 any other office in the State.

14 Q. Do you agree with those who say that he is the
15 front-runner?

16 MR. FORD: I don't like to claim credit for the use
17 of that word, but I think I was the one who first said that
18 he was the front-runner at the present time.

19 Q. Are you going to work in his behalf for the
20 nomination?

21 MR. FORD: Let me put it this way: First, as I
22 said earlier as you all know, I nominated him at the con-
23 vention in '64, and I think that he was and has been the best
24 Governor that I have ever known in the State of Michigan.
25 I think his record will show that he has probably been as good



1 if not the best Governor in the history of the State. But for
2 me to do the best job here in this position, I don't think
3 that I should at this stage be campaigning for any Presidential
4 candidate. What we need is to get 187 Republicans in the House
5 to work together.

6 Assuming that I will be the Leader in the next two
7 years, for me to be for one candidate and against others,
8 I think could undermine our Republican effort in the House.
9 Certainly not all 187 would be for the candidate I necessarily
10 was for at this stage. So for me to do the best job in this
11 position, I have to stay clear at the present time of any
12 endorsement of any candidate.

13 Q. When would be the time?

14 MR. FORD: First I have to be a delegate. It would
15 probably be after I get to be a delegate.

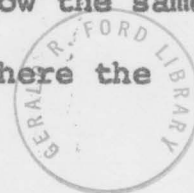
16 Q. To the convention, you mean, in '68?

17 MR. FORD: Yes, sir.

18 Q. Specifically what are you going to do to give the
19 Republicans in Congress a forward program rather than a
20 negative one?

21 Aren't you going to be in a position of being the
22 opposition to the Administration proposals? What are you going
23 to do?

24 MR. FORD: Well, I think that we will follow the same
25 pattern that we followed in the last two years. Where the



1 Administration makes a recommendation, if there is a problem,
2 we will have our Republican alternative. We did that in
3 the voting rights issue, and we did that in medicare, and we
4 did it on four or five other proposals, including the poverty
5 program.

6 Until we have had some of these additional conferences,
7 and until we have consulted as a group, I don't think that we
8 should lay out specifically what our program is going to be.

9 Q. Is it possible that there might be such a
10 battle that there may be a stalemate and not much at all would
11 be accomplished?

12 MR. FORD: I would hope not. I don't think that
13 the country can afford a two-year period of stalemate and
14 drift. I think we have to keep moving. I would hope that the
15 Republicans in the House can make a constructive contribution.

16 Q. Jerry, along that line, I have one question.
17 If you were able to keep all or most of your 187 Republicans
18 unified on any given issue, how many votes do you think that
19 you would need from the other side to put together a
20 majority on the Floor?

21 MR. FORD: Well, you usually need 215, depending
22 upon absentees. If you get 205 to 215 votes, you usually win.

23 Q. You are talking about 20 to 25 votes then,
24 or 20 to 30 votes?

25 MR. FORD: Yes.



1 Q. Are you going to try to knock out such Great
2 Society programs as rent supplements and the demonstration
3 cities and teacher corps, and a couple of those other con-
4 troversial bills?

5 MR. FORD: Well, I don't want to be in the position
6 this morning of identifying one program or another. But I
7 can assure you we are going to tighten up on the expenditures.
8 We are going to tighten up on the guidelines in legislation.
9 A number of the laws now on the statute books just give a
10 blank check to the Administration. Probably the best
11 authority on that is what Mike Mansfield said a year ago,
12 and what he repeated not more than a couple of weeks ago.
13 He agrees that the legislation we passed in the last two
14 years was full of loopholes and rough corners, and was passed
15 without any estimate of current or ultimate cost.

16 I think the Congress has a big responsibility in the
17 next two years to take a look at what has been done and to
18 tighten up both as to expenditures and as to guidelines for
19 the Executive Branch of the Government.

20 If we do that, plus what new problems are on the
21 horizon, with what new proposals we can come up with to solve
22 those problems, I think the Congress can do a good job.

23 Q. One of the questions is whether we ought to have
24 a tax increase.

25



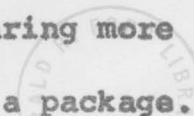
1 MR. FORD: Have you seen my speech of yesterday up
2 in New York before the United States Savings and Loan Associa-
3 tion?

