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FACE THE NATION

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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

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CBS News

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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?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would say that this is not an illustration of where we are telling the President that he ought to do one particular thing or another militarily.

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.

I repeat again that the technical military decisions, how we use our air power, our sea power, these are decisions that must be made by the elected Commander in Chief, a man who was elected in November 1964.

We as Republicans can call for a policy of strength, a posture of determination. But these day to day executions, implementations of policy, must be made by the President with the help and assistance of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

MR. SCHOUMACHER: Congressman Ford, not too many months ago Republicans were saying that Vietnam was going to be an issue. Then they apparently decided to hedge their bet a little bit and we heard it was going to be Vietnam and inflation, and yesterday Mr. Nixon said it is going to be inflation, the only issue.

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.

I might add as a postscript some of the President's Democrats in the Senate are the ones who are making it a political issue. Senator Wayne Morse is making it a very serious political issue, and others in the Senate in the President's own Democratic Party, are the ones who are making all the charges, all the allegations.

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



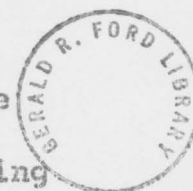
yesterday in many of our major cities in this country. I believe that these kind of attempts to discredit our policy, to display a lack of unity among the American people, could have the effect of prolonging the war, undermining the morale of our American troops, and in effect leading the enemy to a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

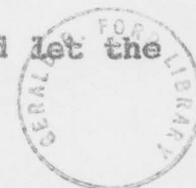
REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not go quite that far. I would not be quite that categorical. But I can assure you this is the attitude of a great many Americans in this country today.

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?

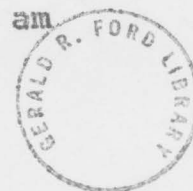
MR. NOVAK: In the South.

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 Representatives. 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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Ford - Broadcasts

The National Broadcasting Company Presents



MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: REP. GERALD R. FORD
House Minority Leader

REP. MELVIN R. LAIRD
Chairman, House Republican Conference



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NEIL MacNEIL, *Time Magazine*
ALAN OTTEN, *Wall Street Journal*

Moderator: NEIL BOGGS, *NBC News*

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. BOGGS: The Republican gain of 47 seats in the November elections has focused special attention on the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, which meets on Tuesday. Our guests today on MEET THE PRESS are the Republican leaders of the House, Congressman Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, Minority Leader, and Congressman Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin, Chairman of the House Republican Conference.

We will have the first questions now from Douglas Kiker of NBC News.

MR. KIKER: Gentlemen, it is obvious that the big issue in Congress is going to be Vietnam—the war itself, the cost in men and money, what we have done wrong in the past, what we should be doing in the future. Other than criticizing the Administration's Vietnam policy, do the Republicans have a party policy on Vietnam, and what is it? I will ask you first, Mr. Ford.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: First, let me say that the new Congress ought to insist that the President and the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State come up to the Congress and tell us what their plans are, to clarify what they have done in the past and what they intend to do in the future. We have just seen that the Administration is embarking on a major military operation in the Mekong Delta. As far as I know this was never told to the American people or to the Congress in the last two years as a prospective operation, and before we can tell the American people what we think ought to be done, we have got to know from the President and his advisers what they have in mind.

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: I think the loyal opposition does have this role to fulfill in this 90th Congress, to see that the Ad-

ministration comes before the American people, setting forth what our short-term aims and long-term objectives are in South-east Asia, whether it is for a negotiated settlement, military victory, or whether the Manila communique, taken with Ambassador Goldberg's statement at the U.N. that we would withdraw our troops if the North Vietnamese forces would withdraw to the north, whether this outstanding offer is still very much in evidence. All of these questions have to be answered before the minority party, the loyal opposition, can offer meaningful alternatives to the present policy. I agree completely with our leader, Jerry Ford, that this information must be supplied not only to the Congress, but to the American people.

MR. KIKER: Mr. Ford, there are those who say that the Republicans are being very quiet about Vietnam these days, because they don't know exactly what the national mood is, that you are waiting to see what events and what the national mood will determine and thereby determine your policy. Is that the case?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I believe that the American people agree that the United States must meet forthrightly the challenge of Communist aggression in South Vietnam, in South-east Asia, in Berlin or any place else, and the Republicans feel this is a cornerstone of the American foreign policy. Actually, I think there is the feeling—and I agree with it—that this is truly a confrontation between the United States, the free world on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc as a whole on the other and that we have to tailor our military, our diplomatic programs in this context. When we do, then I think the Republicans will be in a position to come up with constructive alternatives.

MR. KIKER: Let me ask you this: Last week Senator Dirksen said he believes the Republican Party would support President Johnson if the President decided to stop bombing North Vietnam for a while to see what would happen. Do you agree? What would the party's position be on this?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: This is a major, major decision, and I would hesitate to assume the responsibility of saying today that we would perhaps put in jeopardy the lives of almost 400,000 American military personnel by saying that we will do this without any assurance whatsoever that the Communists on the other side were going to reciprocate.

MR. MacNEIL: Mr. Laird, you have been a rather strenuous advocate, particularly in recent days, of tax sharing, sharing federal taxes with the state. Your colleague, Mr. Ford, has suggested that any increase in taxes now would trigger further inflation—possibly a recession; excuse me, not inflation, but a recession.

At the same time we are confronted with an ever-growing national deficit. How do you reconcile your advocacy of tax shar-

ing at this point with the government, the Federal Government, running short on funds?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: Presently in the 1967 fiscal year budget and in the 1968 budget, which will soon be before the Congress, there will be over \$15 billion in grant-in-aid programs, some 267 different programs in the grant-in-aid area, each with an application having to come to Washington to be approved by some bureau here in Washington, and then the grant of money goes to the local school district or the local municipality or the state. I have advocated tax sharing as a substitute to these various programs. It seems to me that there are better ways to do things for Americans than the way of the Great Planned Society, which is specific grants for specific purposes, all approved here at our nation's capital. I believe that we can have faith in our local communities, in our local school boards and in our state government. The problem that we have in local communities and states is not the fact that they do not have the means and the know-how to solve these problems, but they don't have the resources to tackle these problems in health, education and welfare.

Mr. MacNEIL: Would this cut the actual cost of these grant-in-aid programs?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: Yes, I think it would.

MR. MacNEIL: How?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: It would make better use of the dollars, because so much of the money now is spent at the administrative level. All of the funds collected by the Federal Government could be used to solve the problems at the local and state level in the area of health, education and welfare.

I know that this program, perhaps the whole program, can't be considered by the 90th Congress because the Democrats do control this Congress by a better than three to two majority, but I hope that as programs come up, of a grant-in-aid approach, that we can substitute our means, showing that there is a better way to solve these problems by letting local governments, school boards and state government have a greater role to play. I would hope if we get into the overall program we could put an effective date on, of, say, 1968 or 1969, on the overall program, and then the states and the local communities could gear up to handle revenue-sharing in an effective manner.

