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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: 8 P.M.  
10-18-66

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD [R. Mich.]  
At the ACADEMY OF MEDICINE,  
CINCINNATI, OHIO  
8 P.M., TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1966

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OUR AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM IS IN JEOPARDY IN THIS  
CRUCIAL PERIOD OF NATIONAL AND GLOBAL HISTORY.

THAT <sup>MAY</sup> ~~MY~~ STRIKE YOU AS A RATHER STARTLING STATEMENT.  
FORGETTING VIETNAM FOR THE MOMENT, YOU MAY LOOK ABOUT YOU AND SEE  
NOTHING MUCH TO BE ALARMED ABOUT.

FALL IS A BEAUTIFUL TIME OF YEAR. IT BATHES THE EYEBALLS  
WITH LOVELY COLOR. IT NIPS AT THE BLOOD. IT'S A TIME OF TINGLE  
AND EXCITEMENT. IT'S A TIME OF HARVEST AND FOOTBALL GAMES AND  
POM-POM GIRLS.

AS THE FELLER SAYS, "IT'S ALL IN THE WAY YOU LOOK AT IT."  
THAT, LIKE SO MANY OF THE STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM WASHINGTON TODAY  
IS A HALF-TRUTH. FACTS, THE STARK FACTS, ARE THERE. AND NO  
AMOUNT OF SUGAR-COATING, NO PUTTING ON OF YOU-NEVER-HAD-IT-SO-GOOD  
SPECTACLES CAN CHANGE THEM.

LOOK ABOUT YOU AT TODAY'S AMERICA, AND WHAT DO YOU SEE?  
YOU FIND:



A MONUMENTAL CRISIS IN CRIME INSTEAD OF DOMESTIC SAFETY AND SECURITY.

MOBOCRACY AND RIOTS IN THE STREETS INSTEAD OF PEACE AMONG OUR CITIZENRY.

HISTORY'S HIGHEST COST OF LIVING INSTEAD OF PRICE STABILITY.

A SHRUNKEN AND STILL SHRINKING DOLLAR INSTEAD OF REASONABLE RATES EQUITABLE TO BOTH BORROWER AND LENDER.

A DEPRESSION IN RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION INSTEAD OF A HEALTHY AND GROWING HOME BUILDING PACE.

ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS TO FORCE DOWN FARM PRICES INSTEAD OF A FARM ECONOMY BASED ON FREE AND FAIR MARKET PRICES.

A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN OUR PRESIDENT AND IN OUR GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF NATIONAL TRUST.

RECKLESS FEDERAL SPENDING ON NON-ESSENTIAL DOMESTIC PROGRAMS INSTEAD OF PRUDENT AND FRUGAL USE OF TAXPAYER DOLLARS.

THE PROSPECT OF HIGHER TAXES INSTEAD OF POSSIBLE TAX REDUCTIONS.

WAR, AND STALEMATE IN THAT WAR, INSTEAD OF PEACE.

~~AS I SAID AT THE OUTSET,~~ OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM IS IN GRAVE TROUBLE.

LET ME TELL YOU WHY.

ON FOUR CORNERSTONES, OUR POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS BUILT -- ALL ARE BEING SHAKEN; SOME ARE CRUMBLING. THOSE CORNERSTONES ARE:

1. THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES IN OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT;
2. THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES, WITH CERTAIN POWERS AND RIGHTS RESERVED TO THE STATES;
3. THE RULE OF LAW; AND
4. THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.



EACH OF THESE CORNERSTONES HAS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO AMERICA'S FREEDOM AND PROGRESS. ALL BUT ONE ARE CONSTITUTIONALLY ORDAINED. THE WIDE SWING WE ~~HERE~~ WITNESSED IN AMERICA'S POLITICAL PENDULUM <sup>in 1964</sup> MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DESTROY ANY OF THEM.

THE FIRST CORNERSTONE OF OUR POLITICAL HOUSE WAS LAID IN CONSTITUTION HALL ALMOST 200 YEARS AGO BY THE WISE FRAMERS OF OUR NATION'S BASIC LAW. IT WAS THEIR THEORY THAT THE POWER TO GOVERN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT -- SEPARATE AND EQUAL / THIS WAS TO PREVENT ANY ONE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT -- THE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, OR JUDICIAL -- FROM BECOMING TOO POWERFUL.