4 Paul can give you a copy of it. Early in the
5 morning, Dr. Heller spoke and advocated one. I raised serious
6 questions as to whether or not that was the right thing to
7 do on the basis that the economy might well need some stimula-
8 tion rather than some depressant in 1967. Probably what I
9 said in that speech would be the best for you to use.

10 Q. If you had a tax increase, but the Democrats
11 were willing to go for a tax-sharing proposition along the
12 line that Congressman Laird outlined the other day, would
13 that change your position then?

14 MR. FORD: I don't think that the two are necessarily
15 compatible. What the Administration asks for, and for example
16 what Dr. Heller was proposing, was a percentage increase in
17 personal and corporate tax. He said it was on a temporary
18 basis. Tax-sharing is not raising revenue. It is taking
19 more revenue away from the Federal Government. So I don't
20 think that the two are compatible. There are different approaches
21 to different problems.

22 Q. I was thinking of a bargaining position, if the
23 Administration were to say they would like to raise taxes,
24 and at the same time will inaugurate a policy of sharing more
25 of our revenue with the States and presenting it as a package.



1 MR. FORD: Quite frankly, I haven't considered that
2 as a package deal. Even if that were possible, it doesn't
3 obviate the problem of whether or not we ought to increase
4 taxes, period. There are a number of responsible tax authori-
5 ties and economists who really question whether a tax increase
6 in the light of the economic conditions today would be the
7 right thing to do.

8 So to go for a tax increase that was the wrong thing
9 to do, and to tie in a tax-sharing, in itself might be the
10 wrong approach.

11 Q. In anticipation of '68, are you going to give the
12 Governors an important voice in determining what will be
13 Republican policy on the Hill?

14 MR. FORD: Through the coordinating committee,
15 surely.

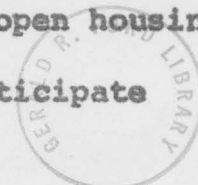
16 Q. Will they be able to influence House Republican
17 positions on specific legislation?

18 MR. FORD: We would welcome their recommendations.

19 Q. I was thinking of something like open housing.
20 Most of the Republican Governors who are considered Presidential
21 timber are open-housing advocates. But the party position
22 on the Hill last year was opposed to the Administration bill.

23 MR. FORD: I can't speak for Senator Dirksen, who
24 took certainly the most adamant position against open housing.

25 Q. Just taking that one issue, do you anticipate



1 that open housing will come up again this year and what will
2 the House Republican position be?

3 MR. FORD: I would say based on the record in '66
4 there would be no particular change in it. I haven't seen any
5 new legal authorities that would probably change Senator
6 Dirksen's view on whether or not it was constitutional.
7 I haven't seen any briefs or any court decisions that would
8 change his mind.

9 I would hope that the rest of the Civil Rights Bill
10 of 1966, including the Cramer Amendment, would be approved.
11 I would doubt that Title IV would get favorable approval
12 in 1967 or 1968.

13 But the rest of the bill, as we said repeatedly
14 on the Floor of the House, and particularly the Cramer Amend-
15 ment, I think was good legislation.

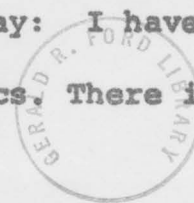
16 Q. You are talking about the bill with Mathias'
17 amendment?

18 MR. FORD: I am talking about eliminating Title IV,
19 which was the Mathias Amendment.

20 Q. Let me get into one other area.

21 Do you think that there is any need for it or do
22 you think that the investigation of the Kennedy assassination
23 should be re-opened?

24 MR. FORD: Well, let me phrase it this way: I have
25 seen no new evidence produced by any of the critics. There is



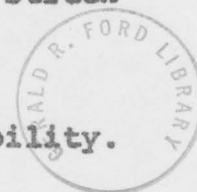
1 nothing from any source that I know of, evidence-wise, that is
2 different than what it was before the Commission. On that
3 basis, if that assumption is true, and I think it is, I still
4 believe that the decisions, recommendations and conclusions
5 of the Warren Commission were sound.

6 Q. Governor Connally apparently in the last week,
7 after looking at some pictures taken by Mr. Zapruder, is
8 inclined to believe that he was not hit by the same bullet
9 that struck President Kennedy, which was one of the findings
10 of the Warren Commission.

