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THE CAROLINA FORUM, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
8 P.M. MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1968.

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE,
PARTICULARLY AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF
INFORMATION FROM DR. GEORGE GALLUP THAT
VOTERS WITH A COLLEGE BACKGROUND ARE AGAIN
VOTING REPUBLICAN.

THAT IS AS PARTISAN AS I INTEND
TO BE TONIGHT, EXCEPT TO OBSERVE THAT I
BELIEVE THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM WILL CONTINUE
TO GROW IN THE SOUTH...AND I CONSIDER THIS
A MOST HEALTHY TREND.

IN THESE TROUBLED DAYS WE HAVE
GREAT NEED FOR HEALTHY TRENDS.

IN VIEWING TODAY'S SCENE, WE FIND
AMERICANS LIVING IN A KIND OF SUSPENSE.

YES, "THE MOVING FINGER WRITES."

THE KILLING GOES ON IN VIETNAM. AND EACH DAY THE LIVES OF MEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD IMPINGE UPON EACH OTHER IN PEACEFUL OR IN VIOLENT FASHION. YET, FOR AMERICANS, A FEELING OF BEING SUSPENDED BETWEEN GREAT EVENTS PERSISTS.

IT IS THAT AWKWARD PERIOD IN AMERICAN HISTORY--THOSE DAYS WHEN ONE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IS COMING TO AN END AND A NEW NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IS COMING TO LIFE.

THIS INTERIM PERIOD, ^{about as non-partisan a period as one can get.} IS NATURALLY A TIME OF REFLECTION, A TIME OF STUDY, A TIME OF PREPARATION, AND A TIME OF GREAT ANTICIPATION.

WE LOOK AT THE STAGGERING PROBLEMS FACING OUR NATION, AND WE ASK OURSELVES HOW THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CAN POSSIBLY DEAL WITH THEM.

WHILE IT MIGHT SEEM UNTIMELY TO

TALK DURING THE CHRISTMAS SEASON ABOUT THE PROBLEMS THAT PLAGUE US AS A PEOPLE, WE CANNOT ESCAPE THOSE PROBLEMS AND WE MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH THEM.

IN RECENT YEARS WE HAVE LIVED THROUGH THE BEST AND THE WORST OF TIMES.

WE ARE LIVING IN AN AGE OF AFFLUENCE AND AN AGE OF VIOLENCE.

COMFORT AND CONVENIENCE ALMOST CLUTTER THE HOMES OF MOST OF US. YET POVERTY CONTINUES TO TWIST THE LIVES OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE CORE CITIES AND SOME OF OUR RURAL AREAS.

WE HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS. YET IN THE LAST THREE YEARS THIS COUNTRY HAS EXPLODED WITH 238 RIOTS RESULTING IN MORE THAN 200 DEATHS AND MORE THAN \$800 MILLION IN PROPERTY DAMAGE.

WE HAVE Poured UNTOLD BILLIONS

INTO OUR CITIES. YET OUR CITIES ARE SHAKEN BY A CRISIS WHICH IS A COMPOSITE OF RAMPANT CRIME, / INADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, / HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT, / DANGEROUS POLLUTION OF OUR AIR AND WATER, / ANTIQUATED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS, / DISGRACEFUL HOUSING, / INSUFFICIENT AND INEFFECTIVE PUBLIC FACILITIES, / DETERIORATION OF THE FAMILY AS A UNIT OF SOCIETY, / LACK OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, / AND A FAILURE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN YOUNG AND OLDER AMERICANS, NEGROES AND WHITES.

BEYOND OUR SHORES WE CONTINUE TO BE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE MOST UNPOPULAR WAR IN OUR HISTORY, A WAR THAT HAS SHARPLY DIVIDED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND HAS PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED THE LIVES OF ALL AMERICANS. IT HAS BEEN THE BREEDING GROUND OF VIOLENCE IN OUR GREATEST CITIES AND ON SOME MAJOR COLLEGE CAMPUSES. IT HAS PREVENTED THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF SOCIAL OBJECTIVES. IT HAS EMBITTERED THE

LIVES OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. YET IT IS A WAR BEING FOUGHT IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.

THE DANGER OF ANOTHER FULL-SCALE WAR BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB NATIONS GROWS MORE ACUTE. THE INTENSITY OF THE SPORADIC FIGHTING BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND THE TERRORISTS OPERATING FROM BASES IN JORDAN HAS INCREASED IN RECENT DAYS. IF A FOURTH WAR DOES BREAK OUT IN THE MIDEAST, THE DANGER OF INTERVENTION BY THE SUPER-POWERS WILL BE GREATER THAN IN THE CONFLICT OF JUNE, 1967. THE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE CALAMITOUS NOT ONLY FOR THE MIDEASTERN NATIONS BUT FOR THE WORLD.

