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CHAPMAN COLLEGE, ORANGE, CALIF, 8 P.M.
SUNDAY, FEB. 16, 1969

"THE CHALLENGE AND THE OPPORTUNITY"

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 REPUBLICAN PARTY IS MOVING TOWARD
MAJORITY STATUS IN THE NATION -- AND I
CONSIDER THIS A MOST HEALTHY TREND.

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

IT IS THAT AWKWARD PERIOD IN

AMERICAN HISTORY -- THOSE DAYS WHEN ONE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION HAS COME TO AN END AND A NEW NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IS COMING TO LIFE. *Story of transition - Jan 20th.*

THIS PERIOD IS NATURALLY A TIME OF REAPPRAISAL, A TIME OF STUDY, A TIME OF PREPARATION, 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.

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 ^{longest &} 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 IS ACUTE. SPORADIC FIGHTING BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND THE TERRORISTS OPERATING FROM BASES IN JORDAN CONTINUES. 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 1971.

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. WE WILL SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS IF ONLY WE DO NOT DESPAIR.

A FEW DAYS AGO WE MARKED THE BIRTHDAY OF ONE OF THE GREATEST AMERICAN PRESIDENTS, THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

PERHAPS FEW PEOPLE REALIZE THAT ABE LINCOLN, THE 16TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WAS A MINORITY PRESIDENT -- THAT IS, HE WAS ELECTED WITH LESS THAN 50 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULAR VOTE CAST IN THE ELECTION OF 1860. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE HISTORY BOOKS SHOW THAT LINCOLN RECEIVED SLIGHTLY LESS THAN 40 PER CENT OF THE POPULAR VOTE. IT WAS A FOUR-MAN PRESIDENTIAL RACE, WITH LINCOLN GETTING A MAJORITY OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

THE FACT THAT LINCOLN ACHIEVED GREATNESS IN THE PRESIDENCY IS DRAMATIC PROOF THAT A MAN MAY BE A MINORITY PRESIDENT

AND YET BE A GREAT PRESIDENT.

WE HAVE HAD A NUMBER OF MINORITY PRESIDENTS WHOSE ADMINISTRATIONS PRODUCED GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS. BESIDES LINCOLN, THEY INCLUDE THOMAS JEFFERSON, CHIEF AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE PRESIDENT WHO NEGOTIATED THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE; WOODROW WILSON, OUR LEADER IN WORLD WAR I; AND HARRY TRUMAN, THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE WHO LAUNCHED NATO AND THE MARSHALL PLAN.

SO THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WAS ELECTED WITH LESS THAN 50 PER CENT OF THE POPULAR VOTE DOES NOT TAKE AWAY FROM HIS CHANCES TO BECOME A TRULY GREAT PRESIDENT.

ALL OF THE MINORITY PRESIDENTS I HAVE CITED AS PRODUCING GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS HAD ONE QUALITY IN COMMON -- GREAT STRENGTH OF CHARACTER. I BELIEVE PRESIDENT NIXON ALSO HAS THIS QUALITY.

HE WILL NEED GREAT STRENGTH OF CHARACTER TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS HE INHERITED WHEN HE ASSUMED THE TERRIBLE BURDEN OF THE PRESIDENCY. AND HE HAS MOVED TO MEET THESE PROBLEMS.

ON HIS INSTRUCTIONS, OUR NEGOTIATORS AT PARIS ARE PRESSING HARD TO SCALE DOWN THE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM, MAKE THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE TRULY NEUTRAL GROUND AND BRING ABOUT A MUTUAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN AND NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. IT IS TO FURTHER THAT APPROACH IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE SOUTHVIETNAMESE DELEGATION AT PARIS HAS REFUSED TO BARGAIN WITH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT REGARDING POLITICAL ISSUES. THERE IS MUCH HARD BARGAINING AHEAD, AND SOME HARD FIGHTING. IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL ISSUES WILL BE TAKEN UP SIMULTANEOUSLY AT PARIS IN SECRET TALKS. MEANTIME WE CAN ONLY

*Political
Military
ISSUES*

HOPE AND PRAY FOR AN EARLY END TO THE VIETNAM WAR AND PRESS FOR AN HONORABLE COMPROMISE THAT WILL STOP THE KILLING. I KNOW PRESIDENT NIXON WILL BEND ALL OF HIS ENERGIES TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