EACH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT WAS GIVEN SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES; EACH WAS GIVEN A MEASURE OF STRENGTH AND AUTHORITY. THE WORDS CLOTHING EACH BRANCH WITH ITS PORTION OF POWER WERE CAREFULLY CHOSEN TO PREVENT CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF ONE PERSON, ONE GROUP, OR ONE SEGMENT OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

IN MY JUDGMENT, THE NATION TODAY HAS DEPARTED FROM THE RESOLUTION AND INTENT WOVEN INTO THE MAGNIFICENT DOCUMENT THAT IS OUR CONSTITUTION. TRAGICALLY, WE FIND A TERRIFYING BUILDUP OF POWER IN THE EXECUTIVE, A JUDICIARY WHICH HAS ARBITRARILY ELBOWED ITS WAY INTO AREAS OUTSIDE ITS JURISDICTION, AND A LEGISLATIVE BRANCH WHICH HAS EARNED THE LABEL "RUBBER STAMP" AMID FADING OF ITS STRENGTH AND PRESTIGE.

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WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES? ~~WHY~~ <sup>WHEN</sup> THEY LAID THIS CORNERSTONE OF OUR SYSTEM, THE WRITERS OF THE CONSTITUTION SOUGHT TO PRESERVE THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT WHILE ASSIGNING TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NATIONAL WELFARE.

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OURS IS A COMPLEX SOCIETY. WE DO NEED A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF STRONG AND RESOLUTE PURPOSE. BUT WE NEED A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT IS THE SERVANT AND NOT THE MASTER OF THE PEOPLE. WE NEED STRONG GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE SMOTHERING EFFECTS OF CONCENTRATED POWER. WE NEED TO PRESERVE FREEDOM IN OUR DECISION-MAKING, AND TO DO THAT WE MUST KEEP THAT DECISION-MAKING AS CLOSE TO THE CITIZENRY AS POSSIBLE. WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR STATE AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT.

THE MEN WHO DRAFTED OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION SET FORTH THEIR AIMS IN AN ELOQUENT PREAMBLE TO THAT DOCUMENT. LISTED HIGH AMONG THOSE OBJECTIVES WAS THIS ONE: "TO INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY." DO WE HAVE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY IN THIS NATION TODAY? NO. WE SEE MOBS TEARING AT THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE NATION. WE SEE A KIND OF MADNESS SWEEPING THE LAND. . . ARSON, SNIPING, LOOTING. . . SCARRING PARTS OF OUR GREAT CITIES, LIKE THE HOUGH SECTION OF CLEVELAND.

THE RULE OF LAW IS ONE OF THE CORNERSTONES ON WHICH THIS NATION STANDS IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD. WITHOUT IT WE ARE REDUCED TO SAVAGERY. AND THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE WITNESSED IN RECENT MONTHS.

ONE OF THE GREAT FALLACIES OF OUR TIME IS THAT RIOTING IN THE STREETS IS DIRECTLY DUE TO UNEMPLOYMENT. I SAY THIS IS A FALLACY BECAUSE A STUDY OF THE LOS ANGELES WATTS AREA RIOT HAS SHOWN THAT THE TYPICAL MALE INVOLVED THERE WAS NOT A JOBLESS DRIFTER. HE WAS EMPLOYED.

RIOTS? WHAT ARE THEY? THEY ARE AN EXPLOSION OF EMOTIONS, AN UNREASONING OUTBURST WHICH CAN RESULT FROM AN ACCUMULATION OF FRUSTRATIONS AND BITTERNESS. THE FRUSTRATIONS AND BITTERNESS MAY HAVE A BASIS IN TRUTH OR ARISE FROM MISTAKEN FEELINGS OF INJUSTICE DONE. BUT THEY ARE FED BY PROMISES THAT CANNOT BE QUICKLY KEPT AND BY THE AROUSING OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS. WHEN THESE ARE DRESSED UP WITH A POVERTY WAR LABEL AND PERFORMANCE FALLS FAR SHORT OF PROMISE CYNICISM, ANGER AND AN I'LL-TAKE-IT-FOR-MYSELF ATTITUDE CAN BE THE PRODUCT.

WHY RIOTS? THE ANSWER IS TIED CLOSELY TO A GOVERNMENT WHICH SEEKS TO PROVIDE ALL AMERICANS WITH MORE MATERIAL THINGS WHILE IGNORING THE IDEALS WHICH MADE AMERICANS A FREE PEOPLE. OUR GOVERNMENT ~~IS~~ <sup>TODAY</sup> IS CONCERNED WITH THINGS, NOT WITH PEOPLE AND NATIONAL CAUSES. THIS IS THE SICKNESS WHICH AFFLICTS MODERN AMERICA.



