

The original documents are located in Box D28, folder “National Convention, Open Hearth and Basic Oxygen Steel Committee, Detroit, MI, April 6, 1970” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE OPEN HEARTH AND
BASIC OXYGEN STEEL COMMITTEE AT
DETROIT, MICHIGAN, 6:30 P.M., MONDAY,
APRIL 6, 1970.

IN 1778, A FRENCH NOBLEMAN SAID
OF AMERICANS, "THEY ARE THE HOPE OF THE
WORLD. THEY MAY BECOME ITS MODEL."

FROM THAT TIME FORTH, AMERICANS
HAVE BEEN ENVIED AND FEARED, SELDOM LOVED.
WE HAVE BEEN MUCH ADMIRERD, MUCH MALIGNED,
AND MUCH MISUNDERSTOOD. IT MIGHT ALSO BE
SAID WE HAVE DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING
OURSELVES.

IT WAS ANOTHER FRENCHMAN,
De TOQUEVILLE, WHO SAW AMERICANS CLEARLY.
IN HIS FAMOUS BOOK, "DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA,"
De TOQUEVILLE TALKED OF THE PERPETUAL
DISSATISFACTION OF AMERICANS WITH THEIR
SITUATION IN LIFE, THEIR CONSTANT STRIVING
FOR SOMETHING BETTER.

SAID De TOQUEVILLE OF AMERICANS:

"THEY HAVE ALL A LIVELY FAITH IN THE PERFECTIBILITY OF MAN; THEY JUDGE THAT THE DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE MUST NECESSARILY BE ADVANTAGEOUS, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF IGNORANCE FATAL; THEY ALL CONSIDER SOCIETY AS A BODY IN A STATE OF IMPROVEMENT, HUMANITY AS A CHANGING SCENE, IN WHICH NOTHING IS, OR OUGHT TO BE, PERMANENT; AND THEY ADMIT THAT WHAT APPEARS TO THEM TODAY TO BE GOOD, MAY BE SUPERSEDED BY SOMETHING BETTER TOMORROW."

De TOQUEVILLE PUT HIS FINGER ON THE KEY CHARACTER TRAIT OF AMERICANS -- THEIR RESTLESSNESS, THEIR THIRST FOR SOMETHING BETTER, THEIR DRIVE TOWARD CHANGE, THE RIVETING OF THEIR EYES ON TOMORROW.

SO IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN THIS GREAT AND GLORIOUS LAND WE CALL AMERICA, AND SO IT IS TODAY.

WE STAND TODAY ON THE THRESHOLD OF GREAT CHANGE. I AM SURE THIS IS NOT APPARENT TO SOME, PERHAPS EVEN TO MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. I AM NOT SPEAKING OF THE KIND OF CHANGES SOUGHT BY THE VIOLENTLY REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS IN OUR SOCIETY BUT OF CHANGES THAT ARE BEING WROUGHT WITHIN AND AT THE INSTIGATION OF WHAT IS CALLED "THE ESTABLISHMENT."

I AM TALKING ABOUT THE "NEW ECOLOGY." I AM TALKING ABOUT WELFARE REFORM. I AM TALKING ABOUT POPULATION PLANNING AND POPULATION CONTROL. I AM TALKING ABOUT GIVING CITIES AND STATES A PERCENTAGE SLICE OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE, AND OF EVERYTHING ELSE THAT COMES UNDER THE HEADING OF "THE NEW FEDERALISM."

THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES, AND THEY ARE CHANGES WHICH I BELIEVE ARE NOT ONLY ACQUIESCED IN BUT DEMANDED BY

WHAT HAS COME TO BE KNOWN AS THE SILENT MAJORITY.

IN FACT, IF ALL OF THE EXCITING NEW PROGRAMS NOW BEFORE THE CONGRESS ARE ENACTED INTO LAW, WE WILL SEE A GREATER REFORM OF OUR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT. I MIGHT ADD THEY WILL HAVE COME ABOUT BECAUSE OF A NEW ATMOSPHERE OF REFORM THAT HARKENS BACK TO ANOTHER SIMILAR ERA -- THE DAYS OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT.