THERE ARE OTHER TROUBLE SPOTS -- IN EUROPE, WHERE SOVIET-LED WARSAW PACT NATIONS INVADED CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN LATE AUGUST; IN NIGERIA, WHERE THE BRITISH ARE SUPPORTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WITH ARMS AND THE FRENCH ARE SUPPLYING THE REBELS; IN

PORTUGUESE AFRICA, WHERE PORTUGAL IS BATTLING INSURGENTS; IN THE PERSIAN GULF, WHERE THE SOVIET UNION IS MOVING INTO THE VACUUM THAT OPENED UP WHEN THE BRITISH ANNOUNCED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THEIR FORCES THERE BY THE END OF 1972.

THE PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE MAKE THE MIND BOGGLE. THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE IMMENSE; THE LIST, LENGTHY.

AND SO WE LOOK HOPEFULLY TO THE NEW NIXON ADMINISTRATION AGAINST THIS CATALOGUE OF PRESENT AND POTENTIAL CRISES, PRESENT AND POTENTIAL WOES. *Character* *form* *Post*

WE ARE A GREAT PEOPLE. OUR PROBLEMS WILL DEFY SOLUTION AND OVERWHELM US ONLY IF WE DESPAIR.

WE CANNOT SOLVE OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROBLEMS SINGLY. *By unilateral aggressive action / or by shrinking into smug isolationism* BUT MOST OF OUR PROBLEMS -- FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC -- CAN BE

SOLVED OVER TIME IF WE PATIENTLY FORMULATE REASONABLE REMEDIES AND PERSIST IN SEEKING TO IMPLEMENT THEM.

WE ARE DEVELOPING VALUABLE INSIGHT INTO MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS -- INSIGHT THAT WILL LEAD TO SOLUTIONS.

ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE MANY AMERICANS ARE LEARNING THAT VIOLENCE SOLVES NOTHING AND THAT MIS-APPLIED FORCE IS DESTRUCTIVE OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOMS. THERE ARE LESSONS THAT MUST BE BROUGHT HOME TO ALL AMERICANS. ① THE RIGHT MUST LEARN THAT BLIND REPRESSION IS NOT THE PROPER ANSWER TO DISSENT AND PROTEST. ② THE LEFT MUST REALIZE THAT EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION, IS THE BEST WAY TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN AMERICA.

WE ARE ALL LEARNING THAT ANARCHIC AND VIOLENT BEHAVIOR ON THE PART OF DISSENTERS MUST BE DEALT WITH FIRMLY BUT RATIONALLY, WITH FULL ATTENTION TO EVERY

SENSIBLE MEANS OF DE-FUSING POTENTIAL VIOLENCE AND OF SMOTHERING VIOLENCE IF IT ERUPTS.

THIS IS AN INTERIM PERIOD BETWEEN NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS. IT IS THEREFORE A TIME FOR CRITICAL REVIEW BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION OF ALL EXISTING PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS AND A TIME OF PLANNING AND PREPARATION FOR THE CRITICAL YEARS AHEAD.

I WOULD APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- ALL OF OUR PEOPLE, AND PARTICULARLY THE MILITANTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES--- LIKEWISE TO MAKE THIS PERIOD A TIME OF REAPPRAISAL, A TIME TO THINK.

IF AMERICA IS TO SURVIVE THE SICKNESS OF CIVIL STRIFE WHICH HAS PLAGUED OUR NATION IN RECENT YEARS, WE MUST AS A NATION TAKE BOLD AND PRODUCTIVE ACTION. BUT WE MUST ALSO AS A PEOPLE USHER IN A NEW AGE OF REASON WHICH WILL ERASE THE UGLINESS OF

WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE FROM THE FACE OF AMERICA.

WE MUST, ALL OF US, TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT OUR OWN LIVES -- AND THE BREAKDOWN IN DISCIPLINARY PATTERNS ACROSS THE NATION... IN OUR FAMILIES AND IN OUR INSTITUTIONS. WE MUST RECOGNIZE ONCE AGAIN THAT SELF-DISCIPLINE IS ONE OF THE GREATEST OF VIRTUES.

I THINK WE WILL SEE AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH IS SOPHISTICATED AND CEREBRAL IN ITS APPROACH TO THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS AND YET IS DEVOTED TO BASIC AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

WE WILL SEE A RETURN TO WHAT I CALL THE THREE R'S OF PROBLEM-SOLVING-- REALISM, RATIONALITY AND REASONABLENESS.

2 KNOWN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL CAREFULLY FORMULATE NATIONAL OBJECTIVES, THEN SET THEM FORTH CLEARLY AND MOVE WITH

DETERMINATION TO REACH THOSE GOALS.

I THINK MR. NIXON WILL SUCCEED IN IMPLEMENTING NEW APPROACHES TO OLD PROBLEMS -- FOR EXAMPLE, TAX INCENTIVES TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL OBJECTIVES -- AND I BELIEVE THOSE NEW APPROACHES WILL WORK AGAINST THE AGE-OLD PROBLEMS OF SLUMMISM.