WE HAVE STRAYED FROM THE RULE OF LAW. OUR GOVERNMENTAL LEADERS, BY DEALING IN HALF-TRUTHS AND MISINFORMATION, LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT HONOR AND JUSTICE ARE JUST WORDS. THE MESSAGE IS THAT THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

THEY ENCOURAGE THE IDEA THAT IF AN INDIVIDUAL CONSIDERS A SOCIAL OBJECTIVE DESIRABLE, THEN HE IS JUSTIFIED IN EMPLOYING ANY MEANS TO ATTAIN IT -- EVEN IF THIS INVOLVES BREAKING THE LAW AND TRAMPLING UPON THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF OTHERS.

I MAINTAIN THAT THE RIOTS WE HAVE SEEN THIS YEAR HAVE LITTLE GENUINE RELATIONSHIP TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. THEY ARE TRAGIC BECAUSE THEY HAVE RESULTED IN A REGRETTABLE SETBACK FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF 22 MILLION AMERICANS -- A SETBACK RESULTING FROM THE MISGUIDED ZEAL OF A FEW MISTAKEN LEADERS.

OUR INTERNAL SECURITY HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED THROUGH A LONG HISTORY OF JUSTICE UNDER LAW. IF OUR JURY SYSTEM ISN'T WORKING PROPERLY, LET'S DETERMINE WHAT IS WRONG AND MAKE IT RIGHT. IF OUR CITIES HAVE BECOME ASPHALT JUNGLES, LET'S WORK TOGETHER TO REMEDY THEIR ILLS.

WE MUST RESTORE RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER IN OUR LAND. OF COURSE, THIS IS NOT EASY WHEN THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THUGHTLESSLY MAKES THE REMARK THAT HE HAS "ENOUGH SPARK LEFT IN [HIM] TO LEAD A MIGHTY/GOOD REVOLT UNDER [CERTAIN] CONDITIONS."



WE NEED A REBIRTH OF REVERENCE FOR THE RULE OF LAW FROM TOP TO BOTTOM IN THIS COUNTRY. WE NEED LEADERS WHO SPEAK OUT CONSISTENTLY FOR LAW AND ORDER, NOT MEN WHO DEPLORE RIOTS ONE MINUTE AND ENCOURAGE THEM THE NEXT.

LET'S HAVE PROGRESS IN THIS COUNTRY -- BUT LET'S HAVE IT UNDER LAW. LET NOT AMERICANS WHO FEEL DOWNTRODDEN BELIEVE THAT THE WAY TO OBTAIN REDRESS IS TO RIOT IN THE STREETS. WE DON'T NEED MOLOTOV COCKTAIL THROWING. WE DON'T NEED TOP ADMINISTRATION LEADERS WHO ARE WILLING TO "LEAD A MIGHTY GOOD REVOLT." WE NEED LEADERS WHO WILL DISCOURAGE, RATHER THAN ENCOURAGE CRIMINAL ACTIONS.

DURING THIS LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS I STRONGLY SUPPORTED LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD MAKE IT A FEDERAL CRIME FOR ANYONE TO TRAVEL IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE OR USE THE FACILITIES OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE WITH THE INTENT <sup>TO</sup> ~~INCITE~~ A RIOT OR OTHER FORMS OF VIOLENCE. WE NEED THAT KIND OF FEDERAL LAW TO DEAL WITH IRRESPONSIBLE LEADERS AND PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS LEGISLATION DID NOT HAVE THE BACKING OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION.

I HAVE DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM SPEAKING OF THIS NATION'S MONUMENTAL CRISIS IN CRIME IN THE SAME BREATH WITH STREET RIOTS. I DO NOT PLACE THE STREET RIOTER IN THE SAME CATEGORY WITH THE PROFESSIONAL CRIMINAL. WE WILL PERHAPS ALWAYS HAVE PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS. BUT WE NEED <sup>NOT</sup> ~~NO~~ HAVE RIOTS.



THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE LITTLE TO SPUR A CRUSADE AGAINST CRIME IN THIS COUNTRY. AND YET THE FBI TELLS US THE CRIME RATE HAS CLIMBED BY 48 PER CENT SINCE 1960, SIX TIMES FASTER THAN THE INCREASE IN POPULATION.

IN MANY OF OUR CITIES, AMERICANS ARE AFRAID TO WALK THE STREETS AT NIGHT. WOMEN AND CHILDREN STAY INDOORS FOR FEAR OF ATTACK.

SOME CONTEND THAT CRIME SPRINGS MAINLY FROM CONDITIONS OF POVERTY. IF THIS WERE TRUE, THE U.S. CRIME RATE SHOULD BE FALLING IN MR. JOHNSON'S GREAT SOCIETY. AFTER ALL, THE ADMINISTRATION BRAGS ABOUT ~~THE~~<sup>AN</sup> UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF LESS THAN 4 PER CENT -- NEVER MENTIONING, OF COURSE, THAT THE VIETNAM WAR IS A BIG FACTOR IN THE SITUATION.