11 MR. FORD: Governor Connally so testified before
12 the Commission. This is not a new viewpoint he has. He did
13 so testify. The Commission examined with great care the
14 Zapruder film. It was gone into in great detail. The Com_
15 mission, if you will read it very carefully, did not cate-
16 gorically say that the first shot that hit Kennedy was also
17 the shot that hit Connally. I think the words or phrases are
18 that it is persuasive that the first shot that hit Kennedy
19 also hit Connally, but we did not categorically say that we
20 took a unanimous view on the one-shot theory.

21 Q. Did the Commission consider the implications
22 of a second shot, one not fired at Kennedy, but a second
23 shot hitting Connally and not the same bullet that struck
24 Kennedy?

25 MR. FORD: We considered that as a possibility.



1 Q. Did you reject the idea that that necessarily
2 meant a second assassin or accomplice for Oswald?

3 MR. FORD: We were very categorical in our conclusions.
4 We said Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin, but we also said,
5 and this language was carefully drafted, that the Commission
6 has found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic.
7 Then we went down through the various questions that involved
8 a conspiracy.

9 Q. Was that a unanimous feeling within the Com-
10 mission?

11 MR. FORD: Yes.

12 Q. Do you think the Commission examined all of the
13 evidence that has been turned up to this date?

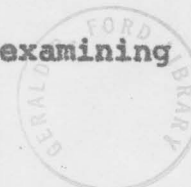
14 MR. FORD: Not up to this date. We were discharged
15 in September of 1964, and our responsibilities ended.

16 Q. Do you think there has been new evidence?

17 MR. FORD: We examined all of the evidence that we
18 could assemble prior to the issuance of the report.

19 Q. Do you think there might be a need to review any
20 evidence that has been turned up since that date, perhaps not
21 by the Commission, but by another body of equal stature or
22 comparable stature?

23 MR. FORD: If there is new evidence, I would have
24 no objection to a responsible authority or group examining
25 that evidence.



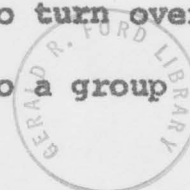
1 Q. Do you think that this rash of books and specu-
2 lation is plowing over old ground mostly? There is no new
3 evidence, is there?

4 MR. FORD: None of the books that I have read, or the
5 reviews of various books that I have read, has shown any new
6 evidence. Certainly the Zapruder film is not new evidence.
7 That was very basic and very important evidence before the
8 Commission. And Governor Connally's views are not new. He
9 testified to that effect at the time of his appearance
10 before the Commission.

11 Q. Did the members see the autopsy films and the
12 autopsy report?

13 MR. FORD: No, I did not. In all honesty, I think
14 that this is the most unsound criticism of the Commission.
15 You are all layman, and I am a layman. Supposing they brought
16 in all of the x-rays, and all of the photographs right here,
17 and said, "Now you examine them." Would you feel qualified
18 to pass judgment on what they meant?

19 Wasn't it more sensible to bring up the people that
20 conducted the autopsy, Commander Hume who was the doctor and
21 the other two people who performed it, and get them under
22 sworn testimony to tell their impressions and to diagram what
23 it meant? Isn't that a lot more sensible than to turn over
24 a pile of x-ray films and other technical data to a group
25 of laymen?



1 I think that this is the most unsound criticism of
2 any that have been made.

3 Q. Do you think this speculative stuff could
4 reach a point where enough doubts are raised that the Warren
5 Commission report could be undermined and would require a new
6 investigation, or do you think this is going to die out?

7 MR. FORD: Well, they are still writing books and
8 articles about Lincoln's assassination. That was one hundred
9 years ago.

10 Q. Have you seen or heard anything that shakes your
11 confidence in the conclusions of the Warren Commission report?

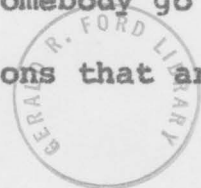
12 MR. FORD: None.

13 Did any of you read Merriman Smith's article?

14 Q. Yes; in the Saturday Evening Post?

15 MR. FORD: Yes. That was pretty strong, and a
16 pretty good defense. I would assume all of you agree he is
17 a very responsible man, and he was there, and he certainly
18 has no axe to grind.