WE WILL SEE A NEW ERA OF CONCILIATION AND RECONCILIATION IN AMERICA -- AN ERA OF GOOD FEELING -- IF MEN OF SOUND MINDS AND GOOD CONSCIENCE WILL HELP US MOVE "FORWARD TOGETHER" AS A PEOPLE. THERE MUST BE AN INCENTIVE FOR CONCILIATION -- AND I FEEL SURE MR. NIXON WILL PROVIDE THAT INCENTIVE. THE REST IS UP TO THE REST OF US.

MR. NIXON ALREADY HAS DISPLAYED A GENEROSITY OF SPIRIT AND A WISDOM OF CHOICE WHICH SHOULD SERVE AS AN EXAMPLE FOR OTHERS IN POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP.

MR. NIXON AS PRESIDENT-ELECT HAS

BEEN A MODEL OF COOPERATION WITH THE OUTGOING ADMINISTRATION, AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS RECIPROCATED FULLY.

MR. NIXON IS SETTING A RECORD FOR HARMONY DURING THIS TRANSITION PERIOD.

FIRST WE HAD THE UNPRECEDENTED AGREEMENT BETWEEN MR. NIXON AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON THAT FOREIGN POLICY ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD HAVE MR. NIXON'S SUPPORT. THAT WAS AN ACT OF STATESMANSHIP BY MR. NIXON. WITHOUT IT, THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION COULD NOT HAVE CARRIED OUT THE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAVE BROUGHT SAIGON REPRESENTATIVES TO PARIS AND NOW PROMISE A START OF MORE MEANINGFUL VIETNAM PEACE TALKS.

NOW MR. NIXON AND CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN HAVE AGREED THAT MR. WARREN SHOULD SERVE UNTIL THE END OF THE CURRENT

SUPREME COURT TERM NEXT JUNE SO THAT THE COURT'S WORK WILL NOT BE DISRUPTED. AND MR. WARREN WILL SWEAR IN MR. NIXON AS PRESIDENT ON JANUARY 20. THAT, AGAIN, IS A FINE EXAMPLE OF COOPERATION.

THESE ACTS NOT ONLY ATTEST TO MR. NIXON'S GENEROSITY OF SPIRIT BUT TO HIS REASONABLENESS AND A DESIRE TO DO WHAT IS BEST FOR THE NATION.

IF THE CONGRESS WILL COOPERATE WITH MR. NIXON IN LIKE SPIRIT, MANY OF THE COUNTRY'S WEIGHTIEST PROBLEMS WILL BE LIFTED FROM THE BACKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. *Liberal will.*

THERE ARE HOPEFUL SIGNS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL ARENA. TAKING EXACTLY THE RIGHT STEP, MR. NIXON HAS HAD A FRIENDLY CHAT WITH A POWERFUL DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WAYS AND MEANS CHAIRMAN WILBUR MILLS OF ARKANSAS. MR. MILLS IS A KEY MAN ON THE QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTING

MR. NIXON'S NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES -- TAX CREDITS FOR INDUSTRY ATTACKS ON HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND SLUM HOUSING. AS A RESULT OF THAT CONVERSATION, MR. MILLS IS AT LEAST OPEN TO PERSUASION ON TAX CREDITS.

MR. MILLS IS CONCERNED ABOUT FEDERAL SPENDING. I SHARE THAT CONCERN, AND SO DOES MR. NIXON. TAX CREDITS ARE A FORM OF SPENDING. BUT IF THERE IS A DOWN-HOLD ON APPROPRIATIONS, TAX CREDITS FOR SOCIAL OBJECTIVES CAN BE LEGISLATED INTO THE FEDERAL SYSTEM WITHOUT DISTORTING ^{at the outset} THE FEDERAL BUDGET. WE ALREADY HAVE A TAX CREDIT FOR INVESTMENTS IN NEW PLANT AND EQUIPMENT. WHY NOT TAX CREDITS AS AN INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE?

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH SPECULATION OF LATE ABOUT THE 10 PER CENT INCOME TAX SURCHARGE. SHOULD IT BE PERMITTED TO EXPIRE

NEXT JULY 1, AS SCHEDULED? MR. MILLS WANTS THE SURCHARGE CONTINUED. I BELIEVE THE QUESTION MUST BE LEFT OPEN, TO BE DECIDED ON THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC ^{& other} FACTORS AS THE DEADLINE APPROACHES.

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SURCHARGE END NEXT JULY 1. ^{+ I believe we should keep pressure on to achieve that result.} BUT WHETHER THIS WILL BE WISE WILL DEPEND UPON WHETHER INFLATIONARY PRESSURES MODERATE BY THAT TIME AND ^{or} WHETHER THE ECONOMY NEEDS THE STIMULUS OF WHAT WILL AMOUNT TO A TAX CUT.

I THINK WE CAN ELIMINATE ^{or at the very least moderate} INFLATION BIT BY BIT THROUGH GOOD FISCAL ^{+ monetary} MANAGEMENT. ^{However} MUCH WILL HINGE ON THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE ¹ IN VIETNAM.