WE HAVE TRAVELED FARTHER AND FARTHER DOWN THE ROAD TOWARD BECOMING A COMPLETE WELFARE STATE -- AND YET THE CRIME RATE CONTINUES ITS FRIGHTENINGLY SWIFT RISE. I SAY ~~THE~~<sup>THAT</sup> ECONOMIC SECURITY FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE IS NOT THE ANSWER TO THE PROBLEM OF CRIME.

CRIME BREEDS AND SPREADS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF LAWLESSNESS. IT FEEDS ON COMMUNITY APATHY AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN TO BECOME INVOLVED IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AND TO SUPPORT IT ADEQUATELY WITH HIS LOCAL TAX DOLLARS. LOCALLY, A COMMUNITY GETS JUST ABOUT THE KIND OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IT DESERVES. NATIONALLY,

WE LOOK TO OUR LEADERS TO PROVIDE US WITH EXAMPLE, NOT WITH EXHORTATION AND RHETORIC. WHILE THE FRONT LINE IN ANY WAR AGAINST CRIME MUST BE THE LOCAL COMMUNITY, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION SET A TONE THAT COMMANDS RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER. THAT TONE IS LACKING IN THIS NATION TODAY. WE HEAR THE RIGHT WORDS, BUT THE WORDS ARE MEANINGLESS BECAUSE THEY LACK SUBSTANCE.

WE HAVE TODAY A PRESIDENT WHO IS FILLED TO OVERFLOWING WITH GOOD INTENTIONS. THE PRESIDENT'S APPETITE FOR DOING THINGS FOR US IS INSATIABLE. THE TROUBLE IS HE NOT ONLY DOES THINGS FOR US, HE ALSO DOES THINGS TO US.

TODAY WE HAVE COME AS CLOSE TO ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY AS AT ANY TIME IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY. WHEN A MAN WITH LYNDON JOHNSON'S HUNGER FOR POWER IS GIVEN A CONGRESS WHICH SERVES AS A RUBBER STAMP FOR HIS REQUESTS, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY BECOMES A MOCKERY.

IN HIS 1966 STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, MR. JOHNSON SAID: "I BELIEVE WE CAN CONTINUE THE GREAT SOCIETY WHILE WE FIGHT IN VIETNAM." WITH THAT HE PROCEEDED TO DUMP ANOTHER BASKETFUL OF LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS'S LAP AND MAKE KNOWN HIS PLANS TO EXPAND SPENDING ON GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS BY \$3.2 BILLION.

AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS, SENATE MAJORITY LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD VOWED THAT IN ITS SECOND SESSION THE 89TH CONGRESS WOULD "SPEND LESS TIME ON NEW LEGISLATION AND MORE TIME CORRECTING OVERSIGHTS IN LEGISLATION WE HAVE JUST PASSED." HE ADDED: "WE HAVE PASSED A LOT OF MAJOR BILLS AT THIS SESSION, SOME OF THEM VERY HASTILY, AND THEY STAND IN EXTREME NEED OF A GOING-OVER FOR LOOPHOLES, ROUGH CORNERS, AND PARTICULARLY FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT AND ULTIMATE COST IN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR CAPACITY TO MEET IT."

WELL, LYNDON JOHNSON CHANGED ALL THAT. HE SIMPLY ANNOUNCED THAT WE COULD AFFORD BOTH THE VIETNAM WAR AND AN EXPANDED GREAT SOCIETY. AND HE INSISTED WE COULD HAVE PROSPERITY WITHOUT INFLATION. HE WAS WRONG ON BOTH COUNTS. BUT HE HAD A RUBBERSTAMP CONGRESS THAT WOULDN'T STAND UP TO HIM.

THERE HAS BEEN NO ROUNDING OFF OF ROUGH CORNERS, NO PLUGGING OF LOOPHOLES, NO ASSESSMENT OF GREAT SOCIETY COSTS. THAT IS ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT.

I BELIEVE THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY HAS BECOME SO INTOXICATING FOR LYNDON JOHNSON THAT HE BELIEVES HE CAN ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING HE SETS HIS MIND TO. THE RESULT OF THIS PRESIDENTIAL ARROGANCE, THIS MISTAKEN EXERCISE OF EXCESSIVE POWER, IS A CRISIS IN OUR ECONOMY -- UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE, A FALTERING WHICH THREATENS US ALL.

