

The original documents are located in Box D25, folder “Robert A. Taft Institute of Government 7th Annual Dinner, New York, NY, November 26, 1968” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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IT IS AN HONOR AND A PRIVILEGE TO BE STANDING HERE
BEFORE YOU TONIGHT.

IT IS AN HONOR TO BE NUMBERED AMONG THOSE TAFT
INSTITUTE SPEAKERS WHO HAVE PRECEDED ME DURING THE PAST
SIX YEARS. IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO SPEAK TO INDIVIDUALS
JOINED TOGETHER IN THE WORTHY CAUSE WHICH BINDS YOU,
ONE TO THE OTHER.



*David George
Stables*

2/TAFT

I FIND THIS OCCASION ONE OF CHALLENGE AND
TIMELINESS.

IT IS ONE OF CHALLENGE BECAUSE THE GREATEST NEED
FACING THIS NATION TODAY IS THAT OF EDUCATION...EDUCATION
IN THE SENSE OF ESTABLISHING FULL AND FREE CHANNELS OF
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE RACES AND BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS,
...BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE AND OUR GOVERNMENT.


THIS DINNER IS TIMELY BECAUSE IT OCCURS AT A MOMENT
WHEN A NEW ADMINISTRATION IS FORMING AND THE PROBLEMS
CONFRONTING OUR PEOPLE ARE PERHAPS MORE CRUCIAL THAN AT

3/TAFT

ANY OTHER TIME SINCE THE 13 ORIGINAL COLONIES DESPERATELY
CLUTCHED AT EACH OTHER AND DECLARED THEMSELVES A NATION.

THIS OCCASION IS TIMELY BECAUSE YOURS IS AN
EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION. AND IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
ARE TO MEET AND VANQUISH THE PERILS THAT BE-SET THEM
TODAY, IT WILL ONLY BE THROUGH A PERCEPTIVE AWARENESS
OF ALL POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS.


AWARENESS IS THE END-RESULT OF KNOWLEDGE. KNOWLEDGE
IS ONE OF THE END-RESULTS OF EDUCATION.



4/TAFT

TODAY HOLDERS OF PUBLIC OFFICE IN AMERICA BADLY
NEED HELP. THEY NEED THE HELP OF ORGANIZATIONS LIKE
YOURS. THEY NEED HELP IN LAYING THE PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS
BEFORE THEM AND IN EXPLORING THOSE PROBLEMS...BECAUSE
ONLY WITH PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING CAN THOSE ENTRUSTED WITH
THE BURDENS OF PUBLIC OFFICE HELP TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY
OF LIFE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

THIS IS OUR GOAL, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL
AFFILIATION: A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OF OUR PEOPLE.



5/TAFT

HOW IMPORTANT IS EDUCATION? HOW IMPORTANT IS THE TASK THAT THE TAFT INSTITUTE HAS SET FOR ITSELF?

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY ONCE SAID: "IT IS FUTILE TO EXPECT A HUNGRY AND SQUALID POPULATION TO BE ANYTHING BUT VIOLENT AND GROSS."

AND THE IMMORTAL PLUTARCH DECLARED: "THE VERY ROOT OF HONESTY AND INTEGRITY LIES IN A GOOD EDUCATION. "

WE ARE LIVING IN WHAT SOME HAVE CALLED "THE AGE OF VIOLENCE." WE HAVE WITNESSED MOST SHOCKING EVENTS IN RECENT YEARS...POLITICAL AND RACIAL ASSASSINATIONS,

6/TAFT

RIOTS AND GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE INNER CITIES, DEEP DIVISIONS AND VIOLENT PROTEST GENERATED BY THE MOST UNPOPULAR FOREIGN WAR IN OUR HISTORY.

I THINK IF YOU ANALYZE ALL SUCH TRAUMATIC AND TRAGIC HAPPENINGS, YOU FIND THEY FLOW FROM A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING...MISUNDERSTANDING THAT FOMENT THE POISON WHICH TRIGGERS EVIL DEEDS, MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH FORESTALL REMEDIAL ACTION WHICH MIGHT HAVE PREVENTED THE DEED.

WE RETURN, THEN, TO EDUCATION AND THE DESPERATE

7/TAFT

NEED TO COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER. THIS IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE GOOD LIFE, A LIFE OF DOMESTIC PEACE AND PROGRESS FOR ALL OF OUR PEOPLE.