INFLATION AND VIETNAM WILL BE OUR MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS IN THE CRITICAL PERIOD AHEAD.

I HAVE HEARD TOP U.S. MILITARY LEADERS SAY FLATLY THAT "WE ARE WINNING

THE WAR" IN VIETNAM NOW. I HOLD THE VIEW IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO WIN A DEFENSIVE WAR LIKE THE VIETNAM CONFLICT IN THE SENSE OF ACHIEVING FORMAL SURRENDER OF THE ENEMY.

THERE MUST BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE VIETNAM WAR. THE HARD BARGAINING ON WHICH THAT SETTLEMENT WILL BE BASED PROBABLY WILL NOT COME UNTIL AFTER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKES OFFICE.

I BELIEVE WE AND OUR SOUTH VIETNAMESE ALLIES NOW ARE IN A POSITION TO NEGOTIATE FROM STRENGTH AND TO CONCENTRATE ON THE "OTHER WAR" -- THE WAR OF PACIFICATION IN THE HAMLETS OF SOUTH VIETNAM. SOUTH VIETNAMESE LEADERS MUST LAUNCH A BROAD PROGRAM OF LAND REFORM AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY WHILE THE PARIS PEACE TALKS CONTINUE -- AND WE MUST HELP TO WIN THE PEACE BY PROVIDING SECURITY IN THE HAMLETS SO THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAN PROCEED. WE CAN WIN THE PEACE

ONLY IF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEASANT CASTS
people, from to intellectual
their HIS LOT AND *their* HIS LOYALTY WITH THE GOVERNMENT
IN SAIGON.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE IMPATIENT FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM. SO AM I. BUT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE SO IMPATIENT THAT WE THROW AWAY OUR ENTIRE INVESTMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND MAKE A MOCKERY OF OUR SACRIFICES THERE.

I HAVE SEEN PREDICTIONS THAT MR. NIXON WILL BRING ABOUT A PEACE SETTLEMENT WITHIN A YEAR AFTER TAKING OFFICE. THAT IS PURE SPECULATION. I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD SET ANY DEADLINES. MR. NIXON WILL END THE WAR, BUT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO SET A TARGET DATE.

I THINK MR. NIXON AS PRESIDENT WILL BE NUMBERED AMONG THE PEACEMAKERS. HE HAS SAID HIS ADMINISTRATION WILL SEEK NEGOTIATIONS AND NOT CONFRONTATION. I THINK HE WILL MAKE THE MOST OF ANY AND EVERY

OPPORTUNITY FOR A U.S.-SOVIET DETENTE -- A
DETENTE BASED ON SUBSTANCE AND NOT ON
ATMOSPHERE.

THERE ARE SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS ON
THE WORLD SCENE. GOOD PROSPECTS FOR THE
RENEWAL OF U.S.-SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS.
A REOPENING OF U.S. TALKS WITH RED CHINA
AT WARSAW ON FEB. 20, THE FIRST CONVERSATIONS
BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS IN 13 MONTHS AND
PERHAPS THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE.

MR. NIXON ALSO WILL SEEK TO
STRENGTHEN OUR NATO ALLIES AND TO IMPROVE
U.S. COMMUNICATIONS WITH THEM, AND TO
IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH GEN. deGAULLE.

IF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS
SUCCESSFUL -- AND I THINK IT WILL BE -- IT
WILL SUCCEED IN NO SMALL MEASURE BECAUSE OF
THE CLEAR-THINKING INTELLECTUALS CHOSEN TO
SERVE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

I REFER TO SUCH MEN AS DR. PAUL

McCRACKEN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, NAMED CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS, DR. HENRY KISSINGER OF HARVARD, MR. NIXON'S ASSISTANT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, AND DR. LEE DuBRIDGE OF THE CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, MR. NIXON'S SCIENCE ADVISER. THESE APPOINTMENTS HAVE BEEN WIDELY ACCLAIMED IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD. THEY ATTEST TO MR. NIXON'S DESIRE TO DRAW HEAVILY UPON THE UNIVERSITIES FOR IDEAS AND ADVICE.

MR. NIXON ALSO HAS APPOINTED 18 STUDY GROUPS TO DRAW UP RECOMMENDED COURSES OF ACTION IN VARIOUS PROBLEM FIELDS.

SO WE HAVE OUR STAGGERING CATALOGUE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS; AND WE HAVE A THOUGHTFUL, PRAGMATIC NEW ADMINISTRATION PREPARING TO TACKLE THOSE PROBLEMS.

THERE REMAINS THE QUESTION OF

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR NEW PRESIDENT.

MR. NIXON WILL BE PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE. HE CAN AND WILL SERVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WELL IF THEY WILL LEND HIM THEIR HANDS AND THEIR HEARTS AS HE CHARTS A NEW COURSE FOR THE NATION.

