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April 29, 1968

I. THE UNITED STATES HAS FOR LONG BEEN A NATION IN CRISIS...FOR MUCH TOO LONG.

II. AS MEDICAL MEN KNOW, CRISIS RESULTS IN CERTAIN INSTANCES AFTER PERIODS OF INTENSE PAIN AND DISORDER. DOCTORS ALSO TELL US THAT AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION IS WORTH A POUND OF CURE.

III. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE EXPERIENCING THREE MAJOR CRISES IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS... THE CRISIS OF CIVIL DISORDER AND CRIME, THE CRISIS OF VIETNAM, AND THE CRISIS OF THE DOLLAR. IT IS USELESS TO TALK ABOUT PREVENTION IN CONNECTION WITH ANY OF THESE EXCEPT AS IT APPLIES TO FUTURE DISORDERS, FUTURE VIETNAMS AND FUTURE

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ATTACKS UPON THE DOLLAR.

IV. EVERY CRISIS HAS ITS TURNING POINT. AMERICA CAME TO A TURNING POINT IN VIETNAM, AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON ~~WAS~~ TOOK THE RIGHT ROAD...THAT OF A LIMITED BOMBING HALT, PROJECTED DE*ESCALATION OF THE U.S. MILITARY ROLE IN VIETNAM, AND MOVES TO GET PEACE TALKS STARTED. IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT NOW THERE IS SO MUCH SQUABBLING OVER THE SITE FOR INITIAL PEACE TALKS.

V. WE HAVE COME TO A TURNING POINT, TOO, IN TERMS OF THE CIVIL DISORDERS THAT ARE TEARING AMERICA APART. WE MUST HEAL OUR DIVISIONS AND MAKE AMERICA WHOLE AGAIN.

A. WE NOW HAVE COME TO A CROSSROADS ON THE RACE PROBLEM IN AMERICA. IT IS
 A TIME WHEN EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD PONDER ~~THESE WORDS~~ THOSE MOST
 IMPORTANT WORDS IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WHICH READ: "WE HOLD THESE
 TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED
 BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE,
 LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."



B. WE KNOW THAT NO MAN IS A CARBON COPY OF ANOTHER... THAT EACH IS BORN WITH
 SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND VARYING AMOUNTS OF NATIVE INTELLIGENCE AND INTO
 DIFFERENT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES. ~~THE~~ THE AUTHORS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
~~WERE TALKING ABOUT INHERENT EQUALITY.~~

WERE TALKING ABOUT INHERENT EQUALITY.
~~THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT HUMAN DIGNITY. THEY~~
~~WERE TALKING ABOUT INALIENABLE RIGHTS~~ ^{THE} RESPECT OF ONE HUMAN BEING FOR
 ANOTHER. IF AMERICANS BELIEVE IN THE ~~THE~~ DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IT
 SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR ANY AMERICAN... REGARDLESS OF THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN...
 TO GO ABOUT WITH A SIGN AROUND HIS ~~NECK~~ NECK, PROCLAIMING 'I AM A MAN.'



C. THIS, BASICALLY, IS WHAT THE CIVIL DISORDERS WE NOW ARE EXPERIENCING ARE
 ALL ABOUT. EVERY MAN HAS TO FEEL ~~THAT~~ THAT HE COUNTS FOR ~~SOMETHING~~ SOMETHING OR HE ^{MAY}
 LASH OUT AT OTHERS. ~~AND~~ NO MAN WILL EVER BE SAFE IN A SOCIETY WHICH BREEDS

HOSTILITY AND ~~THE~~ HATRED.

D. IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE ~~ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS JUST AN EXCUSE FOR THE ARSON AND LOOTING THAT FOLLOWED.~~ THE ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS JUST AN EXCUSE FOR THE ARSON AND LOOTING THAT FOLLOWED. BUT IT WOULD BE MORE ACCURATE TO SAY IT WAS THE TRIGGER THAT TOUCHED IT OFF. AND IT MAKES STILL MORE SENSE TO SAY THAT THE ARSON AND THE LOOTING ARE SYMPTOMS OF A DISEASE WHICH IS PLAGUING AMERICA...THE DISEASE OF INEQUALITY AND HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE RACES.