MR. MacNEIL: As I understand, your idea, one of them is to give this money without strings to the state and local governments. How, in that circumstance, would you prevent this from becoming a substantial tax windfall for the states? How would you prevent the states, for example, from cutting their own sales taxes?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: I think you will find that right now the aid programs that are being used have not had the effect of preventing the states from raising their own taxes. The

states and local communities need more money. We have basic, major problems in the field of health, education and welfare, and they are not being solved by our cities and our states because our cities and states do not have the resources. They have been taken over by the central government here in Washington, D. C. They are handed out under priorities set by federal administrators and not by the state and local officials, who are elected to handle these problems.

MR. MacNEIL: May I ask you one more question in this field: You are advocating local administration for these programs. Your party, the Republican party, yourself, and your leadership, have opposed many of these grant-in-aid programs as they have come along. Does this now indicate your desire to have these functions performed by the states, a change in your attitude?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: No change at all because the administrations of all of these programs were set up with a separate bureau, some 275 separate bureaus here in Washington, establishing the priorities and telling the local communities and the states what to do in all of these programs. The problems of the Watts area in California are different from the problems of the Harlem area of New York. The problems of Milwaukee are different from the problems of Columbus, Ohio, and one solution dictated from Washington is not the best solution. I think that we are tired of having second-best solutions dictated from Washington. We want the best solution and that can come about through state and local administration.

MR. OTTEN: Mr. Ford, what specific action do you think the House should take about Adam Clayton Powell? Should it deny him his seat, deny him his Committee Chairmanship, or what?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: First, let me say that the Republicans in the House will take a firm and fair attitude in the controversy concerning the seating of Adam Clayton Powell. We as Republicans feel that the reputation and the image of the House and the legislative branch could well be at stake in this issue. Of course, the problem of whether or not Mr. Powell should continue as Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor is primarily, or almost exclusively, the responsibility of the Democrats in the House, and they will take their action in their caucus tomorrow. But we in the Republican Party feel that the whole image of the organization of the House, perhaps the ethics of the House, the procedures of the House, may well be at stake in this issue which will come before the House on Tuesday, January 10. I can assure you that the Republicans will not fail in their responsibility. One of the things that probably would be firm but fair would be to have a select or special committee established to determine what has taken place, what Mr. Powell has or has not done that would qualify him or disqualify him from taking his seat in the House of Representatives. This would

be a bipartisan select committee of perhaps nine members, and they would give Mr. Powell, an opportunity to present his side of the case before his newly elected members, his prospective colleagues. At our caucus the Republicans will examine all of the alternatives, and we will take a firm but fair position to protect—

MR. OTTEN: Under the plan that you outlined he would take his seat in the meantime, or would he be denied his seat until this committee had had its hearings?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: One of the possibilities is that Mr. Powell would stand aside, not be sworn in. He would not be permitted to collect his pay or compensation. He would have no right to vote; he would not be on any committee. This is one possibility. You can have variations of that. This is something I think that would have to be decided by the author of the particular resolution or the amendment to the resolution that might well be offered by the Democratic majority leader.

It seems to me that, having a special committee, bipartisan in nature, holding hearings to investigate the allegations that have been made by a number of people, would be the right thing to do for the Congress for the protection of the legislative branch and equitable as far as Mr. Powell is concerned.

MR. OTTEN: One of the local papers this morning said that many, many Congressmen had done what Mr. Powell has done and that his mistake was doing it more openly and flagrantly. Would you agree with that analysis?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I know those charges have been made, and that is why, Mr. Otten, I suggested that the Congress has the responsibility in the House of Representatives, particularly in this case, in light of the allegations that have been made, to take a long look at the overall operations of Committee Chairmen, of Committees themselves, of Members as a whole, and if we have done wrong in the past, then we ought to be the first to admit it and take corrective action overall, so that we are not picking on any one individual.

MR. DRUMMOND: Mr. Laird, in this approach toward Representative Powell that has just been described, do you think that the Republicans are likely to suffer reprisals at the hands of Negro voters?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: I do not believe that this is a civil rights question that is before the Congress at this time. It isn't a question of whether Mr. Powell is a Negro or whether he is not a Negro. That question should not be involved. It is a question of the ethics and the morality within the House of Representatives, and unless we are willing to face up to this issue now, we will be in a very serious situation in the future, because there are many people in this United States that will look at all members of Congress as doing something wrong. There may be

a very small percentage of the members, less than three percent, that violate the rules of the House and the precedents of the House—and I believe smaller than that—but there is no reason to allow one or two individuals to cloud the issue of the whole House of Representatives, because this will destroy the representatives, because this will destroy the representative government in the end and I think would be a very bad mistake for America and for our republic. That is why this is a question that must be faced up to by this first session of the 90th Congress and faced up to squarely.

MR. DRUMMOND: I would like to change the subject a little bit and ask you whether you feel that the ability of the Republican Party to elect a President in '68 will be significantly or perhaps decisively determined by what the Republicans do in Congress during the next two years?

MR. LAIRD: I do. I feel that the image and the work of the minority party of the House of Representatives, the Republicans, if we can establish a positive record in this first and second session of the 90th Congress, we will go a long way towards electing a Republican President in 1968. This is most important, and that is the reason we have had so much activity lately. Jerry Ford—under his leadership we have had meetings with outstanding economists, military policy leaders, foreign policy leaders. We have had our meetings with the new members this last week, so that we can be prepared to do that kind of job in this 90th Congress. The action this year in politics will be in the House of Representatives. This is the place the action will be.

MR. DRUMMOND: Let me raise this related question: In the early years of F.D.R. the Republicans did create an image, or at least acquired it, whether justly or not, of being obstructionists to nearly all of the economic and social reforms of the New Deal. And in 1948, Mr. Truman, whether completely validly or not, was able to campaign on the theme of a "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

How are you going to avoid, with such a newly-divided House, creating a do-nothing 90th Congress?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: We are still outnumbered by a ratio of three to two in this country.

MR. DRUMMOND: But not on crucial votes.

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: I believe we have a problem of communications. If we improve our communications to show that we have suggestions as to how better to do things for Americans, we can do the job. I disagree with the majority leader of the United States Senate that we should stop, look and listen in the 90th Congress. I think this is not the time to stop. Perhaps we should look and listen, but we should not stop in this 90th Congress, and we are going to come forward with constructive alternative proposals in each of the various areas of public policy so that you will see that the Republicans are moving in a positive

way in this 90th Congress, and we will be preparing ourselves to go before the American people in 1968 with a constructive program of progress.

MR. KIKER: Mr. Laird, nobody quite knows yet what the President is going to say in his State of the Union address. We have heard predictions that he is going to ask for both guns and butter, for guns and no butter, and for guns and just a little bit of butter.

What do you think he will ask for and what do you think the Republicans will answer?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: I think that he will have to ask for a considerable appropriation for the Department of Defense, and this will be the overriding issue in his overall State of the Union Message and in the programs of this Congress.

