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FIRST CONGRESS OF AMERICAN POLITICS,
8 P.M. SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1968,
HIRAM SCOTT COLLEGE, SCOTTSBLUFF, NEBRASKA.

BEFORE COMING HERE TODAY, I PREPARED MYSELF VERY CAREFULLY FOR THE OCCASION. TO DO THIS I DILIGENTLY REVIEWED ALL OF THE INSTANCES WHEN I HAVE ATTACKED LYNDON JOHNSON, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND THE POLICIES OF THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION.

SOME TIME AGO I WAS TOLD THAT THIS CONGRESS ON AMERICAN POLITICS WOULD BE DIVIDED INTO FOUR SECTIONS AND THAT I WAS TO KEYNOTE THE ONE ON "CONGRESSIONAL POLEMICS."

A POLEMIC, ACCORDING TO WEBSTER'S SEVENTH NEW COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY, IS "AN AGGRESSIVE ATTACK ON OR REFUTATION OF THE OPINIONS OR PRINCIPLES OF ANOTHER." IT IS ALSO DEFINED AS "THE ART OR PRACTICE OF DISPUTATION OR CONTROVERSY."

I RUBBED MY HANDS TOGETHER OVER MY SPEAKING ASSIGNMENT, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE I DO ENJOY GOOD DISPUTATION. HOWEVER, I WAS A BIT TROUBLED WHEN I FOUND THAT WEBSTER DESCRIBED DISPUTATION AS "AN ACADEMIC EXERCISE IN ORAL DEFENSE OF A THESIS BY FORMAL LOGIC."

ENOUGH OF DEFINITIONS WHICH SOUND AS THOUGH THEY WERE CONCOCTED BY A WASHINGTON BUREAUCRAT.

Presumably
I MAY HAVE BEEN CHOSEN TO KEYNOTE THIS SECTION BECAUSE I HAVE A REPUTATION FOR BEING ONE OF LYNDON JOHNSON'S MOST OUTSPOKEN CRITICS.

So you don't get the impression this political "give + take" has been one sided, what President Johnson calls us Republicans in public - wooden soldiers - is nothing compared to what he calls us in private.
IT WOULD BE FAR MORE TO MY LIKING IF I WAS INVITED HERE BECAUSE--IN THE WORDS OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI--"NO GOVERNMENT CAN BE LONG SECURE WITHOUT A FORMIDABLE OPPOSITION."

Competition
REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS HAVE, I BELIEVE, BEEN OFFERING THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION AND THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN

THE HOUSE AND SENATE OPPOSITION WHICH IS FORMIDABLE.

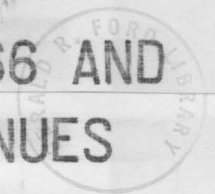
A NEWS REPORTER RECENTLY SUGGESTED TO ME THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S DECISION NOT TO SEEK REELECTION HAD NEUTRALIZED THE ISSUES REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATING ON IN 1968.

I POLITELY--A POLITICIAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE POLITE TO NEWSMEN--I POLITELY DISAGREED.

It doesn't make one into a difference, not a smudge for them all have substantial same programs


THE ISSUES, I SAID, REMAINED THE SAME

AFTER ALL, THE MAJOR PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THIS NATION HAVE NOT BEEN SOLVED. PEACE HAS NOT BROKEN OUT IN VIETNAM. VIETNAM PEACE TALKS ARE STILL JUST A HOPE DESPITE ALL THE TALK ABOUT A START ON TALKS. THE NATION'S LARGE CITIES ARE STILL SEEDBEDS OF POTENTIAL RACIAL REVOLT. THE NATIONAL CRIME RATE CONTINUES TO RISE--AFTER JUMPING A FRIGHTENING 83 PER CENT FROM 1960 THRU 1967, WHILE OUR POPULATION INCREASED BY 11 PER CENT. THE COST OF LIVING CONTINUES TO SPIRAL, NOW MOUNTING AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF 4 PER CENT AFTER TOPPING 3 PER CENT EACH YEAR IN 1966 AND 1967. THE CONDITION OF THE DOLLAR CONTINUES CRITICAL, AND EUROPEANS WHO HAVE LOST



CONFIDENCE IN THAT DOLLAR ANXIOUSLY WATCH TO SEE IF AMERICA WILL PUT ITS FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER. THE DEEP DEFICIT IN OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CONTINUES. OUR SUPPLY OF GOLD IS ^{shockingly} ~~ABYSMALLY~~ LOW; THE NUMBER OF DOLLARS HELD BY FOREIGNERS DANGEROUSLY HIGH. OUR PAPER MONEY HAS BECOME EXACTLY THAT--BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S INABILITY TO SOLVE OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM HAS FORCED REMOVAL OF THE 25 PER CENT GOLD BACKING FOR OUR CURRENCY.

'ONE OF LYNDON JOHNSON'S FAVORITE PHRASES HAS LONG BEEN "LET US CONTINUE." CONTINUE WHAT? CONTINUE TO KEEP IN POWER A POLITICAL PARTY WHICH HAS FAILED AMERICA? KEEP IN POWER A PARTY WHICH HAS FAILED TO KEEP THE PEACE AT HOME AND ABROAD? KEEP IN POWER A PARTY WHICH HAS ALLOWED OUR CITY STREETS TO BECOME PAVEMENTS OF FEAR? KEEP IN POWER A PARTY WHICH HAS DESTROYED PRICE STABILITY IN THIS COUNTRY BY PURSUING UNSOUND FISCAL POLICIES? KEEP IN



POWER A PARTY WHICH THREATENS TO DESTROY THE DOLLAR AS A WORLD CURRENCY AND THUS PRODUCE A COLLAPSE OF WORLD TRADE? KEEP IN POWER A PARTY WHICH THREATENS TO PLUNGE US INTO THE MAJOR RECESSION THAT WILL INEVITABLY FOLLOW UPON RUNAWAY INFLATION?

IN A RECENT SPEECH IN CHICAGO, PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID THE PURPOSE OF POLITICS IS "TO SERVE THE UNITY OF ALL OUR PEOPLE."