E. JUST AS AMERICA COULD NOT LIVE HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE...~~SO~~ SO AMERICA

CANNOT LIVE WITH BLACKS HATING WHITES AND WHITES HATING BLACKS. THERE IS GREAT ^{Now} NEED FOR AN ERA OF RECONSILIATION AND AN ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION, NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF ~~REBUILDING OUR CITIES~~ REBUILDING OUR CITIES BUT IN TERMS OF REBUILDING PEOPLE. WHITES CANNOT JUST FLEE TO THE SUBURBS AND ~~THEY THINK THEY ARE~~ THINK THEY ARE SHUTTING THE DOOR ON THE RACE PROBLEM. IT ~~WON'T~~ SIMPLY WON'T WORK. ~~THE~~ THE PROBLEM WON'T GO AWAY. THE SUBURBS ARE LARGELY BEDROOM COMMUNITIES. MOST AMERICANS EARN THEIR LIVING IN THE CITIES. IF THE CITIES DIE, ALL AMERICANS WILL BE AFFECTED. ~~TO~~ TO MAKE THE CITIES HEALTHY, WE HAVE TO HEAL THE

REAL SICKNESS OF THE CITIES...THE SICKNESS OF DEPRIVATION BROUGHT ON BY THE
NEGLECT OF A CENTURY. ~~THE~~ GAP OF GENERATIONS... ~~THE~~ NEED FOR BETTER
SCHOOLING, ~~THE~~ TRAINING, JOBS ~~AND~~ AND HOUSING FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTRAL
CITIES...MUST BE BRIDGED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

VI. HOW DO WE ~~HEAL~~ HEAL THE SICKNESS OF THE CITIES...BY POURING MORE GOVERNMENT
BILLIONS INTO SUCH PROGRAMS AS URBAN RENEWAL, WHICH DISPLACES MANY ~~MORE~~ MORE PEOPLE
THAN IT HOUSES?

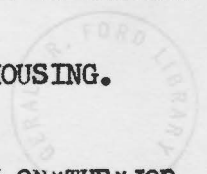
A. THE OLD ~~PROGRAMS~~ PROGRAMS HAVE NOT WORKED, YET THE FEDERAL ~~PLANNERS~~ PLANNERS WOULD POUR



~~THE SAME KIND OF POT — JUST FILL IT UP A LITTLE MORE.~~
MORE BILLIONS INTO ~~THE POT AND JUST MAKE THE POT BIGGER.~~ THE ~~NEW~~ POTION
WOULD BE THE SAME, AND ~~IT~~ ^{THE MEDICINE} JUST ISN'T WORKING.

B. I BELIEVE ~~THE~~ THE ONLY WAY THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES WILL BE SOLVED...AND
THE SICKNESS OF THE CITIES HEALED...IS FOR GOVERNMENT TO EMPLOY THE KIND ~~OF~~ OF
CREATIVITY FOUND IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY...TO EMPLOY THIS CREATIVITY BY HARNESSING
IT FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD...TO ~~PROVIDE~~ PROVIDE THE DEPRIVED WITH DECENT JOBS AND HOUSING.

C. THAT CAN BE DONE BY OFFERING INDUSTRY TAX INCENTIVES TO BECOME AN ON*THE*JOB
TRAINER FOR THE HARD*CORE UNEMPLOYED AND THE UNDEREMPLOYED, A BUILDER OF NEW PLANT



AND LOW-COST HOUSING IN THE CENTRAL CITIES AND IN RURAL POVERTY AREAS, AN

EMPLOYER WHO OFFERS HOPE FOR LIVES OF DIGNITY AND DECENCY TO HUMAN BEINGS NOW
OR BELOW IT.

ON THE BORDERLINE/ AS THE KERNER COMMISSION HAS POINTED OUT, THIS IS NOT EASY.

BUT I THINK IT IS THE ONLY WAY. ~~THE~~ THE KEY THAT WILL ~~UNLOCK~~ UNLOCK

THE DOOR TO DIGNITY FOR OUR DEPRIVED CITIZENS IS A GOOD JOB. A MAN MUST HAVE

SELF-RESPECT TO HAVE THE RESPECT OF OTHERS.

D. THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION SHOWS NO INCLINATION TO MAKE THE FULLEST POSSIBLE

USE OF BUSINESS CREATIVITY AS THE BEST HOPE OF SOLVING URBAN PROBLEMS.

NOR IS THE ADMINISTRATION MAKING BEST USE OF THE FEDERAL BILLIONS IT NOW IS

SPENDING. FOR INSTANCE, A CITIZENS' BOARD OF INQUIRY INTO HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION

IN THE UNITED STATES HAS FOUND THAT FOOD PROGRAMS ADMINISTERED BY THE AGRICULTURE

DEPARTMENT REACH ONLY 18 PER CENT ~~OF~~ OF THE POOR AND THAT MALNUTRITION HAS

RISEN SHARPLY OVER THE PAST DECADE. VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY BEATS THE BUSHES FOR

~~FROM GOVERNMENT COFFERS,~~
SUMMERTIME 'COOL IT' JOB MONEY, BUT MOST OF THE INCREASE IN SUMMER JOBS THIS YEAR

^{NOT}
WILL ~~BE~~ COME FROM GOVERNMENT EFFORTS BUT FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR...FROM THE

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN.