This last year the Administration underestimated, was not candid with the American people about the defense expenditures of this country. Those of us in the minority, in our minority reports predicted the expenditures would be \$68 billion in fiscal year 1967. Yet the budget was submitted at about a \$58 billion figure. It will even have to be a higher figure in this year's budget. So the President is going to have to keep in mind that we will have revenues perhaps in 1968 of perhaps \$118 billion, and the expenditures which he will outline will be close to \$138 billion, a deficit of some \$22 billion, without the use of any gimmicks. This is going to have the effect of making the Congress go slow on many programs, and it is going to have the effect of requiring the minority party to do what we can to reduce unnecessary domestic expenditures in this period of war.

MR. KIKER: You have often said in the past that the Administration hid the true cost of the war in Vietnam. Now, are you predicting that the Administration will try to do this again this year?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: If the Administration comes up with an expenditure for the Department of Defense of \$70 billion, it will be hiding the costs of the Department of Defense because, in order for the Department of Defense to face up to the costs of the Vietnamese War and our other costs in Southeast Asia, and also to be in a position where it meets the challenge of the ever-increasing offensive and defensive strategic capability that the Soviet Union is moving forward on, an expenditure rate of at least 75 to 77 billion dollars is necessary in fiscal year 1968.

The Administration can come into the Congress and say, "Well, we only need \$70 billion in this area," knowing full well that they can come back early in the next session of Congress for this money. But they will be less than candid with the American people and will be misleading the people if they do this once again.

During the last two budgets they have done it. I believe that this has been one of the greatest mistakes and has had a greater

—done greater harm than anything else to the economy of this country.

MR. MacNEIL: Mr. Ford, the last election was interpreted by many as a mandate for the House Republicans. In the previous Congress you people described that Congress as one of the worst. I'd like to know whether you plan to repeal or basically alter any of that "worst" legislation, for example, the Medicare Bill?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: In the last Congress the Republicans, as you well know, recognized that there were problems domestically that had to be solved. We felt there were better ways for the Republicans to do this job than the way that the Administration proposed. For example, we had an alternative, a constructive one in my judgment, for the handling of the problems of the aged—hopsital care, medical care. We had other alternatives. We had a better voting rights bill, for example, than, I think, that which came from the White House. I still think it should be on the books. It would be better legislation than the one we are operating under at the present time.

MR. MacNEIL: Will you be pushing for any substantial changes in existing law adopted by the 89th Congress—schools, for example?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Yes, I think what we will try to do is to take a look at what is on the statute books, and even though we are in the minority still, we will try to redirect some of these programs. We will try to tighten them up. We think that they can do a better job with less money if they are redirected and tightened up.

MR. MacNEIL: Isn't the House now a conservative body?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think the Republicans, the 187 of us, compared to 248 Democrats—the Republicans are a moderate, highly unanimous group of Representatives, and we are not going to clobber things. We are not going to stop the progress of America; we are going to try to redirect it and do it in a more effective and, I think, less expensive way.

MR. BOGGS: Gentlemen, we have two minutes remaining.

MR. OTTEN: Making allowance for what you said earlier about the Administration outlining its plans on Vietnam, Mr. Laird, how do you feel right now? Do you feel that there is a need for a larger U. S. effort of bombing more targets and more ground troops?

REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD: I personally do not believe you can justify—under the present terms with the outstanding offer in the United Nations and in the Manila communique that we will withdraw our forces in the south as soon as the North Vietnamese withdraw their forces to the north—we, in effect, if that offer is picked up, will be turning over South Vietnam to the Communists.

We will be right back where we were 18 months ago, and if the Administration continues to have those offers outstanding,

I personally cannot support the commitment of additional manpower to that area of the world. I believe that this has to be cleared up first. With this outstanding offer on the part of the United States, I think that we are making a mistake with escalating the war in this area.

This is a matter that only the President of the United States can clear up. I hope that he does in the very near future.

MR. DRUMMOND: Mr. Ford, as one who served as a member of the Warren Commission, what is your reaction to the disclosures and other material which has emerged from the Manchester book on the assassination?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: The Warren Commission took the position that President Johnson, acted properly at the time of that tragedy. He had a responsibility to assume the office of the Presidency. This was important not only to the United States, but the free world. I think it is very regrettable that the "dirty linen" in the Democratic party, or among some of its leaders, is being exposed at this particular crucial time in America's history.

MR. BOGGS: Thank you for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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I CAN ~~NEVER~~ SEE ^{NO} LOGIC IN FURTHER DELAYING THE CRUCIAL DECISION TO GET GOING ON AN ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE WHILE THE UNITED STATES ATTEMPTS TO GET AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION. PREMIER KOSYGIN THREW COLD WATER ON ANY ABM MORATORIUM AT HIS U.N. NEWS CONFERENCE JUNE 25. PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS NOT REVEALED ANY PROGRESS ON THIS SUBJECT DURING THEIR PRIVATE TALKS AT HOLLY BUSH.

WHAT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR IS THAT U.S. RELUCTANCE TO MOVE FORWARD ON ABM DEFENSE HAS IN NO WAY SLOWED THE SOVIET PROGRAM, DEFENSIVELY OR OFFENSIVELY. NOR HAS IT IMPAIRED THE THERMO-NUCLEAR PROGRESS OF RED CHINA, WHICH NOW HAS ITS OWN H-BOMB.

TIME, UNLIKE MONEY, CANNOT BE RECOVERED. WASTING TIME IS A FAR MORE SERIOUS MATTER THAN WASTING FUNDS. ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE COST-EFFECTIVENESS OF ABM DEFENSE WHICH MR. MCNAMARA HAS MADE FOR YEARS AND YEARS, BACKED BY THE



PRESIDENT, MUST NOW GIVE WAY TO THE UNANIMOUS OPINION OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND THE COGNIZANT COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT RISK RUNNING SECOND IN ANY ASPECT OF THIS GRIM GAME.

IF ANY PRACTICAL STEP COULD SAVE 100 MILLION AMERICAN LIVES -- OR ^{ONE}~~A~~ MILLION OR ^{ONE THOUSAND}~~ONE~~ -- HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH TO SPEND ON IT? YET, WHAT WE LACK NOW IS NOT THE MONEY BUT THE DECISION TO "GET GOING!" FUNDS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED BY CONGRESS. I CALL UPON PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO ACT WITHOUT ANY MORE DELAY.

-END-



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

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27, 1967

GUEST:

REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD (R.Mich)

INTERVIEWED BY:

Joseph C. Harsch, ABC Commentator

and

Bob Clark, ABC Capitol Hill Correspondent

o o o o o

MR. CLARK: Mr. Ford, in arguing against extensive bombing escalation this week, Secretary McNamara seemed to be talking directly to you, making almost a point-by-point rebuttal of the speech you made in the House a couple of weeks ago, calling for expansion of the bombing.

Has the Secretary convinced you, as he tried to convince Congress, that more bombing will not bring North Vietnam to the peace table?

MR. FORD: I don't think Secretary McNamara has convinced me or many members who are knowledgeable in the United States Senate, both Democratic or Republican, that his policies are



1 right. As a matter of fact, Secretary McNamara, in my
2 judgment, has completely distorted the arguments that I and
3 others in the Congress and many military leaders have made.