I SEE THIS AS A TIME OF GREAT CHALLENGE AND GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS -- AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE IN NEW DIRECTIONS UNDER NEW LEADERSHIP TO MEET THE CRISES THAT CONFRONT US.

LET US ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE WITH CLEAR VISION AND CLEAR HEADS. LET US SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY WITH STOUT HEARTS AND A DETERMINATION THAT WE WILL MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER AS A PEOPLE.

LET US TAKE AS OUR MOTTO THE WISE WORDS OF PLUTARCH, WHO SAID: "PERSEVERANCE IS MORE PREVAILING THAN VIOLENCE; AND MANY THINGS WHICH CANNOT BE OVERCOME WHEN THEY

ARE TAKEN TOGETHER YIELD THEMSELVES WHEN
TAKEN LITTLE BY LITTLE."

TOGETHER WE SHALL PERSEVERE, AND
TOGETHER WE SHALL PREVAIL. FOR FAITH IS
THE TALISMAN OF GREATNESS FOR AMERICA, AND
AMERICA IS STRONG IN FAITH.

-- END --

Office Copy

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE CAROLINA FORUM
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
8 P.M. MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1968

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

I am delighted to be here, particularly against the backdrop of information from Dr. George Gallup that voters with a college background are again voting Republican.

That is as partisan as I intend to be tonight, except to observe that I believe the two-party system will continue to grow in the South...and I consider this a most healthy trend.

In these troubled days we have great need of healthy trends.

In viewing today's scene, we find Americans living in a kind of suspense.

Yes, "the moving finger writes." The killing goes on in Vietnam. And each day the lives of men throughout the world impinge upon each other in peaceful or in violent fashion. Yet, for Americans, a feeling of being suspended between great events persists.

It is that awkward period in American history--those days when one national administration is coming to an end and a new national administration is coming to life.

This interim period is naturally a time of reflection, a time of study, a time of preparation, and a time of great anticipation.

We look at the staggering problems facing our Nation, and we ask ourselves how the new Administration can possibly deal with them.

While it might seem untimely to talk during the Christmas season about the problems that plague us as a people, we cannot escape those problems and we must come to grips with them.

In recent years we have lived through the best and the worst of times.

We are living in an Age of Affluence and an Age of Violence.

Comfort and convenience almost clutter the homes of most of us. Yet poverty continues to twist the lives of men, women and children in the core cities and some of our rural areas.

We have made considerable progress in race relations. Yet in the last three years this country has exploded with 238 riots resulting in more than

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200 deaths and more than \$800 million in property damage.

We have poured untold billions into our cities. Yet our cities are shaken by a crisis which is a composite of rampant crime, inadequate educational systems, hard-core unemployment, dangerous pollution of our air and water, antiquated transportation systems, disgraceful housing, insufficient and ineffective public facilities, deterioration of the family as a unity of society, lack of equal opportunity, and a failure of communication between young and older Americans, Negroes and whites.

Beyond our shores we continue to be deeply involved in the most unpopular war in our history, a war that has sharply divided the American people and has profoundly affected the lives of all Americans. It has been the breeding ground of violence in our greatest cities and on some major college campuses. It has prevented the accomplishment of social objectives. It has embittered the lives of millions of Americans. Yet it is a war being fought in the name of national security, freedom and justice.

The danger of another full-scale war between Israel and the Arab nations grows more acute. The intensity of the sporadic fighting between Israelis and the terrorists operating from bases in Jordan has increased in recent days. If a fourth war does break out in the Mideast, the danger of intervention by the super-powers will be greater than in the conflict of June, 1967. The consequences could be calamitous not only for the Mideastern nations but for the world.

There are other trouble spots--in Europe, where Soviet-led Warsaw Pact nations invaded Czechoslovakia in late August; in Nigeria, where the British are supporting the federal government with arms and the French are supplying the rebels; in Portugese Africa, where Portugal is battling insurgents; in the Persian Gulf, where the Soviet Union is moving into the vacuum that opened up when the British announced withdrawal of all their forces there by the end of 1972.

The problems of war and peace make the mind boggle. The foreign and domestic problems confronting the American people are immense; the list, lengthy.

And so we look hopefully to the new Nixon Administration against this catalogue of present and potential crises, present and potential woes.

We are a great people. Our problems will defy solution and overwhelm us only if we despair.

(more)

We cannot solve our foreign affairs problems singly. But most of our problems--foreign and domestic--can be solved over time if we patiently formulate reasonable remedies and persist in seeking to implement them.

We are developing valuable insight into many of our problems--insight that will lead to solutions.

On the domestic scene many Americans are learning that violence solves nothing and that mis-applied force is destructive of our constitutional freedoms. There are lessons that must be brought home to all Americans. The Right must learn that blind repression is not the proper answer to dissent and protest. The Left must realize that evolution, not revolution, is the best way to improve the quality of life in America.

We are all learning that anarchic and violent behavior on the part of dissenters must be dealt with firmly but rationally, with full attention to every sensible means of de-fusing potential violence and of smothering violence if it erupts.