19 Q. That is in line with what Paul said, if it might
20 not be in the public interest, because perhaps now we are at
21 the zenith of this rash of criticism or question-raising
22 or maybe it will grow bigger. I wonder whether it wouldn't
23 be in the public interest to sit down and have somebody go
24 point by point through every one of these questions that are
25 raised and answer them.



1 MR. FORD: I don't think we are the ones to decide
2 that. After all, we were given a job to do, and we did the
3 very best we could on the job, and I don't think that we
4 should get into the controversy.

5 MR. NILTICH: What you are suggesting is that some
6 other group take the same evidence that the Warren Commission
7 studied and go over all of that and say whether or not they
8 think the Warren Commission was right.

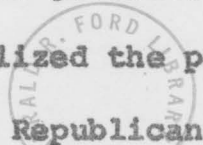
9 Q. That is not what I am suggesting at all. I am
10 suggesting that some group take all of the criticism and all
11 of the questions that have been raised since the Warren Com-
12 mission report, and look through them and see specifically
13 what they are offering, and investigate those things, and
14 then attempt to see if it is possible to respond to them, and
15 see if perhaps some new issue is being raised that hadn't
16 been recognized before.

17 (Discussion off the record.)

18 Q. Let me ask you one more political question:

19 What do you think the past election meant to the
20 Republican Party, and how much of an increased chance to win
21 the Presidency do you think you have from it?

22 MR. FORD: Well, when you add up all of the gains
23 that were made from the state legislatures to the governor-
24 ships and to the Congress, it has really revitalized the party
25 across the board. It makes it certain that the Republicans



1 are going to have a strong Presidential-Vice Presidential
2 ticket in '68. I said, as some of you may remember, that if
3 we don't make gains in '66, we will have a hard time finding
4 good candidates; but if we make gains in '66, we will have
5 plenty of good candidates. I think that there is evidence
6 there that we have a number of alternatives.

7 Q. Did it move you in any particular direction?

8 MR. FORD: I would say it was a middle-of-the-road
9 Republican victory, when you add up all of the variations in
10 the formula.

11 Q. Does it point to the election of a middle-of-
12 the-road candidate as well in 1968?

13 MR. FORD: I would think so, yes. It makes it more
14 possible, let me put it that way.

15 (The interview was concluded at 12:15 p.m.)
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FROM THE PEOPLE

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY AM'S
DEC. 26, 1966

GUEST: Rep. Gerald Ford--GOP House leader

MODERATOR: JOHN CHAMBERS

PANEL: FRANK ELEAZER--UPI House Correspondant
Wally Brunner--UPI-Audio Congressional Correspondant

CHAMBERS: What is your prime target for the 90th Congress?

FORD: I believe the major difference between the 89th and 90th Congress is the House of Representatives will be re-established as a legislative body. It will be independent of the pressures and domination of the White House. We'll be considering legislative proposals in the House, and in committee and on the floor in what has been the traditional way legislation is handled. I'm convinced we will do a far better job. We will probably tighten up some of the legislation. We will certainly reduce expenditures. We'll perhaps do some things legislatively that weren't done and probably should have been done in the 89th Congress. But it will be primarily a more constructive Congress than it was two years ago.

BRUNNER: How are you going to get all this done without a majority?

FORD: We are naturally hopeful that we'll get some help from discerning democrats who will believe in the Republican program that we will determine in our Republican policy committee. In the past we've gotten help from both Northern and Southern Democrats, liberal democrats and conservative democrats. We hope and trust there will be a continuation of some help and assistance from democrats in 1967 and 1968.

BRUNNER: How does the membership line up by numbers then?

FORD: All I can say is we have 187 Republicans. There is no coalition. No automatic coalition. We have to depend on getting help from Democrats on the soundness of our policy and the persuasiveness of our arguments. I think we will--I certainly hope so.

ELEAZER: WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO REDUCE EXPENDITURES?

FORD: I would agree that the 89th Congress talked about reducing expenditures--wasn't very effective in achieving it and the failure of the democratic majority to make the reductions resulted in inflation and as a result I think the American people repudiated the Democratic Party on this issue as well as many others. Now in the 90th Congress I think we are going to be able to



make some reductions in expenditures because the Republicans will continue what they tried to do in the last two years and we've got more troops to do it with. But let me take a specific example. I happen to think, for example, that the \$100 million that is available for the so called beautification--at the very least, could be substantially reduced if not terminated during the crisis that we have. I feel that some of the expenditures for the War on Poverty can be reduced...