THERE IS SOME MOVEMENT TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRIBLE PROBLEM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I AM NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT ANY PEACE FORMULA CAN BE WORKED OUT THAT THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS WILL REALLY LIKE, ^(the bottom is so deep + of such long standing) BUT WE MAY BE ABLE TO STIMULATE A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL BE AGREED TO BY BOTH SIDES AND WILL FORM THE BASIS FOR AN END TO THE FIGHTING.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT UN ENVOY GUNNAR JARRING'S PEACE MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST WILL NOT BE PRODUCTIVE WITHOUT SPECIAL HELP FROM THE FOUR MAJOR POWERS. IT IS REALLY RIDICULOUS TO TALK ABOUT AN IMPOSED FOUR-POWER SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT BECAUSE IT IS UNREALISTIC TO

BELIEVE THAT THE FOUR MAJOR POWERS CAN JAM A SETTLEMENT DOWN THE THROATS OF THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS. SO ANY FORMULA THAT THE BIG FOUR PUT TOGETHER WILL HAVE TO BE ONE WHICH IS, SO TO SPEAK, ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS, UNDOUBTEDLY IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS ENCOMPASSING ALL OF THE MAJOR ISSUES WHICH HAVE SO LONG PLAGUED THAT PART OF THE WORLD. WE HAVE TO MOVE TO SOLVE THIS TERRIBLE PROBLEM IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BECAUSE IF WE DON'T THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY THAT A NEW ARAB-ISRAELI WAR WILL PRODUCE AN ARMED CLASH, PERHAPS A NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

2 know your personal contacts at the White House.

1 SO MR. NIXON IS ACTING WITH THE GREATEST URGENCY TO DEAL WITH THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

ALSO WITH A GOOD SENSE OF PRIORITIES THE PRESIDENT IS MOVING TO STEP

UP THE WAR AGAINST CRIME.

AS AGREED AT A MEETING WITH ME AND THE SENATE MINORITY LEADER AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, THE PRESIDENT WILL BE ASKING CONGRESS FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS THIS FISCAL YEAR FOR A CRASH ATTACK ON CRIME.

THE CONGRESS LAST YEAR PASSED LEGISLATION MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO APPROPRIATE UP TO \$100,111,000 IN FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR STATE AND LOCAL ANTI-CRIME PROGRAMS. BUT THE CONGRESS ACTUALLY APPROPRIATED \$62.5 MILLION. SO NOW PRESIDENT NIXON WILL ASK FOR ADDITIONAL CRIME-FIGHTING FUNDS FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE. HE ALSO HAS TAKEN STEPS TO BEEF UP CRIME-FIGHTING FORCES IN WASHINGTON, D.C., WHERE AN AVERAGE OF 22 ARMED ROBBERIES A DAY ARE OCCURRING AND DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS ARE BEING SLAIN IN HOLDUPS.

WE ARE GETTING ACTION FROM THE

WHITE HOUSE -- AND THAT ACTION IS BEING
TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF PRIORITIES. THE OUTLOOK
FOR NEW SOLUTIONS TO OUR OLD PROBLEMS IS
GOOD.

WE CANNOT SOLVE OUR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS PROBLEMS BY UNILATERAL ACTION. 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 ^{in the political spectrum} 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 ^{in advance} AND OF SMOTHERING VIOLENCE IF IT ERUPTS.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS MAKING A CRITICAL REVIEW OF ALL OUR EXISTING PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS. THIS IS A TIME OF PLANNING AND PREPARATION FOR THE CRITICAL YEARS AHEAD.

I WOULD APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- ALL OF OUR PEOPLE -- 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 SEE THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AS SOPHISTICATED AND CEREBRAL IN ITS APPROACH TO THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS, AND DEVOTED TO BASIC AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

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

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS CAREFULLY FORMULATING NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. PRESIDENT NIXON WILL SET THEM FORTH CLEARLY AND MOVE WITH DETERMINATION TO REACH THOSE GOALS.

~~I THINK~~ PRESIDENT 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.

I'm optimistic
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. 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.

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 FRIENDLY CHATS 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 THOSE CONVERSATIONS, 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 TALK OF LATE ABOUT THE 10 PER CENT INCOME TAX SURCHARGE. SHOULD IT BE PERMITTED TO EXPIRE NEXT JULY 1, AS SCHEDULED?

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SURCHARGE END NEXT JULY 1. BUT WHETHER THIS WOULD BE WISE WILL DEPEND UPON THE VIETNAM WAR, / WHETHER INFLATIONARY PRESSURES MODERATE SOON, / 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 RECENTLY 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 LIES AHEAD OF US.

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. 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 IS SEEKING TO STRENGTHEN OUR NATO ALLIES AND TO IMPROVE U.S. COMMUNICATIONS WITH THEM, AND TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH GEN. *de*GAULLE.

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, 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 RECEIVED RECOMMENDATIONS FROM 22 STUDY GROUPS AS THE BASIS FOR ACTION IN VARIOUS PROBLEM FIELDS.