TODAY AMERICA HAS A PRESIDENT WHO DELIGHTS IN THE USE OF EVERY OUNCE OF HIS POWER, AND FROM CAPITOL HILL THAT POWER LOOKS TREMENDOUS. TODAY AMERICA HAS MORE AND MORE NEED FOR A LIMITATION ON THAT POWER. THAT LIMITATION NOW IS PRESENT IN MEAGER FORM. THE DEMOCRATS CONTROL BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS BY BETTER THAN 2 TO 1 MAJORITIES.

THE MINORITY IS TRADITIONALLY CALLED "THE LOYAL OPPOSITION" WE ARE LOYAL AMERICANS. BUT WE ARE SO PITIFULLY SMALL IN NUMBERS THAT WE CAN'T REALLY PUT UP EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION. WHAT WE LACKED IN NUMBERS IN THE 89TH CONGRESS WE TRIED TO MAKE UP FOR IN THE VIGOR WITH WHICH WE PRESENTED OUR CASE.

BUT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR STRENGTH IN NUMBERS. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PROPER BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT. REPUBLICANS ARE DEDICATED TO RESTORING THAT BALANCE SO THAT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AGAIN WILL FUNCTION IN THIS COUNTRY AS A CORNERSTONE OF OUR GOVERNMENT. THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AS A CORNERSTONE OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM WAS NOT PROVIDED FOR IN THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. BUT IT IS VITAL TO THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF OUR GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES, THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW.

WHEN ONE OF OUR MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES ACHIEVES LOPSIDED MAJORITIES IN THE CONGRESS, OUR ENTIRE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT REACHES PERIL POINT. AND THAT IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO US AS A RESULT OF THE 1964 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

Gerald R. R

Gerald R. Ford

10-18-66

THERE IS NO WAY TO PUT LEGISLATION THROUGH THE CRUCIBLE OF STRONG DEBATE AND A MEANINGFUL AMENDING PROCESS WHEN ONE PARTY IS WOEFULLY WEAK IN CONGRESS. THIS IS THE SITUATION WE NOW FACE. THIS IS THE SITUATION THAT MUST BE REMEDIED FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATION.

CONGRESS NOW IS A PAWN IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITE HOUSE. MORE THAN 50 PER CENT OF THE MEMBERS ARE PUPPETS WHO DANCE WHEN THE PRESIDENT PULLS THE STRINGS.

IF WE ARE TO RESTORE BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT, IF WE ARE TO ADEQUATELY PROTECT ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY, WE MUST MAKE CONGRESS INDEPENDENT ONCE MORE AND AGAIN CAPABLE OF WORKING ITS WILL.

I TRUST THAT THIS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL DO IN THIS CRUCIAL TESTING TIME OF 1966. THANK YOU.

-end-

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SINCE THEN, WITH THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION IN POWER, THE HANDBOOK HAS UNDERGONE A COMPLETE REVISION AND CHANGE IN CONCEPT. IT NOW COMES WITH LOOSE-LEAF PAGES SO THAT PROGRAM REVISIONS AND ADDITIONS CAN EASILY BE INSERTED INTO THE BOOK AS GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS EXPAND AND PROLIFERATE. I THINK WE NEED A GREAT SOCIETY NON-PROLIFERATION AGREEMENT ALMOST AS BADLY AS WE DO A NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

OURS IS A COMPLEX SOCIETY. WE DO NEED A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF STRONG AND RESOLUTE PURPOSE. BUT WE NEED A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT IS THE SERVANT AND NOT THE MASTER OF THE PEOPLE. WE NEED STRONG GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE SMOTHERING EFFECTS OF CONCENTRATED POWER. WE NEED TO PRESERVE FREEDOM IN OUR DECISION-MAKING, AND TO DO THAT WE MUST KEEP THAT DECISION-MAKING AS CLOSE TO THE CITIZENRY AS POSSIBLE. WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR STATE AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT.

THE MEN WHO DRAFTED OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION SET FORTH THEIR AIMS IN AN ELOQUENT PREAMBLE TO THAT DOCUMENT. LISTED HIGH AMONG THOSE OBJECTIVES WAS THIS ONE: "TO INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY." DO WE HAVE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY IN THIS NATION TODAY? NO. WE SEE MOBS TEARING AT THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE NATION. WE SEE A KIND OF MADNESS SWEEPING THE LAND. . . ARSON, SNIPING, LOOTING. . . SCARRING PARTS OF OUR GREAT CITIES, LIKE THE HOUGH SECTION OF CLEVELAND.

THE RULE OF LAW IS ONE OF THE CORNERSTONES ON WHICH THIS NATION STANDS IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD. WITHOUT IT WE ARE REDUCED TO SAVAGERY. AND THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE WITNESSED IN RECENT MONTHS.