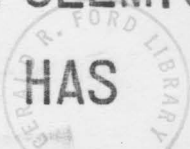
POLITICS, WHEN DEFINED ACCURATELY, IS THE ART OF GOVERNMENT. IF A POLITICAL PARTY GOVERNS BADLY, IT IS THIS WHICH DIVIDES THE COUNTRY. THERE CAN BE NO UNITY WHEN THE PARTY IN POWER FAILS TO SOLVE THE NATION'S MOST CRITICAL PROBLEMS AND THUS SERVES THE PEOPLE POORLY. THERE CAN BE NO UNITY WHEN THE PARTY IN POWER IS GUILTY OF MISMANAGING THE NATION'S FISCAL AND MONETARY AFFAIRS. THERE CAN BE NO UNITY WHEN THE PARTY IN POWER REFUSES TO MAKE THE FULLEST POSSIBLE USE OF THE POWER OF FREE

ENTERPRISE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF OUR CITIES. THERE CAN BE NO UNITY WHEN THE PARTY IN POWER PERMITS THIS NATION TO BE HUMILIATED BY TINY COMMUNIST NATIONS A FRACTION ITS SIZE.

NOBODY IN THIS COUNTRY SHOULD PROMOTE DIVISIVENESS. *for personal or partisan gain - I make no allegation against another - Dem or Rep.* BUT THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM WHICH PERVADES OUR GREAT NATION. NO CITIZEN SHOULD MUZZLE HIMSELF IN THE NAME OF UNITY. HE SHOULD RATHER BE GUIDED BY A DEEP SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WELFARE OF OTHERS AND AN ABIDING LOVE FOR HIS HOMELAND.

THIS IS *Presidential* AN ELECTION YEAR. *The year I challenge* REPUBLICANS ARE SPEAKING OUT IN CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THE POLICIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. THIS IS NOT PARTISANSHIP IN THE NARROW SENSE.

WE ENGAGE IN CONGRESSIONAL POLEMICS BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS TAKEN THIS NATION ON A MISTAKEN COURSE, AND THE



AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD TURN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO MAKE IT RIGHT. REPUBLICANS BELIEVE WE MUST STEER THE COUNTRY IN NEW DIRECTIONS OR THE NATION WILL SUFFER GRIEVOUS HURTS.

OUR NATION IS ALREADY SUFFERING, HAS BEEN SUFFERING, WILL CONTINUE TO SUFFER UNDER DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLICIES.

IN VIETNAM A DIVIDED DEMOCRATIC PARTY GRADUALLY ESCALATED A SMALL EISENHOWER AID COMMITMENT INTO A MAJOR LAND WAR, CONTRARY TO ALL SOUND MILITARY ADVICE. IT WAS THE LATE GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, YOU WILL RECALL, WHO SAID: "ANYBODY WHO COMMITS THE LAND POWER OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CONTINENT OF ASIA OUGHT TO HAVE HIS HEAD EXAMINED."

HAVING COMMITTED U.S. LAND POWER TO THE VIETNAM WAR, THE DIVIDED DEMOCRATIC PARTY MADE THE ADDITIONAL POLICY MISTAKE OF EMPLOYING A STRATEGY OF LIMITED OR MEASURED RESPONSE, A STRATEGY OF GRADUALISM WHICH WAS DOOMED TO

FAILURE FROM THE OUTSET AND NEEDLESSLY ENDANGERED THE LIVES OF AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN.

HAVING FOLLOWED THE MISTAKEN POLICY OF GRADUALISM, THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION NOW MUST MAKE GOOD ON ITS PROMISE TO PHASE OUT U.S. LAND FORCES IN VIETNAM AND PHASE IN SOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WHILE SEEKING A NEGOTIATED PEACE. I APPLAUD THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO IMPOSE A CEILING OF 550,000 ON OUR TROOP COMMITMENT TO VIETNAM. I ALSO APPLAUD HIS ACTION LIMITING THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM AS A MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE. IT SO HAPPENS THAT THIS PEACE INITIATIVE IS BASED ON A PLAN PROPOSED PRIVATELY TO THE PRESIDENT BY A GROUP OF NINE HOUSE REPUBLICANS EXACTLY ONE YEAR PRIOR TO THE PRESIDENT'S PUBLIC IMPLEMENTATION OF IT.

VIETNAM IS NOT AMERICA'S ONLY FOREIGN POOL OF DESPAIR UNDER A DIVIDED DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

IN LATIN AMERICA, THERE IS NO REAL ALLIANCE AND THE PROGRESS IS INSIGNIFICANT.

WHERE ARE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS OUR STATE DEPARTMENT HAS SO BRAVELY MAPPED FOR OUR LATIN NEIGHBORS? THE REFORMS ARE BURIED UNDER SHINY NEW IMPLEMENTS OF WAR WHILE SOUTH AMERICAN LEADERS BOLSTER THEIR PERSONAL WEALTH AND POWER.

IN AFRICA NATION AFTER NATION WHICH HAS ACCEPTED OUR ASSISTANCE FALLS AWAY FROM POPULAR RULE AND INTO THE CULT OF PERSONAL DICTATORSHIP. VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S ANSWER IS TO CALL FOR A TRIPLING OF A FOREIGN AID PROGRAM THAT HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN EXPOSED AS SHODDILY--AND IN SOME INSTANCES, CORRUPTLY--RUN.

IN EUROPE, NATO HAS STEADILY ERODED INTO A LOOSE, LIP-SERVICE ALIGNMENT OF NATIONS WHICH FORCE AMERICA TO PAY THE BILL FOR MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS THEY DO NOT CONSIDER IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO FINANCE ON THEIR OWN. SUPREME HEADQUARTERS OF THE ALLIED FORCES HAS BEEN



PUSHED OUT OF FRANCE BY PRESIDENT DEGAULLE AND FORCED TO TAKE REFUGE IN BELGIUM, LEAVING A FORTUNE IN BUILDINGS BEHIND. BRITAIN, SQUEEZED BY EXTRAVAGANT WELFARE PROGRAMS INTO DEVALUING THE POUND, HAS PULLED BACK FROM THE WORLD AND THRUST A GREATER PEACE-KEEPING BURDEN ON AMERICA. OUR ERRATIC POLICY IN THE MIDEAST FEEDS GUERRILLA WARFARE BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL AND BLUNTS THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE WHILE ENHANCING SOVIET INFLUENCE AMONG THE ARAB NATIONS.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING AT HOME UNDER DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLICIES.