SO WE HAVE OUR STAGGERING CATALOGUE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS; AND WE HAVE A THOUGHTFUL, PRAGMATIC NEW ADMINISTRATION MOVING 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.

Distribution: 20 Copies Mr. Ford

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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT CHAPMAN COLLEGE
ORANGE, CALIFORNIA
8 P.M. SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1969

"The Challenge and the Opportunity"

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 Republican Party is moving toward majority status in the Nation -- and I consider this a most healthy trend.

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

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

This period is naturally a time of reappraisal, a time of study, a time of preparation, 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.

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

(more)



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 is acute. Sporadic fighting between Israelis and the terrorists operating from bases in Jordan continues. 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 1971.

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. We will solve our problems if only we do not despair.

A few days ago we marked the birthday of one of the greatest American Presidents, the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln.

Perhaps few people realize that Abe Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, was a minority President -- that is, he was elected with less than 50 per cent of the total popular vote cast in the election of 1860. As a matter of fact, the history books show that Lincoln received slightly less than 40 per cent of the popular vote. It was a four-man Presidential race, with Lincoln getting a majority of the electoral vote.

The fact that Lincoln achieved greatness in the Presidency is dramatic proof that a man may be a minority President and yet be a great President.

(more)

We have had a number of minority Presidents whose administrations produced great accomplishments. Besides Lincoln, they include Thomas Jefferson, chief author of the Declaration of Independence and the President who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, Woodrow Wilson, our leader in World War I, and Harry Truman, the chief executive who launched NATO and the Marshall Plan.

So the fact that President Nixon was elected with less than 50 per cent of the popular vote does not take away from his chances to become a truly great President.

All of the minority Presidents I have cited as producing great achievements had one quality in common -- great strength of character. I believe President Nixon also has this quality.

He will need great strength of character to cope with the problems he inherited when he assumed the terrible burden of the Presidency. And he has moved to meet these problems.

On his instructions, our negotiators at Paris are pressing hard to scale down the fighting in Vietnam, make the Demilitarized Zone truly neutral ground and bring about a mutual withdrawal of American and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam. It is to further that approach in the negotiations that the Southvietnamese delegation at Paris has refused to bargain with the National Liberation Front regarding political issues. There is much hard bargaining ahead, and some hard fighting. It may well be that the military and political issues will be taken up simultaneously at Paris in secret talks. Meantime we can only hope and pray for an early end to the Vietnam War and press for an honorable compromise that will stop the killing. I know President Nixon will bend all of his energies to achieve that goal.

There is some movement toward a settlement of the terrible problem in the Middle East. I am not optimistic that any peace formula can be worked out that the Arabs and Israelis will really like, but we may be able to stimulate a settlement which will be agreed to by both sides and will form the basis for an end to the fighting.

It is obvious that UN envoy Gunnar Jarring's peace mission to the Middle East will not be productive without special help from the four major powers. It is really ridiculous to talk about an imposed four-power settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict because it is unrealistic to believe that the four major powers can jam a settlement down the throats of the Arabs and Israelis. So any formula that the Big Four put together will have to be one which is, so to

(more)

speak, acceptable to the Arabs and Israelis, undoubtedly in the final analysis encompassing all of the major issues which have so long plagued that part of the world. We have to move to solve this terrible problem in the Middle East, because if we don't there is always the possibility that a new Arab-Israeli war will produce an armed clash, perhaps a nuclear confrontation, between the United States and the Soviet Union.

So Mr. Nixon is acting with the greatest urgency to deal with the Middle East situation.

Also with a good sense of priorities the President is moving to step up the war against crime.

As agreed at a meeting with me and the Senate minority leader and other members of the House and Senate Republican Leadership, the President will be asking Congress for additional funds this fiscal year for a crash attack on crime.

The Congress last year passed legislation making it possible to appropriate up to \$100,111,000 in federal assistance for state and local anti-crime programs. But the Congress actually appropriated \$62.5 million. So now President Nixon will ask for additional crime-fighting funds for the country as a whole. He also has taken steps to beef up crime-fighting forces in Washington, D.C., where an average of 22 armed robberies a day are occurring and downtown merchants are being slain in holdups.

We are getting action from the White House -- and that action is being taken on the basis of priorities. The outlook for new solutions to our old problems is good.

We cannot solve our foreign affairs problems by unilateral action. 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.

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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 see the Nixon Administration as sophisticated and cerebral in its approach to the country's problems, and devoted to basic American principles.

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

The new Administration is carefully formulating national objectives. President Nixon will set them forth clearly and move with determination to reach those goals.

I think President 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. I feel sure Mr. Nixon will provide that incentive. The rest is up to the rest of us.

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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.