This is an interim period between national administrations. It is therefore a time for critical review by the new administration of all existing problems and programs and a time of planning and preparation for the critical years ahead.

I would appeal to the American people--all of our people, and particularly the militants and revolutionaries--likewise to make this period a time of reappraisal, a time to think.

If America is to survive the sickness of civil strife which has plagued our Nation in recent years, we must as a Nation take bold and productive action. But we must also as a people usher in a new Age of Reason which will erase the ugliness of widespread violence from the face of America.

We must, all of us, take a fresh look at our own lives--and the breakdown in disciplinary patterns across the Nation...in our families and in our institutions. We must recognize once again that self-discipline is one of the greatest of virtues.

I think we will see an Administration which is sophisticated and cerebral in its approach to the country's problems and yet is devoted to basic American principles.

We will see a return to what I call the Three R's of problem-solving--realism, rationality and reasonableness.

(more)

The new Administration will carefully formulate national objectives, then set them forth clearly and move with determination to reach those goals.

I think Mr. Nixon will succeed in implementing new approaches to old problems--for example, tax incentives to achieve social objectives--and I believe those new approaches will work against the age-old problems of slummism.

We will see a new era of conciliation and reconciliation in America--an era of good feeling--if men of sound minds and good conscience will help us move "Forward Together" as a people. There must be an incentive for conciliation--and I feel sure Mr. Nixon will provide that incentive. The rest is up to the rest of us.

Mr. Nixon already has displayed a generosity of spirit and a wisdom of choice which should serve as an example for others in positions of leadership.

Mr. Nixon as President-elect has been a model of cooperation with the outgoing Administration, and President Johnson has reciprocated fully.

Mr. Nixon is setting a record for harmony during this transition period.

First we had the unprecedented agreement between Mr. Nixon and President Johnson that foreign policy actions taken by the Johnson Administration during the period between administrations would have Mr. Nixon's support. That was an act of statesmanship by Mr. Nixon. Without it, the Johnson Administration could not have carried out the delicate negotiations which have brought Saigon representatives to Paris and now promise a start of more meaningful Vietnam peace talks.

Now Mr. Nixon and Chief Justice Earl Warren have agreed that Mr. Warren should serve until the end of the current Supreme Court term next June so that the court's work will not be disrupted. And Mr. Warren will swear in Mr. Nixon as President on January 20. That, again, is a fine example of cooperation.

These acts not only attest to Mr. Nixon's generosity of spirit but to his reasonableness and a desire to do what is best for the Nation.

If the Congress will cooperate with Mr. Nixon in like spirit, many of the country's weightiest problems will be lifted from the backs of the American people.

There are hopeful signs in the congressional arena. Taking exactly the right step, Mr. Nixon has had a friendly chat with a powerful Democratic member

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of the House of Representatives, Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas. Mr. Mills is a key man on the question of implementing Mr. Nixon's new approach to the problems of the cities--tax credits for industry attacks on hard-core unemployment and slum housing. As a result of that conversation, Mr. Mills is at least open to persuasion on tax credits.

Mr. Mills is concerned about federal spending. I share that concern, and so does Mr. Nixon. Tax credits are a form of spending. But if there is a down-hold on appropriations, tax credits for social objectives can be legislated into the federal system without distorting the federal budget. We already have a tax credit for investments in new plant and equipment. Why not tax credits as an investment in people?

There has been much speculation of late about the 10 per cent income tax surcharge. Should it be permitted to expire next July 1, as scheduled? Mr. Mills wants the surcharge continued. I believe the question must be left open, to be decided on the basis of economic factors as the deadline approaches.

I would like to see the surcharge end next July 1. But whether this will be wise will depend upon whether inflationary pressures moderate by that time and whether the economy needs the stimulus of what will amount to a tax cut.

I think we can eliminate inflation bit by bit through good fiscal management.

Much will hinge on the prospects for peace in Vietnam.

Inflation and Vietnam will be our most pressing problems in the critical period ahead.

I have heard top U.S. military leaders say flatly that "we are winning the war" in Vietnam now. I hold the view it is impossible to win a defensive war like the Vietnam conflict in the sense of achieving formal surrender of the enemy.

There must be a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam War. The hard bargaining on which that settlement will be based probably will not come until after the new Administration takes office.

I believe we and our South Vietnamese allies now are in a position to negotiate from strength and to concentrate on the "other war"--the war of pacification in the hamlets of South Vietnam. South Vietnamese leaders must launch a broad program of land reform and counter-insurgency while the

(more)

Paris peace talks continue--and we must help to win the peace by providing security in the hamlets so the counter-insurgency can proceed. We can win the peace only if the South Vietnamese peasant casts his lot and his loyalty with the government in Saigon.

The American people are impatient for peace in Vietnam. So am I. But we ought not to be so impatient that we throw away our entire investment in South Vietnam and make a mockery of our sacrifices there.