ONE OF THE GREAT FALLACIES OF OUR TIME IS THAT RIOTING IN THE STREETS IS DIRECTLY DUE TO UNEMPLOYMENT. I SAY THIS IS A FALLACY BECAUSE A STUDY OF THE LOS ANGELES WATTS AREA RIOT HAS SHOWN THAT THE TYPICAL MALE INVOLVED THERE WAS NOT A JOBLESS DRIFTER. HE WAS EMPLOYED.

RIOTS? WHAT ARE THEY? THEY ARE AN EXPLOSION OF EMOTIONS, AN UNREASONING OUTBURST WHICH CAN RESULT FROM AN ACCUMULATION OF FRUSTRATIONS AND BITTERNESS. THE FRUSTRATIONS AND BITTERNESS MAY HAVE A BASIS IN TRUTH OR ARISE FROM MISTAKEN FEELINGS OF INJUSTICE DONE. BUT THEY ARE FED BY PROMISES THAT CANNOT BE QUICKLY KEPT AND BY THE AROUSING OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS. WHEN THESE ARE DRESSED UP WITH A POVERTY WAR LABEL AND PERFORMANCE FALLS FAR SHORT OF PROMISE CYNICISM, ANGER AND AN I'LL-TAKE-IT-FOR-MYSELF ATTITUDE CAN BE THE PRODUCT.

WHY RIOTS? THE ANSWER IS TIED CLOSELY TO A GOVERNMENT WHICH SEEKS TO PROVIDE ALL AMERICANS WITH MORE MATERIAL THINGS WHILE IGNORING THE IDEALS WHICH MADE AMERICANS A FREE PEOPLE. OUR GOVERNMENT <sup>TODAY</sup> ~~IS~~ IS CONCERNED WITH THINGS, NOT WITH PEOPLE AND NATIONAL CAUSES. THIS IS THE SICKNESS WHICH AFFLICTS MODERN AMERICA.



WE HAVE STRAYED FROM THE RULE OF LAW. OUR GOVERNMENTAL LEADERS, BY DEALING IN HALF-TRUTHS AND MISINFORMATION, LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT HONOR AND JUSTICE ARE JUST WORDS. THE MESSAGE IS THAT THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

THEY ENCOURAGE THE IDEA THAT IF AN INDIVIDUAL CONSIDERS A SOCIAL OBJECTIVE DESIRABLE, THEN HE IS JUSTIFIED IN EMPLOYING ANY MEANS TO ATTAIN IT -- EVEN IF THIS INVOLVES BREAKING THE LAW AND TRAMPLING UPON THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF OTHERS.

I MAINTAIN THAT THE RIOTS WE HAVE SEEN THIS YEAR HAVE LITTLE GENUINE RELATIONSHIP TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. THEY ARE TRAGIC BECAUSE THEY HAVE RESULTED IN A REGRETTABLE SETBACK FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF 22 MILLION AMERICANS -- A SETBACK RESULTING FROM THE MISGUIDED ZEAL OF A FEW MISTAKEN LEADERS.

OUR INTERNAL SECURITY HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED THROUGH A LONG HISTORY OF JUSTICE UNDER LAW. IF OUR JURY SYSTEM ISN'T WORKING PROPERLY, LET'S DETERMINE WHAT IS WRONG AND MAKE IT RIGHT. IF OUR CITIES HAVE BECOME ASPHALT JUNGLES, LET'S WORK TOGETHER TO REMEDY THEIR ILLS.

WE MUST RESTORE RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER IN OUR LAND. OF COURSE, THIS IS NOT EASY WHEN THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THOUGHTLESSLY MAKES THE REMARK THAT HE HAS "ENOUGH SPARK LEFT IN [HIM] TO LEAD A MIGHTY GOOD REVOLT UNDER [CERTAIN] CONDITIONS."

WE NEED A REBIRTH OF REVERENCE FOR THE RULE OF LAW FROM TOP TO BOTTOM IN THIS COUNTRY. WE NEED LEADERS WHO SPEAK OUT CONSISTENTLY FOR LAW AND ORDER, NOT MEN WHO DEPLORE RIOTS ONE MINUTE AND ENCOURAGE THEM THE NEXT.

LET'S HAVE PROGRESS IN THIS COUNTRY -- BUT LET'S HAVE IT UNDER LAW. LET NOT AMERICANS WHO FEEL DOWNTRODDEN BELIEVE THAT THE WAY TO OBTAIN REDRESS IS TO RIOT IN THE STREETS. WE DON'T NEED MOLOTOV COCKTAIL THROWING. WE DON'T NEED TOP ADMINISTRATION LEADERS WHO ARE WILLING TO "LEAD A MIGHTY GOOD REVOLT." WE NEED LEADERS WHO WILL DISCOURAGE, RATHER THAN ENCOURAGE CRIMINAL ACTIONS.