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There are hopeful signs in the congressional arena. Taking exactly the right step, Mr. Nixon has had friendly chats 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 those conversations, 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?

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I would like to see the surcharge end next July 1. But whether this would be wise will depend upon the Vietnam War, whether inflationary pressures moderate soon, 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 recently 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 lies ahead of us.

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.

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Mr. Nixon also is seeking 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, 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.

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So we have our staggering catalogue of national and international problems; and we have a thoughtful, pragmatic new Administration moving 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:

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"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.

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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT CHAPMAN COLLEGE
ORANGE, CALIFORNIA
8 P.M. SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1969

"The Challenge and the Opportunity"

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 Republican Party is moving toward majority status in the Nation -- and I consider this a most healthy trend.

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

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

This period is naturally a time of reappraisal, a time of study, a time of preparation, 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.

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

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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 is acute. Sporadic fighting between Israelis and the terrorists operating from bases in Jordan continues. 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 1971.

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. We will solve our problems if only we do not despair.

A few days ago we marked the birthday of one of the greatest American Presidents, the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln.

Perhaps few people realize that Abe Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, was a minority President -- that is, he was elected with less than 50 per cent of the total popular vote cast in the election of 1860. As a matter of fact, the history books show that Lincoln received slightly less than 40 per cent of the popular vote. It was a four-man Presidential race, with Lincoln getting a majority of the electoral vote.

The fact that Lincoln achieved greatness in the Presidency is dramatic proof that a man may be a minority President and yet be a great President.

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We have had a number of minority Presidents whose administrations produced great accomplishments. Besides Lincoln, they include Thomas Jefferson, chief author of the Declaration of Independence and the President who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, Woodrow Wilson, our leader in World War I, and Harry Truman, the chief executive who launched NATO and the Marshall Plan.

So the fact that President Nixon was elected with less than 50 per cent of the popular vote does not take away from his chances to become a truly great President.

All of the minority Presidents I have cited as producing great achievements had one quality in common -- great strength of character. I believe President Nixon also has this quality.

He will need great strength of character to cope with the problems he inherited when he assumed the terrible burden of the Presidency. And he has moved to meet these problems.

On his instructions, our negotiators at Paris are pressing hard to scale down the fighting in Vietnam, make the Demilitarized Zone truly neutral ground and bring about a mutual withdrawal of American and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam. It is to further that approach in the negotiations that the Southvietnamese delegation at Paris has refused to bargain with the National Liberation Front regarding political issues. There is much hard bargaining ahead, and some hard fighting. It may well be that the military and political issues will be taken up simultaneously at Paris in secret talks. Meantime we can only hope and pray for an early end to the Vietnam War and press for an honorable compromise that will stop the killing. I know President Nixon will bend all of his energies to achieve that goal.

There is some movement toward a settlement of the terrible problem in the Middle East. I am not optimistic that any peace formula can be worked out that the Arabs and Israelis will really like, but we may be able to stimulate a settlement which will be agreed to by both sides and will form the basis for an end to the fighting.

It is obvious that UN envoy Gunnar Jarring's peace mission to the Middle East will not be productive without special help from the four major powers. It is really ridiculous to talk about an imposed four-power settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict because it is unrealistic to believe that the four major powers can jam a settlement down the throats of the Arabs and Israelis. So any formula that the Big Four put together will have to be one which is, so to

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speak, acceptable to the Arabs and Israelis, undoubtedly in the final analysis encompassing all of the major issues which have so long plagued that part of the world. We have to move to solve this terrible problem in the Middle East, because if we don't there is always the possibility that a new Arab-Israeli war will produce an armed clash, perhaps a nuclear confrontation, between the United States and the Soviet Union.

So Mr. Nixon is acting with the greatest urgency to deal with the Middle East situation.

Also with a good sense of priorities the President is moving to step up the war against crime.

As agreed at a meeting with me and the Senate minority leader and other members of the House and Senate Republican Leadership, the President will be asking Congress for additional funds this fiscal year for a crash attack on crime.

The Congress last year passed legislation making it possible to appropriate up to \$100,111,000 in federal assistance for state and local anti-crime programs. But the Congress actually appropriated \$62.5 million. So now President Nixon will ask for additional crime-fighting funds for the country as a whole. He also has taken steps to beef up crime-fighting forces in Washington, D.C., where an average of 22 armed robberies a day are occurring and downtown merchants are being slain in holdups.

We are getting action from the White House -- and that action is being taken on the basis of priorities. The outlook for new solutions to our old problems is good.

We cannot solve our foreign affairs problems by unilateral action. 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.

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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.

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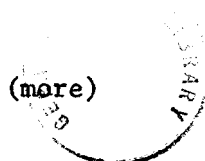
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