VII. GOVERNMENT DOESN'T REALLY PRODUCE ANYTHING BUT SERVICES...AND IT CAN'T GIVE

THE PEOPLE ~~IS~~ ANYTHING IT DOESN'T TAKE FROM ~~THE~~ THEM IN THE FIRST PLACE.

VIII. THERE ARE TIMES WHEN GOVERNMENT TAKES TOO MUCH FROM THE PRIVATE CITIZEN,

FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY. WHEN THIS HAPPENS, GOVERNMENT ~~IS~~

JOB*TRAINING AND ANTI*POVERTY PROGRAMS AREN'T MUCH HELP BECAUSE THERE IS NO JOB

WAITING AT THE END OF THE TRAINING PERIOD. THE BEST ANSWER TO POVERTY IS A

GOOD*PAYING JOB, AND THE BEST WAY TO CREATE JOBS IS TO ENCOURAGE ~~THE~~ SOUND

GROWTH IN THE ECONOMY. WE HAVE SOUND GROWTH WHEN WE DON'T TAKE CHEAP DOLLARS

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AND PAY OURSELVES MORE THAN OUR PRODUCTION IS WORTH, AND WE HAVE SOUND ~~THE~~

GOVERNMENT WHEN GOVERNMENT SERVES THE PEOPLE...AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

IX. IT'S OFTEN SAID THAT PEOPLE GET THE ~~THE~~ KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY DESERVE.

THIS ~~IS~~ IS TO SAY THAT IF YOU WANT ~~THE~~ GOOD GOVERNMENT, YOU HAVE TO DO SOMETHING

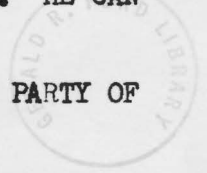
ABOUT IT. YOU HAVE TO ~~THE~~ BECOME INVOLVED. AMERICANS LOVE TO GRIPE. YOU DON'T

HAVE TO JOIN THE ARMY TO FIND THAT OUT...JUST GET YOURSELF ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

SERIOUSLY, IT'S A LOT BETTER TO GET INVOLVED AND TO TRY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT

WHAT GRIPES YOU THAN TO JUST SIT BACK AND COMPLAIN.

I. PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY PHYSICIANS, ~~ARE~~ ARE HIGHLY REGARDED BY THOSE ~~WHO~~ OUTSIDE THEIR PROFESSION. THIS MEANS THEY ARE ~~IN~~ IN A POSITION TO TAKE A POSITIVE APPROACH TO POLITICS...AND TO MAKE A TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO GOOD GOVERNMENT. THEY CAN HAVE A HAND IN SHAPING LEGISLATION. THEY CAN DO THIS BY PARTICIPATING DIRECTLY IN THE LEGISLATIVE ~~AND~~ PROCESS. A DOCTOR MIGHT RUN FOR PUBLIC OFFICE HIMSELF OR PERSUADE OTHER CAPABLE MEN AND WOMEN TO DO SO. HE CAN COMMUNICATE WITH OTHERS ON ISSUES AND CANDIDATES AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE PARTY OF HIS CHOICE. HE CAN BECOME A FORCE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT AND A SOUND SOCIETY.



XI. OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AS MOLDED BY THE FRAMERS OF THE ~~THE~~ FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, IS A MOST PRECIOUS GIFT. YOU AND I MUST DO EVERYTHING WITHIN OUR POWER TO PRESERVE IT. ^(Pause) WHEN THE MEN WHO WROTE THE CONSTITUTION COMPLETED THEIR TASK, THEY GATHERED UP THEIR NOTES AND DEPARTED FROM CONVENTION HALL. AS HE LEFT, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WAS STOPPED BY A BYSTANDER. "WHICH HAVE YOU GIVEN US," THE MAN ASKED, "A MONARCHY OR A REPUBLIC?" "A REPUBLIC," FRANKLIN ANSWERED, "IF YOU CAN KEEP IT."