ELEAZER: Are'nt all those things really just peanuts when we are talking about \$140 billion federal budget?

FORD: I don't think \$100 million for beautification is peanuts. That's a lot of tax money from a lot of good people and in my judgement these are simply illustrations of areas where we can make reductions. And if we do it down the line, across the board, they add up pretty quickly and I'm convinced we can make reductions of at least \$5 billion if the House and the Senate puts its mind to it.

ELEAZER: Five billion dollars below what--what we're spending in the current year?

FORD: In some of these programs yes.

CHAMBERS: Not the \$140 billion the President is thinking about Congress for.

FORD: Of course there's been just so much speculation around Washington as to just what the President's budget is going to be. Until we actually see what he is sending up to Congress we can't be too categorical as to the top figure and what we are going to reduce it. This is one of the problems we face. This administration has used more budget gimmickry--has kept the American people in more fiscal darkness than any other administration in the history of the U.S.

CHAMBERS: Do you mean this budget is going to be a gimmick?

FORD: No, I didn't say that. All I'm saying is that this administration a year ago tried to fool the people as to the fact that they were going to have a \$1,800,000 ^{deficit} ~~surplus~~. Now in the Budget document itself, which was a phony document, they tried to cover up the actual and honest fiscal picture. They included in revenue the sale of certain assets. They took \$1,800,000 in gutting the silver content of the coins. They did other things which were in actual practice deceptive as far as the overall picture is concerned. And now, all of a sudden, in stead of a \$1.8 billion deficit that the President promised a year ago, we now find that the estimates are there will be a deficit of anywhere from \$6 to \$10 billion at the end of the fiscal year.

CHAMBERS: And so they are going to have to raise revenues and presumably this year?

FORD: This is a decision the President is in the process of making right now. I don't know whether he is going to propose a tax increase or not.

BRUNER: Do you think the Democrats are going to continue to spend more money or aren't they going to be trying to reduce the budget too?

FORD: I will hope the Democrats who were re-elected in the House will have gotten the message from the voters in November. The voters certainly in my opinion voted to have a congress that was more responsible fiscal and I think the Democrats who were re-elected got the message. In addition the Republicans who were elected and those who were elected defeating Democrats will certainly do what they can to reduce expenditures.

ELEAZER: Would'nt it be equally dishonest for the President to hold out to the American people that expenditures are going to be cut by this Congress?

FORD: What I've really said is that we should have and the country deserves--truth in budgeting. We didn't have truth in budgeting in the budget that was submitted to the American people in Jan. of 1966.

ELEAZER: Isn't it a fact that spending rises every year--it goes up no matter whether the Republica are in or the Democrats--it goes up.

FORD: The rise in expenditures in the last two years under the discredited 89th Congress has been greater than any other. It's almost unbelievable that we are going to have a budget of \$140 billion according to some so-called experts. And particularly when we see that not all of that increase comes from the conflict in Vietnam. As a matter of fact, according to the statistics we have been able to find there has been a very substantial rise in non-military expenditures--almost equal--not quite--but almost equal to the rise in the expenditures for the military.

CHAMBERS: Do you see any hope that the war might decelerate and won't cost as much?

FORD: I think all Americans are very hopeful that the conflict in Vietnam will slow down and that it will terminate and that we can have an honorable and permanent peace in Vietnam.

CHAMBERS: But what are the odds probabilities?

FORD: It doesn't look encouraging at this particular moment. But as long as we keep pressure on the communist aggressors in South Vietnam and as long as we are making progress both militarily



and in our pacification program--I think the prospects improve for a settlement in Vietnam.

BRUNNER: How will the Republicans be able to ~~turn~~ reducing expenditures around to their political desires in 1968 when they don't have a majority to point to?

FORD: I'm confident that the American people will know which political party took the lead--which political party had the greater number of votes in making these expenditure reductions. The American people are very responsible groups--they are better informed than most politicians give them credit for and I think, come 1968 they will know which political party was responsible and which was not.

BRUNNER: How can you have you and Romney, from the same state leading the Republican ticket?

FORD: The best answer to that is under no circumstances am I interested in being a candidate for either the vice-presidency or the presidency. I eliminate that problem by my own action and this of course leaves it clear to Gov. Romney to be our favorite son and a potential Republican candidate for the Presidency.