4 I think Mr. McNamara is fabricating an argument as a straw
5 man. As a matter of fact, Secretary McNamara has distorted
6 our viewpoint by saying that we want to substitute more meaning-
7 ful bombing in the North for a greater number of men in the
8 South. As a matter of fact, we have never said that. We have
9 said simply that if you are going to increase the military
10 commitment in the South, in all honesty we should hit more
11 meaningful targets in the North. And they have not done that
12 up until very recently, and I can't tell at the moment whether
13 they are really now on a course of action which will mean more
14 meaningful targeting in the North.

15 MR. CLARK: You said in your speech just about two weeks
16 ago that only three out of ten significant military targets
17 had been struck by American air power. This would be far
18 out of line with the figures that Mr. McNamara gave to the
19 Senate Preparedness Committee.

20 MR. FORD: Well, Mr. McNamara throws in a tremendous number
21 of targets that are not really significant military targets.
22 He did mention the fact that there were 425 significant mili-
23 tary targets, and I agree with that. But up until mid-July or
24 thereabouts, less than half of those targets were authorized
25 for being hit and only 30 per cent had been hit.



1 Now, perhaps there has been some change for the better and
2 I strongly hope this is the case because if we are to commit
3 more U. S. military personnel in the South on the ground,
4 fighting against the Viet Cong, and the North Vietnamese, we
5 ought to increase our bombing against significant military
6 targets.

7 Now, I want to emphasize this: We are not advocating
8 the dropping of one more ton of bombs. We simply say that if
9 you are going to send our pilots and our planes in North
10 Vietnam to hit targets, the bombs should be dropped against
11 significant military targets, not against lines of communica-
12 tions, individual trucks, or in some cases, as some pilots
13 have alleged, dropping the bombs in the sea.

14 MR. HARSCH: Well, what is your definition of a signifi-
15 cant military target? Give us an example of what you are talk-
16 ing about.

17 MR. FORD: Well, the targeting, of course, as it should be
18 is determined by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and their experts.
19 Now, for example, command and control posts of the enemy.
20 None of those have been authorized as targets. As a matter
21 of fact, the hydroelectric power facilities in the North have
22 never been authorized as a significant military target, even
23 though they are on the targeting list.

24 Now, the McNamara policy has resulted in our air power
25 hitting the so-called thermal power plants, but the



1 hydroelectric power plants which, at least in this country,
2 are not in civilian centers, have been off the authorized
3 limits.

4 The targeting list that I think Secretary McNamara refers
5 to, and the one that I know about, excludes a number of
6 other targets, such as some of the more highly sophisticated
7 and, most important, airfields.

8 MR. HARSCH: Would you advocate the bombing of the harbor
9 of Haiphong?

10 MR. FORD: I don't think the harbor of Haiphong has to be
11 bombed. I think there are other military means by which the
12 flow of military equipment can be stopped in the harbor of
13 Haiphong without bombing.

14 MR. HARSCH: Congressman, the most important thing probably
15 that Mr. McNamara said was that the need for maintaining North
16 Vietnam and Viet Cong military operations in the South, in the
17 battlefields against us, is less than one hundred tons a day
18 of non-food supplies. Most of the food they get in the area
19 anyway.

20 His principal argument seems to be, as I understand it,
21 that nothing we could do in the way of bombing can possibly
22 put down the flow to that limit, that it is not really having
23 any effect on the battlefield.

24 What is your answer to that contention? Because, if he is
25 right, then increasing the bombing as you advocate is



1 meaningless, isn't it?

2 MR. FORD: Yes. If Mr. McNamara's argument is right,
3 then I think our whole program in Vietnam is wrong. We haven't
4 made any progress following the McNamara premise. In this
5 instance I tend to agree with Senator Symington that, if the
6 McNamara premise is going to be continued, then we might as
7 well get out as quickly as we can, as best we can.

8 But, let me answer the point that you make, Mr. Harsch:
9 In the last two and a half years that we have been bombing in
10 the North, there has been a growing flow of military hardware
11 through North Vietnam by rail from the Soviet Union and perhaps
12 from the Red Chinese, and in addition there has been a
13 continuous flow of military supplies of various kinds into the
14 port of Haiphong.

15 Now, these rail lines in the North and the harbor of
16 Haiphong and elsewhere, these really have been off limits.

17 Now, if we had bombed in the North against these signifi-
18 cant military targets in the past two and a half years, the
19 military capability of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese
20 would be considerably less.

21 The record shows that in the last two and a half years
22 the sophisticated, powerful weapons that the North Vietnamese
23 and the Viet Cong have, have come down through these supply
24 lines, from Russia, and perhaps from Red China.

25 Now, if we had been hitting these meaningful military



1 targets in the last two and a half years, there would be less
2 casualties among Americans in South Vietnam.

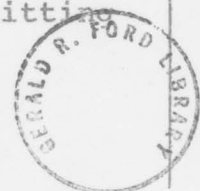
3 MR. HARSCH: You are disagreeing then, aren't you, with
4 the basic McNamara thesis?

5 MR. FORD: I certainly do. I happen to agree with a
6 number of military people who I think are experienced and
7 knowledgeable, and I think the American people disagree very
8 strongly with Secretary McNamara's policies. I think the
9 American people believe we must succeed, and to do that we have
10 got to have a coordinated military plan that includes military
11 forces in South Vietnam, and a meaningful targeting program in
12 North Vietnam.

13 MR. CLARK: Mr. Ford, let us get your reaction to this
14 quote by Secretary McNamara if we may, and this was also before
15 the Senate Preparedness Committee. He said, "The enemy opera-
16 tions cannot be stopped by air bombardment short of the virtual
17 annihilation of North Vietnam and its people."

18 Now, you are not calling for the annihilation of North
19 Vietnam, are you?

20 MR. FORD: I certainly am not and I am not advocating
21 under any circumstances the use of nuclear weapons. I say take
22 the targeting program that has been outlined, the 425 targets
23 that are significant in a military sense, and utilize our air
24 power against those targets, and they do not include hitting
25 the civilian population.



mmi 1 MR. CLARK: Of course you and Mr. McNamara just don't
2 seem to be using the same figures at all, and he also
3 told the Preparedness Committee that air strikes have now been
4 authorized against 302 of the 359 what you would call
5 significant targets, targets authorized by the Joint
6 Chiefs. This would be 85 percent -- strikes have been
7 authorized against 85 percent. Now this would seem to
8 conflict rather strongly with your figure that only three
9 out of 10 significant targets are being bombed.

10 MR. FORD: Well, in my speech which was made several
11 weeks ago, based on information that was perhaps ten days or
12 two weeks old, showed that about 50 percent of the 425 targets
13 had been authorized, and only 30 percent of the total
14 actually had been hit.

15 Now in the interim we have had about a month taking
16 place. I hope and trust that the new figures Secretary
17 McNamara is using are figures that we can count on. I don't
18 know, as of today. There must have been a change if the
19 figures he is using today are accurate, but less than
20 a month ago they were not.