THIS IS A ---TO PRESERVE AND NURTURE OUR REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOV'T.
XII. ~~RESPONSIBILITY~~ RESPONSIBILITY WE ALL BEAR AND ~~SHARE~~ THAT IS THE HIGH


PURPOSE TO WHICH WE MUST CONSTANTLY REDEDICATE OURSELVES, SO THAT OUR GREAT

FORM OF GOVERNMENT MAY CONTINUE TO LIVE. *(Pause)* ~~IT~~ IT IS MY DEEP CONVICTION THAT

YOU--ALL OF YOU--WILL MEASURE UP TO THAT RESPONSIBILITY...THAT ALL OF YOU WILL

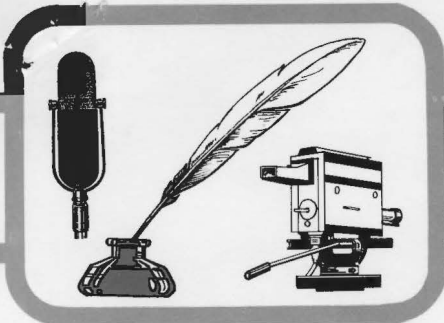
DARE TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED FOR AMERICA.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 7:30 P.M. WEDNESDAY--
April 24, 1968

Excerpts from a Speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., at a Regional Public Affairs Meeting of the Illinois State Medical Society, at Rock Island, Ill.

We have come to a turning point in terms of the civil disorders that are tearing America apart. We must heal our divisions and make our country whole.

We have come to a crossroads in race relations in America. It is a time when every American should turn to and ponder those most important words in the Declaration of Independence which read: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

We know that no man is quite like another--that each is born with special characteristics and varying amounts of native intelligence and into different economic circumstances. The authors of the Declaration of Independence were speaking of inherent equality. They were talking about human dignity. They were talking about equality before the law, and the respect of one human being for another.

No citizen of this Nation should feel compelled to go about with a sign around his neck, proclaiming "I am a man."

This, basically, is what the civil disorders we have been experiencing are all about. Every man has to feel he counts for something or he may lash out at others. No man will ever be safe in a society which breeds hostility and hatred.

It can be said that the assassination of Martin Luther King was used as an excuse for the arson and looting that followed. It would be more accurate to say it was the trigger that touched it off. It makes still more sense to say that the arson and the looting are symptoms of a disease which is plaguing America--the disease of inequality and hostility between the races.

Just as America could not live half slave and half free, so America cannot live with blacks hating whites and whites hating blacks.

There is a great need now for an era of reconciliation and an era of reconstruction in America, not only in terms of rebuilding our cities but in terms of rebuilding people.

Whites cannot just flee to the suburbs and think they are shutting the door

(more)



on the race problem. It simply won't work. The problem won't go away.

The suburbs are largely bedroom communities. Most Americans earn their living in the cities. If the cities die, all Americans will be affected.

To make the cities healthy, we must heal their real sickness--the sickness of deprivation brought on by a century of neglect. The gap of generations--the need for better schooling, training, jobs and housing for the people of the central cities--must be bridged as rapidly as possible.

How do we heal the sickness of the cities--by pouring more government billions into such programs as urban renewal, which displaces many more people than it houses?

The old programs have not worked, yet the federal planners would dump additional billions into the same kind of pot...just fill it up a little more. The resulting potion would be the same, the medicine that just isn't working.

I believe the only way the problems of the cities will be solved and the sickness of the cities healed is for government to employ the kind of creativity found in business and industry...to employ this creativity by harnessing it for the public good...to provide the deprived with decent jobs and housing.

This can be done by offering industry tax incentives to become an on-the-job trainer for the hard-core unemployed and the underemployed, a builder of new plant and low-income housing in the central cities, an employer who offers hope for lives of dignity and decency to human beings now at the borderline or below it.

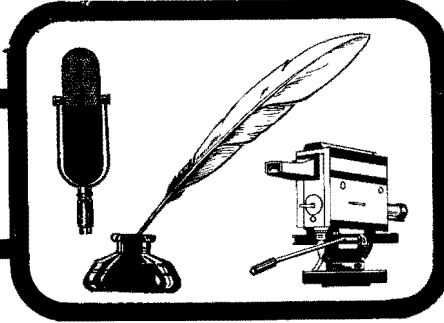
As the Kerner Commission has pointed out, this is not easy. But the commission endorsed it, and I think it is the only way. The key that will unlock the door to dignity for our deprived citizens is a good job. A man must have self-respect to have the respect of others.

The present Administration shows no inclination to make the fullest possible use of business creativity as the best hope of solving urban problems. Nor is the Administration making best use of the federal billions it now is spending.

Government job-training and anti-poverty programs are not much help if there is no job waiting at the end of the training period. The best answer to poverty is a good-paying job.

Of course, jobs alone won't end the rioting. We found that out in Washington, D. C. Perhaps the violence will stop only when we begin living the Declaration of Independence.

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