THE U.S. LABOR DEPARTMENT HAS STATED FLATLY THAT THE WAGE GAINS AMERICAN WORKERS THOUGHT THEY HAD MADE IN 1966 AND 1967 WERE WIPED OUT BY INCREASES IN THE COST OF LIVING.

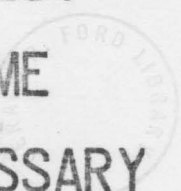
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BRAGS ABOUT MORE THAN 80 MONTHS OF "UNINTERRUPTED PROSPERITY" BUT THE NAME OF THE GAME IS INFLATION, NOT

PROSPERITY. INFLATION IS A BIG WORD. THE HOUSEWIFE KNOWS WHAT IT MEANS--HIGHER AND HIGHER PRICES.

INFLATION HURTS THE POOR MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE, BECAUSE THEIR INCOMES DO NOT RISE ON A DIRECT LINE WITH PRICES. MUCH OF THE TREMENDOUS EFFORT AND HUGE EXPENDITURES THAT HAVE GONE INTO THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS BEEN NULLIFIED BY INFLATION.

INFLATION HAS HURT THE FARMER BECAUSE PRICES RECEIVED BY THE FARMER HAVE GONE UP VERY ^{if at all} LITTLE IN THE LAST SEVEN YEARS BUT THE INDEX OF PRICES PAID ^{the cost of production} BY THE FARMER HAS GONE UP 44 POINTS. THE FARMER IS A PRIME VICTIM OF JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION INFLATION. HIS INCOME BRINGS HIM ONLY 74 PER CENT OF PARITY--SOMETHING THAT IS INCONCEIVABLE IN TIME OF WAR.

INFLATION HAS FORCED UP INTEREST RATES AND CREATED A SPECIAL BURDEN FOR HOME BUYERS AND ALL AMERICANS WHO FIND IT NECESSARY



TO BORROW. IT HAS GREATLY INTERFERED WITH MUNICIPAL AND SCHOOL DISTRICT IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS AND HAS SADDLED TAXPAYERS WITH HIGHER INTEREST COSTS FOR YEARS TO COME. FED BY DEFICIT FEDERAL SPENDING, INFLATION HAS ADDED TO INTEREST COSTS ACCOMPANYING THE ABNORMALLY LARGE RISE IN OUR NATIONAL DEBT UNTIL THE INTEREST ON THAT DEBT NOW TOTALS NEARLY \$15 BILLION A YEAR.

INFLATION HAS HURT OUR FOREIGN TRADE TO THE POINT WHERE OUR TRADE SURPLUS HAS FALLEN TO AN ANNUAL RATE OF LESS THAN \$2 BILLION. OUR BALANCE OF TRADE ACTUALLY SLIPPED INTO DEFICIT DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH, THE FIRST TIME THIS HAS HAPPENED SINCE 1963. THIS VANISHING TRADE SURPLUS HAS COMBINED WITH THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION'S EXTRAVAGANCE IN OVERSEAS EXPENDITURES TO PRODUCE OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CRISIS AND THE GOLD DRAIN.

THE GOLD CRISIS HAS RESULTED FROM

AN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES PURSUED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. THE LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE DOLLAR WAS PARTICULARLY SHOCKING TO THOSE AMERICAN TRAVELERS WHO FOUND THAT FOR A FEW DAYS IN MARCH SOME EUROPEAN BANKS, HOTELS AND MERCHANTS WERE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THEIR DOLLARS OR TRAVELERS CHECKS.

IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR TO ME THAT THE PARTY IN POWER HAS MISMANAGED THIS NATION'S FISCAL AND MONETARY AFFAIRS.

I SAY THIS BECAUSE THE GENERAL PRICE LEVEL HAS RISEN 10 PER CENT SINCE MID-1964.

I SAY THIS BECAUSE TOTAL FEDERAL SPENDING JUMPED \$53 BILLION BETWEEN MID-1965 AND MID-1968, WITH LESS THAN HALF OF THIS INCREASE--\$25 BILLION--DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE VIETNAM WAR.

I SAY THIS BECAUSE THE PARTY IN POWER REFUSED TO ELIMINATE NON-ESSENTIAL

DOMESTIC SPENDING AS AN OFFSET TO VIETNAM WAR COSTS OR EVEN TO DEFER LOW-PRIORITY EXPENDITURES.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BROUGHT ON THIS NATION A FISCAL CRISIS WHICH THREATENS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH A MAJOR RECESSION OR WORSE. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AS THE PARTY IN POWER, THEREFORE HAS THE CHIEF RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESOLVING OUR FISCAL CRISIS.

REPUBLICANS CAN POINT THE WAY--AS WE HAVE BEEN DOING--WITH A CALL FOR AN AUSTERITY PROGRAM. THIS WOULD INCLUDE DEEP CUTS IN SPENDING AND THE ERASING OF FUTURE AUTHORITY TO SPEND SO THAT CONGRESS CAN REGAIN CONTROL OF FEDERAL EXPENDITURES.

IF AN INCOME TAX INCREASE APPEARS ABSOLUTELY INESCAPABLE, ^{to avoid the catastrophe of the 1930s} THEN ^{a \$6 billion expenditure reduction} ~~THIS ALSO~~ MUST BE WRAPPED INTO THE PACKAGE.

~~HOWEVER,~~ I WILL NOT SUPPORT A TAX INCREASE WHICH IS MERELY THE VEHICLE FOR ANOTHER SHARP SPENDING SPIRAL.