21 * * * * *

22 (Announcement)

23 MR. HARSCH: Congressman Ford, one of the most interesting
24 -- we have been over this -- that Mr. McNamara said, was that
25 they only need 100 tons a day to keep up the war against us in



2 1 the South. You disagree, you say, with his premise in most
2 respect, but would you agree with this, that if that
3 appraisal is correct, then it would follow that the increased
4 bombing of the North is never going to seriously deprive
5 the enemy forces in the South, on the battlefield, of
6 the capacity to injure us as they are, and therefore that the
7 principal effect of continuing the bombing or raising it
8 would merely mean the loss of more American planes and pilots?

9 MR. FORD: Mr. Harsch, I would accept the 100 tons a day,
10 the figure Mr. McNamara uses, but that is on the premise
11 that the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese are not going
12 to get additional sophisticated powerful weapons as they
13 have in the last two and a half years, from the Soviet
14 Union and Red China.

15 Now, I can't believe that the Soviet Union
16 and Red China are going to stop helping in assisting the
17 North Vietnamese. When you import these highly sophisticated,
18 very important powerful weapons, such as strategic -- I mean
19 surface-to-air missiles, the heavy mortars, the heavy
20 artillery -- I am sure if those were continued to be brought
21 from the North and through the ports that the tonnage would
22 be more than 100 tons a day.

23 MR. HARSCH: Well, do you expect by increasing the
24 bombing to cut down significantly the amount of that
25 sophisticated weaponry that goes into action?



3 1 MR. FORD: I certainly do, and I suspect, but I don't
2 know, that some of the more recent, within the last
3 week or so, air attacks in the North against rail lines may --
4 and I underline "may" -- be aimed at stopping the flow of
5 these heavy weapons into North Vietnam for utilization
6 against our troops in South Vietnam.

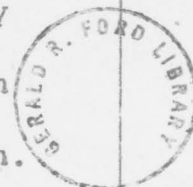
7 MR. HARSCH: Do you think that it is still possible to
8 bomb Hanoi to a conference table?

9 MR. FORD: I believe that a well-coordinated military
10 effort which includes the utilization of our manpower on the
11 ground in the South, and air and sea power, including the
12 bombing of more meaningful targets, will be very helpful
13 and very significant in getting Hanoi to the bargaining table.

14 MR. CLARK: You said earlier this month, Mr. Ford,
15 that not one more American soldier should be sent to fight
16 in Vietnam until what you called "secret restraints" on
17 bombing are lifted. Now since then we have bombed within ten
18 miles or so of the Chinese border. Are you now ready to
19 support sending those additional 45,000 troops to Vietnam?

20 MR. FORD: If the 425 significant military targets,
21 the figure that Mr. McNamara uses, are hit by our air power,
22 then I believe we are carrying out a coordinated military
23 plan, and if that is the case -- and I hope it is -- then
24 I can justify increasing our military effort in the South.

25 MR. CLARK: Well, are you saying we would have to bomb



4 1 all 425 of these targets before you would support an
2 increase in ground forces?

3 MR. FORD: I think you have to hit practically all of
4 them, and some of these targets --

5 MR. CLARK: Of course he has it up to 85 percent now by
6 his figures, authorized for bombing.

7 MR. FORD: Authorized. We haven't hit 85 percent. He has
8 simply authorized them. Now targets change. They are not
9 static. There may be some more added. After all, this is
10 an evolutionary process that is done day by day, and if
11 the military experts say there should be more than
12 425 significant military targets, then I think we ought to move
13 in that direction, because that shows them we have a
14 coordinated military effort. Under Mr. McNamara's
15 program, all he has done is widen the war in the South by
16 sending, in the last two and a half years, from 16,000
17 U.S. military personnel in Vietnam, to 525,000. He has
18 escalated or widened the war in the South without significantly
19 changing our military effort against the North.

20 MR. HARSCH: Mr. Ford, your argument with Mr. McNamara
21 is really over the meaning of a coordinated military program.
22 You say you want a coordinated program. He says he has a
23 coordinated program, that his is refined to the point where
24 you are only bombing where you get a useful reward, that if
25 you increase the bombing on some of these other targets



1 are talking about you are merely wasting lives.

2 Well, now, how do we judge which is the better coordinator?
3 He says his is. You say you prefer the other.

4 MR. FORD: Well, I am relying on a plan that was submitted
5 to Mr. McNamara by top military leaders who are experienced
6 and are knowledgeable and I think their program is preferable
7 to his. Now Mr. McNamara is a great advocate of cost
8 effectiveness. Now, if you bomb against insignificant
9 military targets -- trails, against individual trucks -- I
10 don't think the return on the use of the aircraft and the pilot
11 and the bomb is very good. But if you use the same planes
12 and the same pilots against significant military targets,
13 your cost effectiveness goes up. I don't understand why
14 Mr. McNamara doesn't use his own formula in trying to
15 designate which targets we ought to hit.

16 MR. HARSCH: But his purpose is to keep weapons from the
17 hands of the people who are shooting at our boys in the South.

18 MR. FORD: Yes, but he is not using our equipment and
19 our pilots in the most effective way. That is the difference.

20 MR. CLARK: There are some signs, Mr. Ford, that the
21 Administration is preparing to order another bombing pause in
22 North Vietnam after the elections, and General Thieu, who
23 is the favored candidate to be the new President of Vietnam,
24 says he would favor this. How would you feel about another
25 bombing pause?



1 MR. FORD: I wouldn't be in favor of a unilateral total
2 bombing pause after the election. I feel if you are going
3 to initiate a bombing pause program, the preferable way
4 to do it is the plan suggested several weeks ago by
5 Congressman Brad Morse, a Republican, and others, which would
6 call for a step-by-step bombing pause. In other words,
7 the United States would stop bombing in the North above, I
8 think, the 21st Parallel, and do that for 30 days and if
9 the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong reciprocated in some
10 way, then we would move down one more parallel. This
11 would, I think, give them and us an opportunity to show our
12 good faith.

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1 MR. CLARK: Do you think the team of American observers
2 appointed by the President to go to Vietnam is going to help
3 assure fair elections?

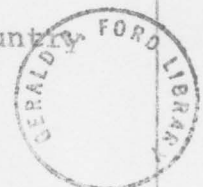
4 MR. FORD: May I say I disagree with both Senator Robert
5 Kennedy and the President. I think it is unfortunate that
6 Senator Kennedy has prejudged the elections already. At least
7 they ought to have a chance to try democracy --

8 MR. CLARK: Senator Kennedy, of course, has said they are
9 going to be a fraud.

10 MR. FORD: Well, I think he is wrong in pre-judging an
11 election before it is held. And, secondly, I disagree with the
12 President because when we send over 20 or so observers for a
13 limited period of time I don't see how they can honestly find
14 out what takes place in a country that is as large as my
15 state of Michigan. And furthermore, by sending this group over
16 I believe the President, in effect, is Americanizing an elec-
17 tion, and this is the last thing we want to do. This is their
18 election, not our election.

19 Now, I would add a postscript to that. I would like to
20 say that they are having elections in South Vietnam. To my
21 knowledge they have never had an election in North Vietnam.
22 They have no democracy in North Vietnam. Here is an effort at
23 democracy.

24 And may I say in addition, some places in this country
25 we always haven't had clean elections.



1 MR. HARSCH: Congressman, if you had your way, would there
2 have been no Republicans on that team that the President sent
3 out there?