CHAMBERS: Do you foresee an anti-missile missile gap coming up?

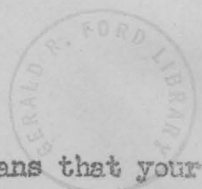
FORD: It does appear that the United States has not taken the necessary initiative to go into production on the anti ballistic missile. This program has been under research and development stage for eight years or more--my best recollection is that we have spent close to \$2 billion on the research and development of the anti-ballistic missile. I feel that the congress in the last session was right in adding money to the military budget for the purpose of getting into the production of an anti ballistic missile system. I would hope that President Johnson and Mr. McNamara that was made available by the Congress for this project.

ELEAZER: Have you seen evidence that Russia is deploying its version of an anti missile missile?

FORD: There has been evidence for some time that the Soviet Union was deploying an anti ballistic missile system around the city of Moscow. We have very good intelligence which shows that to a degree they have been constructing installations of this sort of a weapons system. It seems to me that we are behind the Soviet Union in this particular project and once you get behind in a project of this magnitude it's almost impossible to catch up.

ELEAZER: If this missile is purely defensive--why do we worry about it?

FORD: The answer is very simple. If you have an anti-missile missile system, it means that your country is not in as great a danger as it would be from a missile attack. Because you have the



potential to destroy the initial attack or part of it that might come from an enemy. Now if you don't have any defensive system, you are totally at the mercy of the aggressor.

ELEAZER: Are the Republicans prepared to support the \$35 billion, McNamara says it will cost to build and deploy this anti missile system?

FORD: That figure of \$30 to \$35 billion that Secretary McNamara talks about is not an expenditure that is going to take place all in one year. It's a six or seven year program so that costs would be spread out over the period of time of six or seven years. Republicans, if it is proven necessary for an anti-missile, missile system will support the program.

ELEAZER: How about the fall out shelters Mr. McNamara says we've got to have to go along with it, if it is going to be effective.

FORD: My experience on the Appropriations committee subcommittee on defense appropriations--I have not been persuaded yet that a fall out shelter program is absolutely necessary. It certainly doesn't have the same priority the anti missile missile system has.

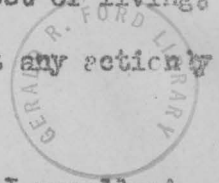
ELEAZER: Don't the explosions of our own nuclear anti-missile, missiles, shower down on us and fallout on us.

FORD: Well, from the information that I have gotten--primarily from the news media, I understand that the new Nike-X system that they have developed with the improved booster and the other technical improvements--that our weapon--the defensive weapon--can get into the air faster--will intercept faster and will travel more rapidly and intercept the enemy further away from the U.S. so that the fallout problem is not the same today as it has been in the past.

CHAMBERS: Would you say the Russian lead has reached the proportion that we now have an anti-missile, missile gap? I am not certain because I have not at the present time had the full benefit of the most recent intelligence information from the Pentagon. But there certainly is growing evidence that we are behind in the installation of an anti-ballistic missile, missile system. This could become a serious military crisis if we delay too much longer.

ELEAZER: At a recent meeting of Rep. gov. you committed the Rep. members of the House to change in the social security system under which you said benefits would be tied to the cost of living. I assume you meant that when the cost of living goes up the pensions go up without any action by Congress?

FORD: That was the Republican proposal that was made during the 89th Congress--as I recollect almost 100 members on the Republican side introduced a bill that would provide an automatic



Social Security benefit increase and when the cost of living rose.

FORD: Do you also propose that the payments go down when the cost of living goes down--it does that some times?

FORD: Well we have'nt experienced that problem under this administration with its inflationary policies--but there is a bottom so to speak, a lower limit placed on it, so that this is a problem would not be adversely felt by the beneficiaries.

ELEAZER: I wonder if Republicans will be prepared to support a proposal that payroll taxes go up automatically along with the benefits?--without any action by Congress.

FORD: The Republican proposal for increase in Social Security was made in the 89th Congress in 1966 did not call for an increase in the payroll tax.

ELEAZER: How are you going to finance it then?

FORD: The actuaries--the statisticians from the Social Security Administration had information which showed that an 8 per cent increase in benefit --across the board could be financed without any additional payroll tax.