THE NEED TO PUT OUR FISCAL HOUSE IN



ORDER APPEARS TO COLLIDE HEAD-ON WITH THE DESPERATE DEMANDS OF OUR CITIES AND THE CRISIS OF CIVIL DISORDER.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS IN MEETING THE CRISIS OF CIVIL DISORDER IS FOR AMERICANS OF BOTH RACES TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY CANNOT LIVE TOGETHER IN AN AMERICA DIVIDED BY HATRED. WE MUST, ALL OF US. REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE TRUTH WHICH THE AUTHORS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SAW AS SELF-EVIDENT--THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

A CHANGE IN ATTITUDES WON'T ELIMINATE SLUM CONDITIONS BUT IT WILL HELP COOL THE PASSIONS WHICH HAVE CAUSED LOSS OF LIFE AND DESTROYED PORTIONS OF OUR GREAT CITIES.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE REMEDY IS JOBS--GOOD-PAYING JOBS THAT WILL BRING DIGNITY, SELF-RESPECT AND THE RESPECT OF OTHERS TO THE UNEMPLOYED AND UNDEREMPLOYED CITIZENS OF THE CENTRAL CITIES.

I HAVE REPEATEDLY URGED BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL LEADERS TO BECOME SOCIALLY CONSCIOUS, AND INDEED MANY BUSINESSMEN HAVE BECOME DEEPLY INVOLVED IN TRYING TO CURE AMERICA'S URBAN ILLS. BUT IT IS EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT AND EXPENSIVE TO TRAIN THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED FOR JOBS AND THERE ARE MANY PROBLEMS IN LOCATING PLANTS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES.

THESE PROBLEMS CANNOT BE SOLVED BY DIRECT FEDERAL APPROPRIATION, DIRECT FEDERAL SUBSIDY, OR BY EMOTIONAL APPEALS TO SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

WE MUST MAKE THE REBUILDING OF OUR CITIES AN ATTRACTIVE NEW BUSINESS--AND REBUILD THE CITIZENS OF THE CENTRAL CITIES IN THE PROCESS

THE BEST WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS IS TO OFFER INDUSTRY TAX CREDITS AS AN INCENTIVE TO PROVIDE LARGE-SCALE ON-THE-JOB TRAINING IN THE CENTRAL CITIES. TO BUILD INDUSTRIAL PLANTS THERE. AND TO CONSTRUCT LOW-COST HOUSING FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES.

AS A MILITANT BLACK LEADER IN DETROIT TOLD A GROUP OF BUSINESSMEN: "THE GOVERNMENT CAN'T LICK THIS PROBLEM, SO BUSINESS HAS TO. IF YOU CATS CAN'T DO IT, IT'S NEVER GOING TO GET DONE."

BUT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF TAX CREDITS AS AN INVESTMENT IN HUMAN BEINGS, JUST AS THEY HAVE SPURNED A WHOLE ARRAY OF NEW REPUBLICAN IDEAS AIMED AT SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THE LATE SIXTIES AND THE SEVENTIES.

WE NEED TO THROW OFF THE MALAISE WHICH HAS PARALYZED AMERICA.

IT IS TIME FOR FRESH APPROACHES--A SHARING OF FEDERAL REVENUE WITH THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO BRING THEM INTO FULL PARTNERSHIP IN PROBLEM-SOLVING, THE USE OF TAX INCENTIVES TO PUT BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY TO WORK RE-MAKING OUR CITIES, THE CREATION OF A PRIVATE-PUBLIC CORPORATION TO RAISE MORTGAGE FUNDS AND

HELP LOW-INCOME FAMILIES BUY AND RUN THEIR OWN HOMES, A RE-ORDERING OF OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES TO CONVERT URBAN RENEWAL INTO HUMAN RENEWAL...THROUGHOUT AMERICA. UNFORTUNATELY, THE OLD DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMS NEVER DIE. THEY DON'T EVEN FADE AWAY.

*They just keep on going more
- a govt big enough to.*

JUST AS WE CAN ACCOMPLISH NOTHING WITHOUT A SOUND DOLLAR, SO WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO LIVE WITH FEAR. BESIDES ENLISTING PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN A NATIONWIDE ATTACK ON THE CONDITIONS WHICH LEAD TO CIVIL DISORDERS, REPUBLICANS WOULD LAUNCH A SWEEPING PROGRAM TO CONTROL CRIME AND JUVENILE DELIQUENCY, IMPROVE LAW ENFORCEMENT, OVERHAUL OUR COURT SYSTEM, AND CRACK DOWN ON ORGANIZED CRIME.

THE PARTY IN POWER HAS FAILED TO MOVE WITH URGENCY TOWARD A SOLUTION TO THE PRESSING PROBLEM OF CRIME. IN FACT, THEIR "HANG-UP" IS THAT THEY REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR STATEWIDE IMPROVEMENTS IN LAW



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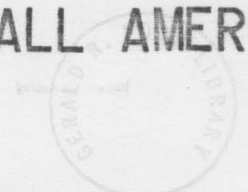
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ENFORCEMENT. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES LAST YEAR PASSED A NATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ACT AMENDED TO MEET A REPUBLICAN DEMAND FOR COORDINATED STATE PLANS IN A WAR ON CRIME. THIS LEGISLATION HAS MARKED TIME IN THE SENATE BECAUSE OF JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION INSISTENCE THAT FEDERAL ANTI-CRIME GRANTS BE FUNNELED DIRECTLY TO THE CITIES, *bypassing responsible state plans & state officials.* CRIME KNOWS NO JURISDICTIONAL

BOUNDARIES. IT DOES NOT STOP AT THE CITY LINE. THE NATIONAL CRIME RATE CONTINUES TO MOUNT WHILE *Those who want all ultimate power in the hands of the U. S. Attorney General* ~~CONGRESSIONAL ADVOCATES OF FEDERAL FUNDING OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT WITHHOLD~~ ^{federal} ANTI-CRIME FUNDS FROM THE STATES. REPUBLICANS HAVE ADVANCED NO LESS THAN 31 PROPOSALS TO STRENGTHEN LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY WHILE THE MAJORITY PARTY PLOTS HOW TO BYPASS THE STATES IN THE WAR ON CRIME. THIS IS A SHOCKING EXERCISE IN THE MIS-USE OF POLITICAL POWER. AND ALL AMERICA SUFFERS.