I WOULD LIKE NOW TO DISCUSS THE LAST ELECTION... AND I THINK I CAN DO SO IN THIS NONPARTISAN FORUM WITHOUT BEING POLITICAL.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SAID NOTHING CLEARLY ON NOV. 5. I SAY THIS IS NOT TRUE. THE ELECTION RESULTS ARE A MANDATE...A MANDATE FOR CHANGE.

8/TAFT

I SAY THIS BECAUSE NEARLY SIX OUT OF TEN VOTERS SAID THEY WANTED A CHANGE FROM WHAT THEY HAVE NOW.

TONIGHT I WILL CONFINE MYSELF TO THE POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE.

WE HAVE MOST FORMIDABLE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. FOREMOST ARE THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES AND THE DIRECTION OF THE NEGRO REVOLUTION. THESE PROBLEMS ARE, OF COURSE, DIRECTLY INTERRELATED.

WITH THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE FOR CHANGE, EXPRESSED ON NOV. 5, WE HAVE A TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY TO ATTACK

9/TAFT

THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES WITH NEW VIGOR...AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, WITH NEW AND MOST PROMISING WEAPONS.

I AM TALKING ABOUT BRINGING THE GENIUS OF FREE ENTERPRISE TO BEAR ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES... ENLISTING ALL THE KNOW-HOW AND THE GREAT POWER OF INDUSTRY IN A FRESH ASSAULT ON THE EVILS OF SLUMMISM. I AM SPEAKING ABOUT USING FEDERAL TAX INCENTIVES TO BRING INDUSTRY INTO THE WAR ON POVERTY AS A LEADER... NOT A PARTNER WITH GOVERNMENT, BUT A LEADER.

10/TAFT

SOME HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT SETTING UP AN ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS HERE AT HOME BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS. I ENDORSE THAT IDEA, BUT I THINK IT SHOULD BE MORE THAN AN ALLIANCE. I THINK WE MUST DEVELOP A CITIES' INDUSTRY IN THIS COUNTRY...AN INDUSTRY WHICH WOULD MAKE IT ITS BUSINESS TO CLEAR AND REBUILD THE SLUMS. THIS CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT, BUT NEITHER CAN IT BE DONE BY GOVERNMENT.

I TALK OF THE USE OF TAX INCENTIVES FOR SOCIAL

11/TAFT

OBJECTIVES IN A NONPARTISAN AND EDUCATIONAL FORUM FOR TWO REASONS. THIS IDEA IS NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PROPERTY OF EITHER ONE OF THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES. IT HAS BEEN ENDORSED BY MEN IN BOTH PARTIES. IT WILL HAVE ITS OPPONENTS IN BOTH PARTIES. IT MUST BECOME THE SUBJECT OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROCESS IF IT IS TO BECOME UNDERSTOOD BY THE PEOPLE AND ACCEPTED BY THEM. ONLY IF IT IS ACCEPTED BY THE PEOPLE WILL WE BE ABLE TO MOVE FORWARD UNDER THIS NEW BANNER IN THE WAR ON POVERTY.

12/TAFT

I MENTIONED EARLIER THAT THE TAX INCENTIVE ATTACK ON URBAN PROBLEMS HAS SUPPORT IN BOTH PARTIES. YOU MAY RECALL THAT THE LATE SEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY WAS AN ENTHUSIASTIC ADVOCATE OF TAX INCENTIVES TO PROMOTE CONSTRUCTION OF LOW-COST HOUSING IN THE GHETTOES AND THE BUILDING OF NEW INDUSTRIAL PLANTS IN THE INNER CITIES. BY THE SAME TOKEN, MORE THAN 100 MEMBERS OF MY PARTY IN THE HOUSE HAVE SPONSORED LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE TAX CREDITS FOR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING IN INDUSTRY. AND

13/TAFT

ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS NEVER EMBRACED TAX CREDITS FOR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS IN INDUSTRY, OFFICIALS IN HIS LABOR DEPARTMENT HAVE.

IT IS PERHAPS SIGNIFICANT THAT SOME DEMOCRATIC LIBERALS HAVE ARDENTLY ENDORSED TAX INCENTIVES AS A NEW WEAPON OF ATTACK ON CITY PROBLEMS.