DURING THIS LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS I STRONGLY SUPPORTED LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD MAKE IT A FEDERAL CRIME FOR ANYONE TO TRAVEL IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE OR USE THE FACILITIES OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE WITH THE INTENT OF INCITING A RIOT OR OTHER FORMS OF VIOLENCE. WE NEED THAT KIND OF FEDERAL LAW TO DEAL WITH IRRESPONSIBLE LEADERS AND PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS LEGISLATION DID NOT HAVE THE BACKING OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION.

I HAVE DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM SPEAKING OF THIS NATION'S MONUMENTAL CRISIS IN CRIME IN THE SAME BREATH WITH STREET RIOTS. I DO NOT PLACE THE STREET RIOTER IN THE SAME CATEGORY WITH THE PROFESSIONAL CRIMINAL. WE WILL PERHAPS ALWAYS HAVE PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS. BUT WE NEED <sup>NOT</sup> ~~DO~~ HAVE RIOTS.

THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE LITTLE TO SPUR A CRUSADE AGAINST CRIME IN THIS COUNTRY. AND YET THE FBI TELLS US THE CRIME RATE HAS CLIMBED BY 48 PER CENT SINCE 1960, SIX TIMES FASTER THAN THE INCREASE IN POPULATION.

IN MANY OF OUR CITIES, AMERICANS ARE AFRAID TO WALK THE STREETS AT NIGHT. WOMEN AND CHILDREN STAY INDOORS FOR FEAR OF ATTACK.

SOME CONTEND THAT CRIME SPRINGS MAINLY FROM CONDITIONS OF POVERTY. IF THIS WERE TRUE, THE U.S. CRIME RATE SHOULD BE FALLING IN MR. JOHNSON'S GREAT SOCIETY. AFTER ALL, THE ADMINISTRATION BRAGS ABOUT THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF LESS THAN 4 PER CENT -- NEVER MENTIONING, OF COURSE, THAT THE VIETNAM WAR IS A BIG FACTOR IN THE SITUATION.

WE HAVE TRAVELED FARTHER AND FARTHER DOWN THE ROAD TOWARD BECOMING A COMPLETE WELFARE STATE -- AND YET THE CRIME RATE CONTINUES ITS FRIGHTENINGLY SWIFT RISE. I SAY THE ECONOMIC SECURITY FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE IS NOT THE ANSWER TO THE PROBLEM OF CRIME.

CRIME BREEDS AND SPREADS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF LAWLESSNESS. IT FEEDS ON COMMUNITY APATHY AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN TO BECOME INVOLVED IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AND TO SUPPORT IT ADEQUATELY WITH HIS LOCAL TAX DOLLARS. LOCALLY, A COMMUNITY GETS JUST ABOUT THE KIND OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IT DESERVES. NATIONALLY,

WE LOOK TO OUR LEADERS TO PROVIDE US WITH EXAMPLE, NOT WITH EXHORTATION AND RHETORIC. WHILE THE FRONT LINE IN ANY WAR AGAINST CRIME MUST BE THE LOCAL COMMUNITY, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION SET A TONE THAT COMMANDS RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER. THAT TONE IS LACKING IN THIS NATION TODAY. WE HEAR THE RIGHT WORDS, BUT THE WORDS ARE MEANINGLESS BECAUSE THEY LACK SUBSTANCE.

WE HAVE TODAY A PRESIDENT WHO IS FILLED TO OVERFLOWING WITH GOOD INTENTIONS. THE PRESIDENT'S APPETITE FOR DOING THINGS FOR US IS INSATIABLE. THE TROUBLE IS HE NOT ONLY DOES THINGS FOR US, HE ALSO DOES THINGS TO US.

TODAY WE HAVE COME AS CLOSE TO ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY AS AT ANY TIME IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY. WHEN A MAN WITH LYNDON JOHNSON'S HUNGER FOR POWER IS GIVEN A CONGRESS WHICH SERVES AS A RUBBER STAMP FOR HIS REQUESTS, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY BECOMES A MOCKERY.

IN HIS 1966 STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, MR. JOHNSON SAID: "I BELIEVE WE CAN CONTINUE THE GREAT SOCIETY WHILE WE FIGHT IN VIETNAM." WITH THAT HE PROCEEDED TO DUMP ANOTHER BASKETFUL OF LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS'S LAP AND MAKE KNOWN HIS PLANS TO EXPAND SPENDING ON GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS BY \$3.2 BILLION.



AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS, SENATE MAJORITY LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD VOWED THAT IN ITS SECOND SESSION THE 89TH CONGRESS WOULD "SPEND LESS TIME ON NEW LEGISLATION AND MORE TIME CORRECTING OVERSIGHTS IN LEGISLATION WE HAVE JUST PASSED." HE ADDED: "WE HAVE PASSED A LOT OF MAJOR BILLS AT THIS SESSION, SOME OF THEM VERY HASTILY, AND THEY STAND IN EXTREME NEED OF A GOING-OVER FOR LOOPHOLES, ROUGH CORNERS, AND PARTICULARLY FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT AND ULTIMATE COST IN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR CAPACITY TO MEET IT."

WELL, LYNDON JOHNSON CHANGED ALL THAT. HE SIMPLY ANNOUNCED THAT WE COULD AFFORD BOTH THE VIETNAM WAR AND AN EXPANDED GREAT SOCIETY. AND HE INSISTED WE COULD HAVE PROSPERITY WITHOUT INFLATION. HE WAS WRONG ON BOTH COUNTS. BUT HE HAD A RUBBERSTAMP CONGRESS THAT WOULDN'T STAND UP TO HIM.

THERE HAS BEEN NO ROUNDING OFF OF ROUGH CORNERS, NO PLUGGING OF LOOPHOLES, NO ASSESSMENT OF GREAT SOCIETY COSTS. THAT IS ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT.

I BELIEVE THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY HAS BECOME SO INTOXICATING FOR LYNDON JOHNSON THAT HE BELIEVES HE CAN ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING HE SETS HIS MIND TO. THE RESULT OF THIS PRESIDENTIAL ARROGANCE, THIS MISTAKEN EXERCISE OF EXCESSIVE POWER, IS A CRISIS IN OUR ECONOMY -- UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE, A FALTERING WHICH THREATENS US ALL.

TODAY AMERICA HAS A PRESIDENT WHO DELIGHTS IN THE USE OF EVERY OUNCE OF HIS POWER, AND FROM CAPITOL HILL THAT POWER LOOKS TREMENDOUS. TODAY AMERICA HAS MORE AND MORE NEED FOR A LIMITATION ON THAT POWER. THAT LIMITATION NOW IS PRESENT IN MEAGER FORM. THE DEMOCRATS CONTROL BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS BY BETTER THAN 2 TO 1 MAJORITIES.

THE MINORITY IS TRADITIONALLY CALLED "THE LOYAL OPPOSITION" WE ARE LOYAL AMERICANS. BUT WE ARE SO PITIFULLY SMALL IN NUMBERS THAT WE CAN'T REALLY PUT UP EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION. WHAT WE LACKED IN NUMBERS IN THE 89TH CONGRESS WE TRIED TO MAKE UP FOR IN THE VIGOR WITH WHICH WE PRESENTED OUR CASE.

BUT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR STRENGTH IN NUMBERS. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PROPER BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT. REPUBLICANS ARE DEDICATED TO RESTORING THAT BALANCE SO THAT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AGAIN WILL FUNCTION IN THIS COUNTRY AS A CORNERSTONE OF OUR GOVERNMENT. THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AS A CORNERSTONE OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM WAS NOT PROVIDED FOR IN THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. BUT IT IS VITAL TO THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF OUR GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES, THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW.

WHEN ONE OF OUR MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES ACHIEVES LOPSIDED MAJORITIES IN THE CONGRESS, OUR ENTIRE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT REACHES PERIL POINT. AND THAT IS WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO US AS A RESULT OF THE 1964 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

Gerald R. R

Gerald R. Ford

10-18-66

THERE IS NO WAY TO PUT LEGISLATION THROUGH THE CRUCIBLE OF STRONG DEBATE AND A MEANINGFUL AMENDING PROCESS WHEN ONE PARTY IS WOEFULLY WEAK IN CONGRESS. THIS IS THE SITUATION WE NOW FACE. THIS IS THE SITUATION THAT MUST BE REMEDIED FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATION.

CONGRESS NOW IS A PAWN IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITE HOUSE. MORE THAN 50 PER CENT OF THE MEMBERS ARE PUPPETS WHO DANCE WHEN THE PRESIDENT PULLS THE STRINGS.

IF WE ARE TO RESTORE BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT, IF WE ARE TO ADEQUATELY PROTECT ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY, WE MUST MAKE CONGRESS INDEPENDENT ONCE MORE AND AGAIN CAPABLE OF WORKING ITS WILL.

I TRUST THAT THIS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL DO IN THIS CRUCIAL TESTING TIME OF 1966. THANK YOU.

-end-