I AM CONVINCED THAT AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD, EITHER AT HOME OR ABROAD, ANOTHER FOUR YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC RULE IN WASHINGTON.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--WITH TRADITIONAL MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD WISDOM--ARE SEEKING A CHANGE OF DIRECTION IN THEIR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. ^{Today} THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS THEM THIS NEW DIRECTION.

THE DEBATES IN CONGRESS--CONGRESSIONAL POLEMICS, IF YOU WILL--CONSTANTLY FOCUS ON A BASIC DIFFERENCE IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADMITS OF NO REMEDIES FOR AMERICA'S PROBLEMS BUT FEDERAL SOLUTIONS, FEDERALLY FINANCED AND FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PROPOSES THAT OUR ATTACK ON AMERICA'S PROBLEMS BE DECENTRALIZED. ONLY IN THAT WAY CAN WE SOLVE THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE DEFIED THE FEDERAL



BUREAUCRACY. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN IDENTIFYING NATIONAL PROBLEMS, THEN PROMOTE MAXIMUM EFFORT BY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND BY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN SOLVING THEM.

THESE, THEN, ARE THE ISSUES. LET THE CONGRESSIONAL POLEMICS BECOME YOUR POLEMICS.

I know you agree with a basic principle which is so essential to the
~~I HOPE YOU MANAGE TO DISAGREE AGREEABLY.~~

Strength of our American political system - we can + must disagree without being hostile
I COMMEND YOU FOR GATHERING HERE IN

THIS FIRST CONGRESS ON AMERICAN POLITICS. AS YOU PLUNGE INTO THE POLITICAL MAELSTROM, MAY I SUGGEST THESE WORDS SPOKEN BY A UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT, A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, A DEMOCRAT--WOODROW WILSON--AS YOUR GUIDE:

"LIBERTY CANNOT EXIST WHERE GOVERNMENT TAKES CARE OF THE PEOPLE, BUT IT CAN ONLY THRIVE WHERE THE PEOPLE TAKE CARE OF THE GOVERNMENT."



Distribution: Full 4/26/68

*+ 20 Copies Mr. Ford
mailed 4/27/68*

M Office Copy

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD
REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF AMERICAN POLITICS
8 P.M. SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1968
AT HIRAM SCOTT COLLEGE, SCOTTSBLUFF, NEBRASKA

For release in Sunday AM's

Before coming here today, I prepared myself very carefully for the occasion. To do this I diligently reviewed all of the instances when I have attacked Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic Party, and the policies of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Some time ago I was told that this Congress on American Politics would be divided into four sections and that I was to keynote the one on "Congressional Polemics."

A polemic, according to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, is "an aggressive attack on or refutation of the opinions or principles of another." It is also defined as "the art or practice of disputation or controversy."

I rubbed my hands together over my speaking assignment, particularly because I do enjoy good disputation. However, I was a bit troubled when I found that Webster described disputation as "an academic exercise in oral defense of a thesis by formal logic."

Enough of definitions which sound as though they were concocted by a Washington bureaucrat.

I may have been chosen to keynote this section because I have a reputation for being one of Lyndon Johnson's most outspoken critics.

It would be fare more to my liking if I was invited here because--in the words of Benjamin Disraeli--"no government can be long secure without a formidable opposition."

Republicans in Congress have, I believe, been offering the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Democratic majority in the House and Senate opposition which is formidable.

A news reporter recently suggested to me that President Johnson's decision not to seek reelection had neutralized the issues Republicans have been concentrating on in 1968. I politely--a politician should always be polite to newsmen--I politely disagreed.

The issues, I said, remained the same. After all, the major problems confronting this Nation have NOT been solved. Peace has not broken out in Vietnam,

(more)



Vietnam peace talks are still just a hope despite all the talk about a start on talks. The Nation's large cities are still seedbeds of potential racial revolt. The national crime rate continues to rise--after jumping a frightening 83 per cent from 1960 through 1967, while our population increased by 11 per cent. The cost of living continues to spiral, now mounting at an annual rate of 4 per cent after topping 3 per cent each year in 1966 and 1967. The condition of the dollar continues critical, and Europeans who have lost confidence in that dollar anxiously watch to see if America will put its fiscal house in order. The deep deficit in our balance of payments continues. Our supply of gold is abysmally low; the number of dollars held by foreigners dangerously high. Our paper money has become exactly that--because the Democratic Party's inability to solve our balance of payments problem has forced removal of the 25 per cent gold backing for our currency.

One of Lyndon Johnson's favorite phrases has long been "let us continue." Continue what? Continue to keep in power a political party which has failed America? Keep in power a party which has failed to keep the peace at home and abroad? Keep in power a party which has allowed our city streets to become pavements of fear? Keep in power a party which has destroyed price stability in this country by pursuing unsound fiscal policies? Keep in power a party which threatens to destroy the dollar as a world currency and thus produce a collapse of world trade? Keep in power a party which threatens to plunge us into the major recession that will inevitably follow upon runaway inflation?

In a recent speech in Chicago, President Johnson said the purpose of politics is "to serve the unity of all our people."

Politics, when defined accurately, is the art of government. If a political party governs badly, it is this which divides the country. There can be no unity when the party in power fails to solve the Nation's most critical problems and thus serves the people poorly. There can be no unity when the party in power is guilty of mismanaging the Nation's fiscal and monetary affairs. There can be no unity when the party in power refuses to make the fullest possible use of the power of free enterprise to solve the problems of our cities. There can be no unity when the party in power permits this Nation to be humiliated by tiny Communist nations a fraction its size.

Nobody in this country should promote divisiveness. But the strength of America has always been the spirit of freedom which pervades our great Nation. No citizen should muzzle himself in the name of unity. He should rather be guided by a deep sense of responsibility for the welfare of others and an abiding love for his homeland.

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This is an election year. Republicans are speaking out in Congress and elsewhere in disagreement with the policies of the Democratic Party. This is not partisanship in the narrow sense.

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Our Nation is already suffering, has been suffering, will continue to suffer under Democratic Party policies.

In Vietnam a divided Democratic Party gradually escalated a small Eisenhower aid commitment into a major land war, contrary to all sound military advice. It was the late General Douglas MacArthur, you will recall, who said: "Anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined."