4 MR. FORD: No. When the President asks someone to do a
5 job there is an obligation; whether it is a President from
6 your party or a President from another party. I am simply
7 saying that the whole concept, I think, was wrong. It could
8 very easily create the wrong impression, both in Vietnam and
9 world-wide.

10 MR. CLARK: The President's call for a ten per cent sur-
11 tax is tied directly to the cost of those additional 45,000
12 troops that he plans to send to South Vietnam. Have you made
13 up your mind yet whether or not you are going to support this
14 tax increase?

15 MR. FORD: Well, President Johnson, by tying the 45,000
16 additional military personnel to a tax increase, I think, is
17 going about it in the wrong way because he says that this tax
18 increase that he is recommending, if it is approved, will
19 bring in about \$7 billion. Well, it doesn't cost \$7 billion to
20 send 45,000 more U. S. military personnel to Vietnam.

21 The President really ties in his tax increase to the \$29
22 billion deficit that will occur in this fiscal year.

23 Now, if the deficit was the only problem and a tax increase
24 was the only answer, of course, I would be for it. But the
25 facts are, the deficit is not the only problem we have.



1 increase could hit the economy at the wrong time, which is
2 still somewhat soft and somewhat uncertain. A tax increase
3 might actually, under these circumstances, bring in less
4 revenue and the tax increase is not the only answer. A
5 reduction in expenditures is a better one.

6 MR. CLARK: Those 187 Republicans you command in the House
7 may well be the balance of power in deciding whether or not
8 there is going to be a tax increase this year.

9 Are you implying that you are going to advise them against
10 voting for a tax increase?

11 MR. FORD: I don't think president Johnson or his
12 advisors have made a case for a tax increase at the present
13 time.

14 MR. CLARK: As of today you would not vote for a tax
15 increase?

16 MR. FORD: I would not vote for a tax increase based on the
17 justification or attempted justification made by the President
18 and his advisors.

19 MR. HARSCH: Congressman Ford, Governor Romney of your
20 home state of Michigan has said that in his opinion the country
21 is going to have to get a Republican President in order to find
22 a way out of the war.

23 Do you agree with him that it might be easier for a
24 Republican President to end the war than for a Democratic
25 President?



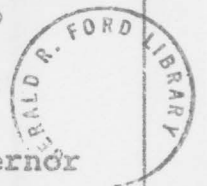
1 MR. FORD: Yes, for a number of reasons, Mr. Harsch.
2 President Johnson -- and I must assume he has made every
3 possible effort -- seems to run into a blank wall at every
4 attempt to achieve any negotiations whatsoever. I don't under-
5 stand why the enemy refuses to make an effort to sit down at
6 the negotiating table, but according to the President, himself,
7 he can't find any Communist or North Vietnamese to do so.

8 It seems to me that a Republican president who comes in,
9 not with the handicaps of the past, would be freer to try and
10 find an avenue, to find a way to the bargaining table.

11 MR. HARSCH: Would you be able to support comfortably and
12 happily what would be called a Republican peace candidate as
13 opposed to a war candidate?

14 MR. FORD: Mr. Harsch, I believe all Republicans, whether
15 they exactly agree with me or otherwise, will be a candidate
16 aimed at trying to find peace in Vietnam. Now, we may differ
17 a little bit on our techniques, but our candidate and our plat-
18 form will be set forth on the basis that we by one means or
19 another, with a coordinated plan, will be better able to
20 achieve peace than the present administration.

21 MR. CLARK: Let me quote this recent comment by Governor
22 Romney to you in this general direction and see whether you
23 agree with it. He says there has been an increasing trend in
24 public reaction toward Vietnam in the last couple of months in
25 the direction that the idea of the war was a mistake and some



1 way ought to be found to end it without focusing on military
2 escalation.

3 Do you agree with this?

4 MR. FORD: I am sure that the American people are becom-
5 ing frustrated and most unhappy about the conduct of the war in
6 Vietnam.

7 I feel this is so because the policies of Secretary
8 McNamara and the President have not produced results.

9 We must, as a country, because of our commitments, be-
10 cause of our own national security, succeed in Vietnam. I
11 feel that we have got to do a better job in the pacification
12 program. It has fallen flat on its face in the last two and a
13 half years. Our overall military program, as we have discussed
14 earlier, has not been as well coordinated and as effective as
15 it should be, and there has been political instability in
16 Vietnam.

17 In my judgment, if we attack the problem in Vietnam on the
18 three fronts more effectively than the present Administration,
19 the country, our nation, can succeed in this conflict.

20 MR. HARSCH: What Republican candidate next year would have
21 the best chance of defeating Lyndon Johnson?

22 MR. FORD: Well, Mr. Harsch, I think we have a whole
23 stable of able candidates who will be good opponents to President
24 Johnson and I am convinced any one of a group can defeat him
25 and, in addition, may I say I hope the war is over, because we



1 can still win in '68.

2 MR. CLARK: Mr. Ford, thank you for being our guest on
3 ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

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The National Broadcasting Company Presents



MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD
Permanent Chairman, Republican Convention

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Panel: NEIL MACNEIL, *Time Magazine*
DAVID KRASLOW, *Los Angeles Times*
ROSCOE DRUMMOND, *Publishers-Hall Syndicate*
PAUL DUKE, *NBC News*

Moderator: LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. SPIVAK: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is the Permanent Chairman of the Republican National Convention, Congressman Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, Republican leader of the House of Representatives.

We will have the first questions now from Paul Duke of NBC News.

MR. DUKE: Congressman Ford, Richard Nixon's managers are predicting victory on the first ballot at Miami Beach, but the other day you said that you thought the candidates might not be chosen until the second or third ballot. Are you saying that Mr. Nixon does not have the nomination locked up?

MR. FORD: Although Dick Nixon certainly is the frontrunner, I don't think Dick Nixon at this point has the nomination locked up. I think there are some developments in the last several weeks that indicate that we will have a second or third ballot, and I wouldn't rule out, really, the possibility of a fifth or sixth ballot.

MR. DUKE: What are those developments?

MR. FORD: I think in the first place the Governors who are favorite sons seem to be solidifying their situation so that they will control, perhaps even after the first ballot, their delegations.

Secondly, it seems to me that Ronald Reagan has made some progress in picking up delegates from various parts of the country.

And, thirdly, I think Governor Rockefeller's campaign—radio, television and in the newspapers—has had an impact in perhaps slowing down the acquisition of delegates by Dick Nixon and in some respects gaining delegates for himself.

MR. DUKE: Do you feel that Governor Rockefeller now has a real chance to get the nomination?

MR. FORD: In 1968—this is the year of surprises in the presidential sweepstakes, and I wouldn't rule out anything, and certainly—Governor Rockefeller, with the campaign that he has conducted for the last month, has certainly, I think, had an impact and a favorable impression in many areas that would certainly help his chances at the convention.

MR. DUKE: If the Republicans should take control of the House of Representatives this fall, then you would be elected Speaker. Wouldn't the chances of the Republicans taking control be greater if Governor Rockefeller led the ticket? Wouldn't he pull in more candidates at the congressional level?