IN A RECENT SPEECH TO MERCY COLLEGE STUDENTS IN DETROIT, FRANK MANKIEWICZ, FORMER PRESS SECRETARY TO THE LATE ROBERT KENNEDY, SAID:

14/TAFT

"ONE THING IS CLEAR. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CANNOT DO THE JOB (OF SOLVING THE CITIES' PROBLEMS). IT HAS TRIED FOR 30 YEARS AND HAS FAILED. IT IS A FACT THAT MANY OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE INNER CITY ARE WORSE TODAY THAN THEY WERE 10 YEARS AGO, EVEN AFTER THE EXPENDITURE OF COUNTLESS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS."

MR. MANKIEWICZ WENT ON TO SAY THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT RICHARD M. "NIXON WILL BE FREE, AS VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN, TO OFFER NEW AND DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS TO THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE URBAN

15/TAFT

CRISES OF HOUSING, UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND EDUCATION."

I COULD NOT HAVE SAID THESE THINGS IN THIS
NONPARTISAN FORUM...AND SO I SHALL LET MR. MANKIEWICZ'S
WORDS SPEAK TO THE QUESTION.

NOW, IF...AS MR. MANKIEWICZ HAS DECLARED...GOVERNMENT
CANNOT SOLVE THE CITIES' PROBLEMS, THEN WE MUST ASK
OURSELVES WHETHER WE WANT TO SOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS AT
ALL.

I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY QUESTION ABOUT THE ANSWER.

16/TAFT

WE MUST SOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS OR WE ALL WILL PERISH.

SO WHERE DO WE TURN FOR POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS? WE
TURN TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND TO STATE AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENT. SINCE ATTEMPTS AT SOLUTION BY THE POWERFUL
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON HAVE FAILED, WE TURN
TO DECENTRALIZATION AS A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS
OF THE CITIES.

WE TURN TO INDUSTRY AND TO THE STATES AND THE CITIES
AND WE SAY..."YOU CAN SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS, GIVEN THE

17/TAFT

PROPER RESOURCES. WE WILL GIVE YOU THOSE RESOURCES."

IN THE CASE OF INDUSTRY, THOSE RESOURCES WILL BE TAX CREDITS AND GOVERNMENTAL GUIDANCE. IN THE CASE OF STATE AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT, THOSE RESOURCES WOULD BE PROVIDED THROUGH LARGER ALLOCATIONS OF FEDERAL FUNDS BUT WITHOUT THE STRANGULATION OF BUREAUCRATIC RED TAPE. THE LARGER ALLOCATIONS OF FEDERAL FUNDS WOULD TAKE THE SHAPE OF BLOC GRANTS IN BROAD PROBLEM CATEGORIES SUCH AS EDUCATION, OR THROUGH A REBATE OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX

18/TAFT

COLLECTIONS ON A PERCENTAGE BASIS. I THINK A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS BELIEVE THERE IS WISDOM IN A DECENTRALIZED ATTACK ON OUR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. YET TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES REMAIN IN THE WAY.

THE AVENUES OF TAX CREDITS AND REVENUE SHARING TO ATTAIN SOCIAL OBJECTIVES WILL BE BLOCKED IN CONGRESS UNLESS WE SUCCEED IN A GREAT NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM WHICH MUST PRECEDE THIS NEW ACTION PROGRAM.

ONE OF THE BEST WAYS TO EDUCATE IS BY EXAMPLE...AND

WE ALREADY HAVE THAT EXAMPLE IN THE CASE OF TAX CREDITS. WE HAVE THE TAX CREDIT AS AN INCENTIVE TO INDUSTRY TO BUILD NEW PLANTS AND TO BUY NEW EQUIPMENT. I BELIEVE EVERYONE RECOGNIZES THAT THIS USE OF THE TAX CREDIT HAS FUELED AMERICA'S GREAT ECONOMIC ENGINE AND HELPED KEEP OUR ECONOMY GROWING AT A VIGOROUS RATE.

WHY, THEN, SHOULDN'T WE USE EXTRA OR SPECIAL TAX CREDITS TO STIMULATE THE REBUILDING OF THE INNER CITIES AND THE BUILDING OF NEW LIVES FOR RESIDENTS THERE THROUGH

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING? PROVIDE THE DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT THAT COME WITH A GOOD-PAYING JOB?

OF COURSE TAX CREDITS WILL COST MONEY IN TERMS OF DIVERTED TAX REVENUE. AND, OF COURSE, TAX CREDITS AND CONSEQUENT INDUSTRY EFFORTS CANNOT BE COUNTED UPON INITIALLY TO DO THE ENTIRE JOB. BUT OUR EFFORTS TO DATE HAVE BEEN FAR TOO LITTLE AND FAR TOO LATE. AND SO WE MUST MOVE IN A NEW DIRECTION...BECAUSE IT HAS BECOME PAINFULLY EVIDENT THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ALONE CANNOT

21/TAFT

SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES.