I have seen predictions that Mr. Nixon will bring about a peace settlement within a year after taking office. That is pure speculation. I don't think we should set any deadlines. Mr. Nixon will end the war, but it is unrealistic to set a target date.

I think Mr. Nixon as President will be numbered among the peacemakers. He has said his Administration will seek negotiations and not confrontation. I think he will make the most of any and every opportunity for a U.S.-Soviet detente--a detente based on substance and not on atmosphere.

There are some hopeful signs on the world scene. Good prospects for the renewal of U.S.-Soviet arms control talks. A reopening of U.S. talks with Red China at Warsaw on Feb. 20, the first conversations between the two nations in 13 months and perhaps the beginning of a dialogue.

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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE CAROLINA FORUM
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
8 P.M. MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1968

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

I am delighted to be here, particularly against the backdrop of information from Dr. George Gallup that voters with a college background are again voting Republican.

That is as partisan as I intend to be tonight, except to observe that I believe the two-party system will continue to grow in the South...and I consider this a most healthy trend.

In these troubled days we have great need of healthy trends.

In viewing today's scene, we find Americans living in a kind of suspense.

Yes, "the moving finger writes." The killing goes on in Vietnam. And each day the lives of men throughout the world impinge upon each other in peaceful or in violent fashion. Yet, for Americans, a feeling of being suspended between great events persists.

It is that awkward period in American history--those days when one national administration is coming to an end and a new national administration is coming to life.

This interim period is naturally a time of reflection, a time of study, a time of preparation, and a time of great anticipation.

We look at the staggering problems facing our Nation, and we ask ourselves how the new Administration can possibly deal with them.

While it might seem untimely to talk during the Christmas season about the problems that plague us as a people, we cannot escape those problems and we must come to grips with them.

In recent years we have lived through the best and the worst of times.

We are living in an Age of Affluence and an Age of Violence.

Comfort and convenience almost clutter the homes of most of us. Yet poverty continues to twist the lives of men, women and children in the core cities and some of our rural areas.

We have made considerable progress in race relations. Yet in the last three years this country has exploded with 238 riots resulting in more than

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200 deaths and more than \$800 million in property damage.

We have poured untold billions into our cities. Yet our cities are shaken by a crisis which is a composite of rampant crime, inadequate educational systems, hard-core unemployment, dangerous pollution of our air and water, antiquated transportation systems, disgraceful housing, insufficient and ineffective public facilities, deterioration of the family as a unity of society, lack of equal opportunity, and a failure of communication between young and older Americans, Negroes and whites.

Beyond our shores we continue to be deeply involved in the most unpopular war in our history, a war that has sharply divided the American people and has profoundly affected the lives of all Americans. It has been the breeding ground of violence in our greatest cities and on some major college campuses. It has prevented the accomplishment of social objectives. It has embittered the lives of millions of Americans. Yet it is a war being fought in the name of national security, freedom and justice.

The danger of another full-scale war between Israel and the Arab nations grows more acute. The intensity of the sporadic fighting between Israelis and the terrorists operating from bases in Jordan has increased in recent days. If a fourth war does break out in the Mideast, the danger of intervention by the super-powers will be greater than in the conflict of June, 1967. The consequences could be calamitous not only for the Mideastern nations but for the world.

There are other trouble spots--in Europe, where Soviet-led Warsaw Pact nations invaded Czechoslovakia in late August; in Nigeria, where the British are supporting the federal government with arms and the French are supplying the rebels; in Portugese Africa, where Portugal is battling insurgents; in the Persian Gulf, where the Soviet Union is moving into the vacuum that opened up when the British announced withdrawal of all their forces there by the end of 1972.

The problems of war and peace make the mind boggle. The foreign and domestic problems confronting the American people are immense; the list, lengthy.

And so we look hopefully to the new Nixon Administration against this catalogue of present and potential crises, present and potential woes.

We are a great people. Our problems will defy solution and overwhelm us only if we despair.

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We cannot solve our foreign affairs problems singly. But most of our problems--foreign and domestic--can be solved over time if we patiently formulate reasonable remedies and persist in seeking to implement them.

We are developing valuable insight into many of our problems--insight that will lead to solutions.

On the domestic scene many Americans are learning that violence solves nothing and that mis-applied force is destructive of our constitutional freedoms. There are lessons that must be brought home to all Americans. The Right must learn that blind repression is not the proper answer to dissent and protest. The Left must realize that evolution, not revolution, is the best way to improve the quality of life in America.

We are all learning that anarchic and violent behavior on the part of dissenters must be dealt with firmly but rationally, with full attention to every sensible means of de-fusing potential violence and of smothering violence if it erupts.

This is an interim period between national administrations. It is therefore a time for critical review by the new administration of all existing problems and programs and a time of planning and preparation for the critical years ahead.

I would appeal to the American people--all of our people, and particularly the militants and revolutionaries--likewise to make this period a time of reappraisal, a time to think.