CHAMBERS: I wonder if you think the Warren Commission should hear the tape Jacqueline Kennedy made for the Manchester book--will it be revealing in any way?

FORD: The Warren Commission did interrogate Mrs. John F. Kennedy. The commission in my judgement got all of the necessary information from Mrs. Kennedy as to the problem that was our responsibility. The Warren commission had the responsibility of finding out who assassinated the late John F. Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy could not, in my opinion on the problem of who fired the shot or shots that resulted in the death of the late John F. Kennedy.

CHAMBERS: I certainly will read it, if and when it is published but at the moment we've got a few other problems here in the Congress that are pretty important.

BRUNER: Are the Republicans going to initiate any programs under the Republican banner this year?

FORD: The Republican program is right now in the process of being formulated. Let me give you a few ideas that I think will be in what we will try to do. The Republicans have taken the ball and have started to run with what we call federal tax sharing. This was a proposal that was initiated in 1958--it was pushed by Dr. Heller --it is now a Republican proposal--it is the answer to the problems of the big cities--the problems of the big states where they have fairly well exhausted their revenue potential.

BRUNNER: Well isn't that simply federal aid without federal control?

FORD: It's federal aid with a ~~minimum~~ minimum of federal control. One of the problems you have with a traditional grant in aid program is that there is so much federal control that you don't really solve the problems. And we think that with federal tax sharing or federal tax credits we can give to the local communities--to the respective state--a share of the federal income taxes and local people who have imagination, ingenuity and ability can solve these problems more effectively rather than being hamstrung by federal controls.

CHAMBERS: How do you feel Johnson is doing. What effect is the resignation of Bill Moyers and the repudiation of the Democratic governors having--what effect is this having on the man and on his policies?

FORD: The American people have shown by various surveys and polls that they are losing confidence in the Johnson-Humphrey administration. The President's popularity, according to these polls has plummeted. The election certainly was a Republican victory, I think because of our good record but it also reflected an adverse public reaction to the Johnson administration. The Democratic governors are now calling for some changes as far as the Johnson administration is concerned. There is some simmering conflicts among the democrats almost in every state in the union. The Democratic party is the disunified party--it is torn asunder by the failure of its policies and the conflicts among its people. I think the Democrats are in for a very hard time for the next two years.

BRUNNER: Do you think President Johnson is a sure bet to seek re-election in 1968?

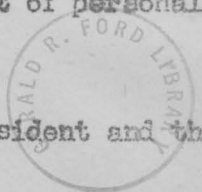
FORD: Only President Johnson can make that determination. I personally feel that if the President is in good health, he ~~will~~ will seek re-election.

ELEATER: Could he have won if he had been running this year?

FORD: I don't think he could have won because the Republicans got 4 million more votes, nationwide than the Democrats and if the President had been running this year--with his personal popularity at a very low figure--I doubt he could have been re-elected.

CHAMBERS: What do you think has happened to Lyndon Johnson? Do you think this concept of personal power and consensus that centered in him has failed?

FORD: It's very difficult to analyze. Could be due to a loss of popularity of the President and the democratic party.



CHAMBERS: Is the party torn asunder because Lyndon Johnson has played a strong personal role or is it because he has'nt.

FORD: Well, I think part of their problem is the failure of their policies both domestically and internationally. In addition the Democratic party at the present time is old and creaky. It does'nt respond to the particular problems at home and abroad as well as it should. Old time political machines when they start to fall apart disintegrate very quickly. I think the democrats are in this stage at the present time.

CHAMBERS: Do you think it proves Lyndon Johnson is not the super politician we all said he was?

FORD: The American people, fortunately, have the opportunity periodically to approve or disapprove decisions previously made and the American people on Nov. 8, in my opinion, repudiated the policies and the leadership of the Democratic party on Nov. 8.

ELEAZER: Do you think Congressman Adam Powell will be seated when Congress convenes.

FORD: There certainly is growing evidence that Mr. Powell has more and more problems than people anticipated. He's got both criminal and civil contempt proceedings against him in New York; there is evidence that the committee where he has been chairman has been handling its finances rather loosely. When all this evidence comes to the House on Jan. 10, there is a distinct possibility Mr. Powell will not be seated.

BRUNNER: Do you favor him being seated?

FORD: I'm going to wait and see what the evidence is on Jan. 10.