WHAT ABOUT THE CITIES AND THE STATES? WHAT ROLE SHALL THEY PLAY IN MEETING URBAN PROBLEMS?

SOME SAY THEY WOULD NOT PLACE FEDERAL FUNDS IN THE HANDS OF THE CITIES WITHOUT TELLING MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS EXACTLY WHAT TO DO. THIS IS WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW. ARE OUR PROBLEMS DISAPPEARING?

ARE THERE ANY ARGUMENTS FOR SHARING FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE WITH THE CITIES AND STATES WITHOUT WRAPPING THIS MONEY IN FEDERAL RULES AND REGULATIONS AND PLACING

22/TAFT

IT AT THE END OF A FEDERAL BUREAUCRATIC MAZE?

AGAIN, THE BEST ARGUMENT IS THAT OF EXAMPLE. THE PRINCIPLE OF REVENUE SHARING IS BEING CARRIED OUT IN A NUMBER OF STATES...AND SUCCESSFULLY. IN MY OWN STATE OF MICHIGAN, FOR INSTANCE, AID TO LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS IS CHANNELED TO THEM UNDER A GENERAL FORMULA WHICH MAKES NO ATTEMPT TO DICTATE HOW THE MONEY WILL BE SPENT. MICHIGAN ALSO DIVERTS A PORTION OF ITS SALES TAX REVENUE TO LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT...WITH ONLY THE MOST GENERAL RULES FOR ITS USE.

23/TAFT

ALL OF OUR THINKING CITIZENS, REGARDLESS OF
POLITICAL AFFILIATION, RECOGNIZE THAT WE NEED A REBIRTH
OF LOCAL VITALITY IN PROBLEM-SOLVING. I SUBMIT THAT
WE WILL HAVE THAT REBIRTH OF VITALITY ONLY IF WE
STIMULATE IT WITH FEDERAL FUNDS SO CHANNELED AS TO PLACE
THE BURDEN FOR LOCAL PROBLEM-SOLVING ON PRIVATE INDUSTRY
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED IN THIS, WE MUST HAVE THE
ACTIVE SUPPORT AND INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL CITIZENS.

24/TAFT

THAT IS WHERE THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS ENTERS IN.
THAT IS WHERE AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THE TAFT INSTITUTE
CAN DO A JOB THAT, AGAIN, GOVERNMENT CANNOT DO.

THE LEGACY OF THE NEW DEAL IS STILL VERY MUCH WITH
OUR TEACHERS OF GOVERNMENT. I AM HOPEFUL THAT OUR SOCIAL
SCIENCE TEACHERS WILL TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT THE NEW DEAL
ERA, ITS SUCCESSES AND ITS FAILURES. I HOPE THEY WILL
TAKE A GOOD HARD LOOK AT PROPOSED NEW SOLUTIONS FOR THE
PROBLEMS OF THE LATE SIXTIES...PROBLEMS THAT HAVE RESISTED

25/TAFT

DIRECT MASSIVE INFUSIONS OF FEDERAL FUNDS. I ASK ONLY THAT THEY BRING AN UNBIASED VIEWPOINT TO OUR NATIONAL AND NONPARTISAN GOALS.

IT IS ONLY IF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT OUR LAND ADOPT THAT KIND OF AN APPROACH THAT OUR PRESIDENT-ELECT CAN "BRING US TOGETHER" AND LEAD OUR NATION TO NEW GREATNESS.

LET A NEW SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS RISE IN THIS LAND, A SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS THAT RISES ABOVE PARTY AND ABOVE SELF.

26/TAFT

AND LET US BE BRAVE, AND SCHOOLED IN THOUGHT, FOR IT IS ONLY MEN OF VALOR AND WISDOM WHO WILL CONQUER THE INJUSTICES THAT STILL PLAGUE THIS WORLD.

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CARDS

NEW YORK, N.Y.

NOV. 26, 1968

Congress of the United States

Office of the Minority Leader

House of Representatives

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Gerald R. Ford
M.C.

TUESDAY

7:30 P.M.

ROBERT A. TAFT INSTITUTE

OF GOVERNMENT

7TH ANNUAL DINNER

WALDORF ASTORIA