Having committed U.S. land power to the Vietnam War, the divided Democratic Party made the additional policy mistake of employing a strategy of limited or measured response, a strategy of gradualism which was doomed to failure from the outset and needlessly endangered the lives of American fighting men.

Having followed the mistaken policy of gradualism, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration now must make good on its promise to phase out U.S. land forces in Vietnam and phase in South Vietnamese troops while seeking a negotiated peace. I applaud the President's decision to impose a ceiling of 550,000 on our troop commitment to Vietnam. I also applaud his action limiting the bombing of North Vietnam as a move in the direction of peace. It so happens that this peace initiative is based on a plan proposed privately to the President by a group of nine House Republicans exactly one year prior to the President's public implementation of it.

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The American people are suffering at home under Democratic Party policies.

The U.S. Labor Department has stated flatly that the wage gains American workers thought they had made in 1966 and 1967 were wiped out by increases in the cost of living.

The Democratic Party brags about more than 80 months of "uninterrupted prosperity" but the name of the game is inflation, not prosperity. Inflation is a big word. The housewife knows what it means--higher and higher prices.

Inflation hurts the poor more than anyone else, because their incomes do not rise on a direct line with prices. Much of the tremendous effort and huge expenditures that have gone into the War on Poverty has been nullified by inflation.

Inflation has hurt the farmer because prices received by the farmer have gone up very little in the last seven years but the index of prices paid by the farmer has gone up 44 points. The farmer is a prime victim of Johnson-Humphrey Administration inflation. His income brings him only 74 per cent of parity--something that is inconceivable in time of war.

Inflation has forced up interest rates and created a special burden for home buyers and all Americans who find it necessary to borrow. It has greatly interfered with municipal and school district improvement projects and has saddled taxpayers with higher interest costs for years to come. Fed by deficit federal spending, inflation has added to interest costs accompanying the abnormally large rise in our national debt until the interest on that debt now totals nearly \$15 billion a year.

Inflation has hurt our foreign trade to the point where our trade surplus has fallen to an annual rate of less than \$2 billion. Our balance of trade

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actually slipped into deficit during the month of March, the first time this has happened since 1963. This vanishing trade surplus has combined with the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's extravagance in overseas expenditures to produce our balance of payments crisis and the gold drain.

The gold crisis has resulted from an international crisis of confidence in the fiscal and monetary policies pursued by the Democratic Party. The loss of confidence in the dollar was particularly shocking to those American travelers who found that for a few days in March some European banks, hotels and merchants were unwilling to accept their dollars or travelers checks.

It is abundantly clear to me that the party in power has mismanaged this Nation's fiscal and monetary affairs.

I say this because the general price level has risen 10 per cent since mid-1964.

I say this because total federal spending jumped \$53 billion between mid-1965 and mid-1968, with less than half of this increase--\$25 billion--directly attributable to the Vietnam War.

I say this because the party in power refused to eliminate non-essential domestic spending as an offset to Vietnam War costs or even to defer low-priority expenditures.

The Democratic Party has brought on this Nation a fiscal crisis which threatens the American people with a major recession or worse. The Democratic Party, as the party in power, therefore has the chief responsibility for resolving our fiscal crisis.

Republicans can point the way--as we have been doing--with a call for an austerity program. This would include deep cuts in spending and the erasing of future authority to spend so that Congress can regain control of federal expenditures. If an income tax increase appears absolutely inescapable, then this also must be wrapped into the package. However, I will not support a tax increase which is merely the vehicle for another sharp spending spiral.

The need to put our fiscal house in order appears to collide head-on with the desperate demands of our cities and the crisis of civil disorder.

I firmly believe that the first order of business in meeting the crisis of civil disorder is for Americans of both races to recognize that they cannot live together in an America divided by hatred. We must, all of us, rededicate ourselves to the truth which the authors of the Declaration of Independence saw as self-evident--that all men are created equal.

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A change in attitudes won't eliminate slum conditions but it will help cool the passions which have caused loss of life and destroyed portions of our great cities.

Perhaps the most important single remedy is jobs--good-paying jobs that will bring dignity, self-respect and the respect of others to the unemployed and under-employed citizens of the central cities.

I have repeatedly urged business and industrial leaders to become socially conscious, and indeed many businessmen have become deeply involved in trying to cure America's urban ills. But it is exceedingly difficult and expensive to train the hard-core unemployed for jobs and there are many problems in locating plants in the central cities.

These problems cannot be solved by direct federal appropriation, direct federal subsidy, or by emotional appeals to social consciousness.

We must make the rebuilding of our cities an attractive new business--and rebuild the citizens of the central cities in the process.

The best way to accomplish this is to offer industry tax credits as an incentive to provide large-scale on-the-job training in the central cities, to build industrial plants there, and to construct low-cost housing for low-income families.

As a militant black leader in Detroit told a group of businessmen: "The government can't lick this problem, so business has to. If you cats can't do it, it's never going to get done."

But the Democratic Party refuses to accept the concept of tax credits as an investment in human beings, just as they have spurned a whole array of new Republican ideas aimed at solving the problems of the late Sixties and the Seventies.

We need to throw off the malaise which has paralyzed America.

It is time for fresh approaches--a sharing of federal revenue with the states and local communities to bring them into full partnership in problem-solving, the use of tax incentives to put business and industry to work re-making our cities, the creation of a private-public corporation to raise mortgage funds and help low-income families buy and run their own homes, a re-ordering of our national priorities to convert urban renewal into human renewal...throughout America. Unfortunately, the old Democratic programs never die. They don't even fade away.

Just as we can accomplish nothing without a sound dollar, so we cannot continue to live with fear. Besides enlisting private enterprise in a nationwide

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attack on the conditions which lead to civil disorders, Republicans would launch a sweeping program to control crime and juvenile delinquency, improve law enforcement, overhaul our court system, and crack down on organized crime.

The party in power has failed to move with urgency toward a solution to the pressing problem of crime. In fact, their "hang-up" is that they refuse to recognize the need for statewide improvements in law enforcement. The House of Representatives last year passed a National Law Enforcement Assistance Act amended to meet a Republican demand for coordinated State plans in a war on crime. This legislation has marked time in the Senate because of Johnson-Humphrey Administration insistence that federal anti-crime grants be funneled directly to the cities.