MR. FORD: He would in certain areas of the country, probably, for example in the New England areas, beginning with Pennsylvania and going north and east. On the other hand, his candidacy, if he were the Republican nominee, might very well be harmful in our efforts to elect more Republicans in some of the Southern states.

On the other hand, you could argue that Ronald Reagan would be more helpful in the South and in the West than Governor Rockefeller. Dick Nixon probably would have the broadest impact of not hurting or helping. It would be more of a neutral impact, although in 1960 when he ran he was helpful in helping us to gain seats in that election.

(Announcement)

MR. KRASLOW: Congressman Ford, the American people have rejected Republican Presidential candidates for 28 of the last 36 years. The only exception was General Eisenhower, a hero figure, who was not even a party regular before his election. How do you explain this?

MR. FORD: I think unfortunately the Republicans have had a tendency to divide themselves. We have very bitter contests—or we have in the past, and then when our conventions are over we haven't reconciled our differences.

The Democrats on the other hand can have bitter feuds and then seem to get together after a convention and stand behind their candidate. The Republicans, I hope and trust, learned that after 1964 we must unify after the convention, and if we pick a good candidate—and I am positive we will—I think we will remedy this situation in 1968.

MR. KRASLOW: Do you think there is any basic flaw in the party, failing to appeal to the broad American consensus?

MR. FORD: I don't think that is a fair accusation—and you didn't mean it as an accusation, but it has been alleged that we don't have a broad enough base, that we tend to represent a segment of the American society. Actually I feel that the programs we have tried to put forth in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, with the help of the 26 Republican Governors, have laid the groundwork for a broad-based Republican program in 1968, and therefore that allegation will not be pertinent in this—I think—Presidential year.

MR. KRASLOW: The party in 1964 lost virtually the entire Negro vote. What progress do you think the Republican Party has made since then to recapture this vote?

MR. FORD: The Republican Party in the House of Representatives, on the Civil Rights legislation that was approved this year and that which was approved in 1965 or 1966, did very well and, of course, the Senate under the leadership of Everett Dirksen also did very well. Our voting record on civil rights is good. Therefore, I think we can make a legitimate appeal that we will be responsible and responsive to the civil rights issues in the future.

MR. DRUMMOND: Congressman Ford, I'd like to ask you a question based on the possibility that the choice of the next President may have to be made by the House. If that happens, would you think it desirable to try to find a way to insure the election as President of the candidate who has the highest popular vote?

MR. FORD: That suggestion has been made in several different forms in recent weeks. I think it, first, points up the absolute need and necessity for Congress to move forward on constitutional reform for the direct election of the President in 1972.

Secondly, it raises the problem of whether or not we should tinker with the constitutional process by a devious way, and that's what many people are seeking to do, to get around the constitutional responsibility that the elected members of the House have. Thirdly, it raises the question whether, by trying to get around the constitutional process, we wouldn't be making, for example, Mr. Wallace, a martyr, and thereby getting him an opportunity to get more votes rather than fewer.

MR. DRUMMOND: Why would it be devious or why would it be getting around the Constitution for a majority of the Republicans and Democrats to commit themselves in advance as to how they would vote? Wouldn't they be discharging their responsibility under a compact to bring about the popular election of a President, which you say is desirable?

MR. FORD: If you will look at the Constitution, it says the elected members of the House of Representatives meeting before January 20th shall pick the President if the Electoral College doesn't have enough votes, or a majority of the votes for a candidate for the presidency. It says the members of the House "shall" vote. If a member of the House, prior to the election, signs a compact that he will do something regardless—not indicate that he will exercise his independent judgment after the election—I think you are circumventing, trying to get around a constitutional responsibility, which I think is a very serious thing to do.

MR. MacNEIL: Mr. Ford, as Chairman of the Republican Convention, you are in charge of the convention itself, of keeping it orderly and maintaining law and order. I'd like to know your judgment on what chances there are of violent demonstrations involving the convention in Miami Beach?

MR. FORD: I am going to do my very utmost to try and maintain law and order in the convention, and I am sure that Ray Bliss has taken extraordinary precautions—

MR. MacNEIL: Could you suggest what those are?

MR. FORD: —to make certain that the demonstrators, if there are any, will not interrupt the orderly proceedings of the convention inside the convention hall.

I can't give you the details, except I do know that Ray Bliss, with the cooperation of the state and local law enforcement officers in the State of Florida and at Miami Beach, have taken extraordinary precautions to be sure that the delegates operate in a proper atmosphere without being threatened by outside agitators.

MR. MacNEIL: May I ask how closely you and the rest of the officials at the convention are working with the local police and whether from those local police you get any intelligence at this point of planned demonstrations that might end in violence?

MR. FORD: At this point I have not had that personal contact with the local law enforcement officials, but I am sure that Ray Bliss and our sergeant-at-arms have already had these contacts and have laid specific plans. When I get down to the convention about a week from now, I certainly will be in contact with Mr. Bliss and the proper authorities in Florida.

MR. MacNEIL: May I ask one final question in this area, and that is on the hijacking of airplanes to Cuba. Are there any security measures that have been taken there, in fear of losing either a candidate, or, in fact, a delegation?

MR. FORD: I certainly hope that Mr. Castro doesn't try to interrupt the Republican Convention by having somebody hijack a plane or a plane with a few of our people on it. I wouldn't put it past him, however. Maybe the mere fact that we are discussing it on the program today may give him an idea, if he didn't already have it.

MR. SPIVAK: May I ask you a question, Mr. Ford? You seem to think that the convention is going beyond the first ballot and possibly even to the fourth ballot. If that happens, in view of the Nixon claims that he is going to win on the first ballot—at least his people claim that—isn't he going to be in serious trouble?

MR. FORD: I am sure Dick Nixon would like to win on the first ballot. Anybody who is in the lead likes to get the ball game over as quickly as possible but, on the other hand, I know that Dick Nixon has very solid delegate strength that will not, in large measure, erode just overnight. It may take some expert generalship on the part of Dick's managers down there to make sure that, after the first ballot there isn't this erosion. I know the people who are managing Dick's campaign on the floor, and I am sure they have taken these precautions.

MR. DUKE: Mr. Ford, all the same, if the convention does go beyond two or three ballots, as you suggest, is there some possibility then that the convention might turn to a dark horse; someone, say, like John Lindsay of New York?

MR. FORD: If you go beyond a fourth, fifth or sixth ballot, then I don't see how anybody could forecast with any definiteness what might happen. John Lindsay, in the last week or so, has gotten some exposure. There has been some effort, I understand, made on his behalf, sort of a campaign organization working for him under these circumstances.

MR. DUKE: For the presidential nomination?

MR. FORD: That is what I understand.

MR. KRASLOW: Congressman, just yesterday you said in a speech that "the Republican Party must demonstrate that we have positive solutions to the problems of Vietnam." What sort of solutions do you have in mind?

MR. FORD: Let me point out, first, I am fearful that the Administration is letting the situation in the minds of the American people drift. The American people are confused by the ambiguity of the Administration's efforts in Paris, by the ambiguity of our military efforts in Vietnam. The American people, I think,

would like the President to come up and tell them just what our aims and objectives are, militarily and in the way of negotiations.