If America is to survive the sickness of civil strife which has plagued our Nation in recent years, we must as a Nation take bold and productive action. But we must also as a people usher in a new Age of Reason which will erase the ugliness of widespread violence from the face of America.

We must, all of us, take a fresh look at our own lives--and the breakdown in disciplinary patterns across the Nation...in our families and in our institutions. We must recognize once again that self-discipline is one of the greatest of virtues.

I think we will see an Administration which is sophisticated and cerebral in its approach to the country's problems and yet is devoted to basic American principles.

We will see a return to what I call the Three R's of problem-solving--realism, rationality and reasonableness.

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The new Administration will carefully formulate national objectives, then set them forth clearly and move with determination to reach those goals.

I think Mr. Nixon will succeed in implementing new approaches to old problems--for example, tax incentives to achieve social objectives--and I believe those new approaches will work against the age-old problems of slummism.

We will see a new era of conciliation and reconciliation in America--an era of good feeling--if men of sound minds and good conscience will help us move "Forward Together" as a people. There must be an incentive for conciliation--and I feel sure Mr. Nixon will provide that incentive. The rest is up to the rest of us.

Mr. Nixon already has displayed a generosity of spirit and a wisdom of choice which should serve as an example for others in positions of leadership.

Mr. Nixon as President-elect has been a model of cooperation with the outgoing Administration, and President Johnson has reciprocated fully.

Mr. Nixon is setting a record for harmony during this transition period.

First we had the unprecedented agreement between Mr. Nixon and President Johnson that foreign policy actions taken by the Johnson Administration during the period between administrations would have Mr. Nixon's support. That was an act of statesmanship by Mr. Nixon. Without it, the Johnson Administration could not have carried out the delicate negotiations which have brought Saigon representatives to Paris and now promise a start of more meaningful Vietnam peace talks.

Now Mr. Nixon and Chief Justice Earl Warren have agreed that Mr. Warren should serve until the end of the current Supreme Court term next June so that the court's work will not be disrupted. And Mr. Warren will swear in Mr. Nixon as President on January 20. That, again, is a fine example of cooperation.

These acts not only attest to Mr. Nixon's generosity of spirit but to his reasonableness and a desire to do what is best for the Nation.

If the Congress will cooperate with Mr. Nixon in like spirit, many of the country's weightiest problems will be lifted from the backs of the American people.

There are hopeful signs in the congressional arena. Taking exactly the right step, Mr. Nixon has had a friendly chat with a powerful Democratic member

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of the House of Representatives, Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas. Mr. Mills is a key man on the question of implementing Mr. Nixon's new approach to the problems of the cities--tax credits for industry attacks on hard-core unemployment and slum housing. As a result of that conversation, Mr. Mills is at least open to persuasion on tax credits.

Mr. Mills is concerned about federal spending. I share that concern, and so does Mr. Nixon. Tax credits are a form of spending. But if there is a down-hold on appropriations, tax credits for social objectives can be legislated into the federal system without distorting the federal budget. We already have a tax credit for investments in new plant and equipment. Why not tax credits as an investment in people?

There has been much speculation of late about the 10 per cent income tax surcharge. Should it be permitted to expire next July 1, as scheduled? Mr. Mills wants the surcharge continued. I believe the question must be left open, to be decided on the basis of economic factors as the deadline approaches.

I would like to see the surcharge end next July 1. But whether this will be wise will depend upon whether inflationary pressures moderate by that time and whether the economy needs the stimulus of what will amount to a tax cut.

I think we can eliminate inflation bit by bit through good fiscal management.

Much will hinge on the prospects for peace in Vietnam.

Inflation and Vietnam will be our most pressing problems in the critical period ahead.

I have heard top U.S. military leaders say flatly that "we are winning the war" in Vietnam now. I hold the view it is impossible to win a defensive war like the Vietnam conflict in the sense of achieving formal surrender of the enemy.

There must be a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam War. The hard bargaining on which that settlement will be based probably will not come until after the new Administration takes office.

I believe we and our South Vietnamese allies now are in a position to negotiate from strength and to concentrate on the "other war"--the war of pacification in the hamlets of South Vietnam. South Vietnamese leaders must launch a broad program of land reform and counter-insurgency while the

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Paris peace talks continue--and we must help to win the peace by providing security in the hamlets so the counter-insurgency can proceed. We can win the peace only if the South Vietnamese peasant casts his lot and his loyalty with the government in Saigon.

The American people are impatient for peace in Vietnam. So am I. But we ought not to be so impatient that we throw away our entire investment in South Vietnam and make a mockery of our sacrifices there.

I have seen predictions that Mr. Nixon will bring about a peace settlement within a year after taking office. That is pure speculation. I don't think we should set any deadlines. Mr. Nixon will end the war, but it is unrealistic to set a target date.

I think Mr. Nixon as President will be numbered among the peacemakers. He has said his Administration will seek negotiations and not confrontation. I think he will make the most of any and every opportunity for a U.S.-Soviet detente--a detente based on substance and not on atmosphere.

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