Crime knows no jurisdictional boundaries. It does not stop at the city line. The national crime rate continued to mount while congressional advocates of federal funding of local law enforcement withheld ~~the~~ anti-crime funds from the states. Republicans ~~have~~ advanced no less than 31 proposals to strengthen law enforcement in this country while the majority party plots ~~it~~ how to bypass the states in the war on crime. This ~~is~~ ^{was} a shocking exercise in the mis-use of political power. And all America ~~has~~ ^{has} suffered ~~it~~.

I am convinced that America cannot afford, either at home or abroad, another four years of Democratic rule in Washington.

I firmly believe that the American people--with traditional middle-of-the-road wisdom--are seeking a change of direction in their federal government. The Republican Party offers them this New Direction.

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The Republican Party proposes that our attack on America's problems be decentralized. Only in that way can we solve the problems which have defied the federal bureaucracy. The federal government must take the lead in identifying national problems, then promote maximum effort by state and local governments and by private enterprise and private institutions in solving them.

These, ~~then,~~ are the issues. ~~Let the congressional polemics become your~~ polemics. I hope you manage to disagree agreeably.

I commend you for gathering here in this first Congress on American Politics.

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As you plunge into the political maelstrom, may I suggest these words spoken by a university president, a President of the United States, a Democrat--Woodrow Wilson--as your guide: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

#

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD
REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF AMERICAN POLITICS
8 P.M. SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1968
AT HIRAM SCOTT COLLEGE, SCOTTSBLUFF, NEBRASKA

For release in Sunday AM's

Before coming here today, I prepared myself very carefully for the occasion. To do this I diligently reviewed all of the instances when I have attacked Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic Party, and the policies of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Some time ago I was told that this Congress on American Politics would be divided into four sections and that I was to keynote the one on "Congressional Polemics."

A polemic, according to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, is "an aggressive attack on or refutation of the opinions or principles of another." It is also defined as "the art or practice of disputation or controversy."

I rubbed my hands together over my speaking assignment, particularly because I do enjoy good disputation. However, I was a bit troubled when I found that Webster described disputation as "an academic exercise in oral defense of a thesis by formal logic."

Enough of definitions which sound as though they were concocted by a Washington bureaucrat.

I may have been chosen to keynote this section because I have a reputation for being one of Lyndon Johnson's most outspoken critics.

It would be fare more to my liking if I was invited here because--in the words of Benjamin Disraeli--"no government can be long secure without a formidable opposition."

Republicans in Congress have, I believe, been offering the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Democratic majority in the House and Senate opposition which is formidable.

A news reporter recently suggested to me that President Johnson's decision not to seek reelection had neutralized the issues Republicans have been concentrating on in 1968. I politely--a politician should always be polite to newsmen--I politely disagreed.

The issues, I said, remained the same. After all, the major problems confronting this Nation have NOT been solved. Peace has not broken out in Vietnam,

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Vietnam peace talks are still just a hope despite all the talk about a start on talks. The Nation's large cities are still seedbeds of potential racial revolt. The national crime rate continues to rise--after jumping a frightening 83 per cent from 1960 through 1967, while our population increased by 11 per cent. The cost of living continues to spiral, now mounting at an annual rate of 4 per cent after topping 3 per cent each year in 1966 and 1967. The condition of the dollar continues critical, and Europeans who have lost confidence in that dollar anxiously watch to see if America will put its fiscal house in order. The deep deficit in our balance of payments continues. Our supply of gold is abysmally low; the number of dollars held by foreigners dangerously high. Our paper money has become exactly that--because the Democratic Party's inability to solve our balance of payments problem has forced removal of the 25 per cent gold backing for our currency.

One of Lyndon Johnson's favorite phrases has long been "let us continue." Continue what? Continue to keep in power a political party which has failed America? Keep in power a party which has failed to keep the peace at home and abroad? Keep in power a party which has allowed our city streets to become pavements of fear? Keep in power a party which has destroyed price stability in this country by pursuing unsound fiscal policies? Keep in power a party which threatens to destroy the dollar as a world currency and thus produce a collapse of world trade? Keep in power a party which threatens to plunge us into the major recession that will inevitably follow upon runaway inflation?

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Having followed the mistaken policy of gradualism, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration now must make good on its promise to phase out U.S. land forces in Vietnam and phase in South Vietnamese troops while seeking a negotiated peace. I applaud the President's decision to impose a ceiling of 550,000 on our troop commitment to Vietnam. I also applaud his action limiting the bombing of North Vietnam as a move in the direction of peace. It so happens that this peace initiative is based on a plan proposed privately to the President by a group of nine House Republicans exactly one year prior to the President's public implementation of it.

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#

Speech of the Week

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
312 CONGRESSIONAL HOTEL • WASHINGTON, D. C.

'Time for Fresh Approaches'
Remarks of Rep. Gerald R. Ford,
House Republican Leader,
Before the First Congress of American Politics
Hiram Scott College, Scottsbluff, Nebraska
April 27, 1968

I MAY HAVE been chosen to keynote this section because I have a reputation for being one of Lyndon Johnson's most outspoken critics.

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The U.S. Labor Department has stated flatly that the wage gains American workers thought they had made in 1966 and 1967 were wiped out by increase in the cost of living.

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The Democratic Party brags about more than 80 months of "uninterrupted prosperity" but the name of the game is inflation, not prosperity. Inflation is a big word. The housewife knows what it means--higher and higher prices.

INFLATION HURTS the poor more than anyone else, because their incomes do not rise on a direct line with prices. Much of the tremendous effort and huge expenditures that have gone into the War on Poverty has been nullified by inflation.

Inflation has hurt the farmer because prices received by the farmer have gone up very little in the last seven years but the index of prices paid by the farmer has gone up 44 points. The farmer is a prime victim of Johnson-Humphrey Administration inflation. His income brings him only 74 percent of parity--something that is inconceivable in time of war.