From the point of view of the Republicans, I think that we in our platform ought to be more specific than the White House has been recently. I think we ought to say that we should push and press at Paris for a peaceful solution, but at the same time we should let the enemy know that we are not going to let them go on indefinitely at the same time having 540,000 Americans fighting this war on a day-to-day basis with some limitations and some restrictions on them.

MR. KRASLOW: A year ago you made a major policy speech in which you accused the Administration of pulling its punches, particularly in bombing targets in North Vietnam. Have you changed your mind about that?

MR. FORD: I felt very definitely then, Mr. Kraslow, that the Administration at that time was pulling its punches and was putting our forces in jeopardy in South Vietnam. They subsequently changed that policy, and I think it brought about some very beneficial results and may well have led to the negotiations which are taking place in Paris at the present time.

MR. KRASLOW: Senator Javits, a senior Republican, has now called for a total halt in the bombing of North Vietnam as a means possibly of breaking the stalemate in Paris.

How do you personally feel about this?

MR. FORD: I have reservations about it. I think it would be militarily unwise as long as President Johnson has 540,000 U.S. military personnel fighting the war in South Vietnam.

MR. KRASLOW: You would not then do it?

MR. FORD: I would not.

MR. DRUMMOND: Congressman Ford, there is a great deal of talk, publicity and headlines over the phrase "the new politics" versus the old politics. I would like to ask whether you feel that there are significant political forces coming to the surface of the United States or whether this term "new politics" is a phrase only?

MR. FORD: I think it is a combination of both. Certainly the McCarthy supporters are the younger generation in the main, and I think it is a nice phrase to use to describe what they are trying to do. It is an effort outside of the traditional political establishment of both the Democratic and Republican Party.

On the other hand, I think there are some candidates in the

Republican Party who are also stimulating this group to participate for the first time in a more vigorous way in the political arena. I think John Lindsay, for example, did just that when he ran for Mayor in the City of New York. I think that some of the Rockefeller support seems to fall in this category.

MR. DRUMMOND: Mr. Ford, does it occur to you at all that both parties are exhibiting a shortage of fresh political leadership, and if so, would you think that we might all be better off if both parties offered the voters some new faces?

MR. FORD: I think it is a little academic at this stage—

MR. DRUMMOND: Too late, you mean?

MR. FORD: —because in the Democratic Party I think it is a foregone conclusion that Hubert Humphrey is going to be the nominee. The kingmakers have decided it, and despite the valiant and I think very brave efforts of Gene McCarthy, they aren't going to let him be the nominee. And I think on our side we are going to have an open convention, and although at the moment Dick Nixon is in the lead, there is no final decision made yet—as I think there is in the case of the Democratic Party.

MR. MacNEIL: Mr. Ford, I'd like to get back to the Vietnam war. Since the Paris peace talks began, most of the hawks, I think including yourself, have had your voices muted on this as an issue. I am just wondering, with those talks under way, is Vietnam really a viable political issue?

MR. FORD: The American people in this campaign will make it an issue, even though I suspect that the major candidates will not discuss it in the traditional sense of a political issue. The American people I feel will realize that the escalation of the war, manpowerwise and otherwise, came during the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, and they will turn, in my judgment, to the political party that offers an alternative to the Johnson-Humphrey record in this regard.

MR. MacNEIL: Isn't this in a way like being against sin, being against the war? Can you come up with a viable alternative?

MR. FORD: I think that you can. I think the enemy will be impressed by the kind of candidates that are nominated, and they will reflect in the negotiations, some of the views that are expressed by the candidates.

MR. MacNEIL: Will it be possible to do this through your party platform? Senator Dirksen is Chairman of that Committee, and he is, of course, a very close and intimate friend of the Presi-

dent. I gather a good number of you Republicans are suspicious of just what the Vietnam plank will be. Is it possible to do it through the platform?

MR. FORD: I think the platform can contain some constructive proposals in the area—for the solution of the war in Vietnam.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Ford, accusations are being made that the Republican Party in several states has discriminated against Negroes in the make-up of convention delegates. What do you think ought to be done about that?

MR. FORD: I have read that accusation. I don't think it is accurate. I know in the New York delegation there is a good representation among Negroes at the Republican Convention in Miami.

MR. SPIVAK: I am talking about Florida and Louisiana, for example.

MR. FORD: I must confess I haven't checked the list out, so I am not certain, but in most of the states where I am familiar, there is good Negro representation in the delegations.

MR. SPIVAK: Gentlemen, we have about three minutes.

MR. DUKE: Mr. Ford, there was trouble in your home city of Grand Rapids last night. Last year you voted against money for the Model Cities program to clean up some of the ghetto areas, even though your home city of Grand Rapids was an applicant for a Model Cities grant. Doesn't this indicate a lack of concern on your part about big city problems?

MR. FORD: Not at all. Last year we were faced with the critical fiscal crisis that developed in the Congress's having to pass President Johnson's tax increase, and at that time we were trying to avoid the need and necessity for a tax increase as proposed by President Johnson. In order to prevent that tax increase, we had to make certain reductions in many, many programs. I might say now that we have passed the tax increase, I have voted for the housing bill, which included some expansion of the Model Cities program and the Rent Supplement program.

MR. KRASLOW: Congressman, you and some other Republican leaders have been quite critical of the Administration's handling of the Pueblo affair. What is it that you would have done that the Administration hasn't done in the past six months to free these men?

MR. FORD: The Johnson-Humphrey administration, in my judgment, was derelict in its duty in not having adequate preliminary contingency plans to prevent the seizure of the Pueblo,

and the fact that they didn't have them I think led to the seizure. I am glad to report that they have now revised those contingency plans, so I don't think such an incident would happen again.

Once the ship was seized, because there weren't adequate contingency plans, our options are limited. Therefore, at the present time I think you have got to maximize your diplomatic effort, and I hope the Administration is doing just that.

MR. DRUMMOND: Mr. Ford, you, of course, know better than I do that the Republicans have only won Congress two times out of 16 since 1932. What I would like to ask is, in the light of the current Gallup Poll, which shows the voters are 58 per cent for a Democratic House, how do you expect to pick up enough seats to get control of the House?

MR. FORD: We had much the same poll results in July of 1966, and the Republicans made a net gain of 47 in that election. With conditions in the country and the conditions overseas deteriorating, I think we can get more than 218 in this election.

MR. MacNEIL: Would you accept the vice-presidential nomination, and has it been offered to you?

MR. FORD: I would not accept it. It has not been offered to me. I think my career, for what it may be, is in the House of Representatives, and the Republicans have a wonderful stable of fine potential vice-presidential candidates, all of whom I could support.

MR. SPIVAK: Would you name one quickly? Two?

MR. FORD: I think you have Chuck Percy; you have got my own Governor, George Romney; you have got John Lindsay; you have got Governor Shafer. We have a wonderful group.

MR. SPIVAK: On that note, we must end. I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up. Thank you, Congressman Ford, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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