Inflation has forced up interest rates and created a special burden for home buyers and all Americans who find it necessary to borrow. It has greatly interfered with municipal and school district improvement projects and has saddled taxpayers with higher interest costs for years to come. Fed by deficit federal spending, inflation has added to interest costs accompanying the abnormally large rise in our national debt until the interest on that debt now totals nearly \$15 billion a year.

Inflation has hurt our foreign trade to the point where our trade surplus has fallen to an annual rate of less than \$2 billion. Our balance of trade actually slipped into deficit during the month of March, the first time this has happened since 1963. This vanishing trade surplus has combined with the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's extravagance in overseas expenditures to produce our balance of payments crisis and the gold drain.

The gold crisis has resulted from an international crisis of confidence in the fiscal and monetary policies pursued by the Democratic Party. The loss of confidence in the dollar was particularly shocking to those American travelers who found that for a few days in March some European banks, hotels and merchants were unwilling to accept their dollars or travelers checks.

IT IS ABUNDANTLY clear to me that the party in power has mismanaged this Nation's fiscal and monetary affairs.

I say this because the general price level has risen 10 percent since mid-1964.

I say this because total federal spending jumped \$53 billion between mid-1965 and mid-1968, with less than half of this increase--\$25 billion--directly attributable to the Vietnam War.

I say this because the party in power refused to eliminate non-essential domestic spending as an offset to Vietnam war costs or even to defer low-priority expenditures.

The Democratic Party has brought on this Nation a fiscal crisis which threatens the American people with a major recession or worse. The Democratic Party, as the party in power, therefore has the chief responsibility for resolving our fiscal crisis.

Republicans can point the way--as we have been doing--with a call for an austerity program. This would include deep cuts in spending and the erasing of future authority to spend so that Congress can regain control of federal expenditures. If an income tax increase appears absolutely inescapable, then this also must be wrapped into the package. However, I will not support a tax increase which is merely the vehicle for another sharp spending spiral.

The need to put our fiscal house in order appears to collide head-on with the desperate demands of our cities and the crisis of civil disorder.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE that the first order of business in meeting the crisis of civil disorder is for Americans of both races to recognize that they cannot live together in America divided by hatred. We must, all of us, rededicate ourselves to the truth which the authors of the Declaration of Independence saw as self-evident--that all men are created equal.

A change in attitudes won't eliminate slum conditions but it will help cool the passions which have caused loss of life and destroyed portions of our great cities.

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Perhaps the most important single remedy is jobs--good-paying jobs that will bring dignity, self-respect and the respect of others to the unemployed and under-employed citizens of the central cities.

I have repeatedly urged business and industrial leaders to become socially conscious, and indeed many businessmen have become deeply involved in trying to cure America's urban ills. But it is exceedingly difficult and expensive to train the hard-core unemployed for jobs and there are many problems in locating plants in the central cities.

These problems cannot be solved by direct federal appropriation, direct federal subsidy, or by emotional appeals to social consciousness.

We must make the rebuilding of our cities an attractive new business--and rebuild the citizens of the central cities in the process.

THE BEST WAY to accomplish this is to offer industry tax credits as an incentive to provide large-scale on-the-job training in the central cities, to build industrial plants there, and to construct low-cost housing for low-income families.

As a militant black leader in Detroit told a group of businessmen: "The government can't lick this problem, so business has to. If you cats can't do it, it's never going to get done"

But the Democratic Party refuses to accept the concept of tax credits as an investment in human beings, just as they have spurned a whole array of new Republican ideas aimed at solving the problems of the late Sixties and the Seventies.

We need to throw off the malaise which has paralyzed America.

It is time for fresh approaches--a sharing of federal revenue with the states and local communities to bring them into full partnership in problem-solving, the use of tax incentives to put business and industry to work re-making our cities, the creation of a private-public corporation to raise mortgage funds and help low-income families buy and run their own homes, a re-ordering of our national priorities to convert urban renewal into human renewal...throughout America. Unfortunately, the old Democratic programs never die. They don't even fade away.

Just as we can accomplish nothing without a sound dollar, so we cannot continue to live with fear. Besides enlisting private enterprise in a nationwide attack on the conditions which lead to civil disorders, Republicans would launch a sweeping program to control crime and juvenile delinquency, improve law enforcement, overhaul our court system, and crack down on organized crime.

THE PARTY IN POWER has failed to move with urgency toward a solution to the pressing problem of crime. In fact, their "hang-up" is that they refuse to recognize the need for statewide improvements in law enforcement. The House of Representatives last year passed a National Law Enforcement Assistance Act amended to meet a Republican demand for co-ordinated State plans in a war on crime. This legislation has marked time in the Senate because of Johnson-Humphrey Administration insistence that federal anti-crime grants be funneled directly to the cities.

Crime knows no jurisdictional boundaries. It does not stop at the city line. The national crime rate continues to mount while congressional advocates of federal funding of local law enforcement withhold anti-crime funds from the states. Republicans have advanced no less than 31 proposals to strengthen law enforcement in this country while the majority party plots how to bypass the states in the war on crime. This is a shocking exercise in the mis-use of political power. And all America suffers.

I am convinced that America cannot afford, either at home or abroad, another four years of Democratic rule in Washington.

I firmly believe that the American people--with traditional middle-of-the road wisdom--are seeking a change of direction in their federal government. The Republican Party offers them this New Direction.

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The debates in Congress--congressional polemics, if you will--constantly focus on a basic difference in the philosophy of the two major political parties.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY admits of no remedies for America's problems but federal solutions, federally financed and federally administered.

The Republican Party proposes that our attack on America's problems be decentralized. Only in that way can we solve the problems which have defied the federal bureaucracy. The federal government must take the lead in identifying national problems, then promote maximum effort by state and local governments and by private enterprise and private institutions in solving them.

These, then, are the issues. Let the congressional polemics become your polemics. I hope you manage to disagree agreeably.

I commend you for gathering here in this first Congress on American Politics. As you plunge into the political maelstrom, may I suggest these words spoken by a university president, a President of the United States, a Democrat--Woodrow Wilson--as your guide: "Liberty cannot exist where government takes care of the people, but it can only thrive where the people take care of the government."

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