SOME OF THESE REFORMS STEM FROM THE FACT THAT WE HAVE WITNESSED THE DEMISE OF THE NEW DEAL, AS SURELY AS IF A CURTAIN HAD BEEN DRAWN ACROSS THE SPECTACULAR DRAMA WHICH BEGAN WITH THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

WE HAVE REACHED A POINT WHERE FEDERAL PROGRAMS HAVE PILED UPON FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN A MIX THAT CONSTITUTES A MESS,

DUPLICATION THAT HAS MOUNTED TO CHAOS, A MYLTIPLICITY OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS THAT HAS MAYORS AND STATE OFFICIALS GROPING FOR FEDERAL HELP AS IN A MAZE.

WE ARE NOW STRIVING TO STRAIGHTEN OUT THAT MESS, BRINGING ORDER OUT OF CHAOS, CUTTING A DIRECT ROUTE THROUGH THE MAZE. WE ARE REVERSING THE FLOW OF POWER. FAR TOO MUCH POWER HAS BECOME CONCENTRATED IN WASHINGTON. WE ARE SEEKING TO TURN SOME OF THAT POWER BACK TO THE CITIES AND STATES.

THIS IS WHAT WE CALL "THE NEW FEDERALISM." IT CAN BE FOUND IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSED NEW COMPREHENSIVE MANPOWER TRAINING ACT, THE PROPOSED FAMILY ASSISTANCE ACT WHICH WOULD TURN WELFARE INTO "WORKFARE," CHANGES IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SYSTEM, AND A LONG OVERDUE REVENUE SHARING ACT.

THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN



FEDERAL POLICY -- A NEW APPROACH IN MANPOWER TRAINING, INCOME MAINTENANCE, AND FEDERAL AID TO CITIES AND STATES, WITH TOP PRIORITY TO LOCAL PRIORITIES.

WE WANT TO RETURN MORE RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND TO HELP THEM WITH THE FISCAL BURDEN OF SHOULDERING THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS IS A SHARP DEPARTURE FROM THE NEW DEAL PATTERN OF "THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRAT KNOWS BEST AND YOU'LL DO IT OUR WAY OR ELSE."

AS THE PRESIDENT HAS STATED, WE WANT TO DO THIS "NOT AS A WAY OF AVOIDING PROBLEMS BUT AS A BETTER WAY OF SOLVING PROBLEMS."

LAST SEPTEMBER 24 I JOINED WITH MORE THAN 75 OTHER MEMBERS OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION THAT WILL MAKE FEDERALLY-COLLECTED REVENUES

AVAILABLE FOR PERCENTAGE SHARING WITH THE CITIES AND STATES. THE AIM OF THIS LEGISLATION IS TO CARRY OUT A PROPOSAL MADE BY PRESIDENT NIXON LAST AUGUST 13.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS REVENUE-SHARING BILL MARKED THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT HISTORY THAT A CONCERTED EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO GIVE STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FUNDS THAT WILL ALLOW THEM EFFECTIVELY TO LIVE UP TO THEIR COMMITMENTS TO THEIR CITIZENS.

NOW, MONEY FLOWING FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE STATES IS BEING DISPENSED IN THE FORM OF CATEGORICAL GRANTS, WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DETERMINING HOW AND WHERE THE FUNDS WILL BE SPENT. THE LEGISLATION WE ARE SEEKING WOULD PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS THAT STATES AND CITIES COULD SPEND AS THEY SEE FIT.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO LACK CONFIDENCE

IN THE ABILITY OF STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO SPEND MONEY EFFECTIVELY OR PROPERLY. BUT WE HAVE NO FARTHER TO LOOK THAN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SEE HOW GREAT SUMS OF MONEY HAVE BEEN BADLY SPENT ON POORLY DEVISED PROGRAMS DEVISED FOR QUESTIONABLE REASONS.

A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS HAVE LOST FAITH IN HEAVILY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT. AND THE CAUSE FOR THAT IS NOT HARD TO FIND, FOR IN THE FIVE YEARS PRIOR TO 1969 WE SAW SCORES OF NEW FEDERAL PROGRAMS ENACTED WITH TENS OF THOUSANDS OF NEW EMPLOYEES ADDED TO FEDERAL PAYROLLS AND TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS SPENT WITH THE AVOWED AIM OF HEALING THE NATION'S GRAVE SOCIAL ILLS. YET DESPITE THIS MASSIVE INFUSION OF FEDERALLY-DIRECTED PROGRAMS AND DOLLARS, THE PROBLEMS OF OUR CITIES DEEPENED INTO FLAMING CRISIS.

I BELIEVE MORE AND MORE AMERICANS ARE TURNING AWAY FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THEIR LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS AS THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH LOCAL AND STATE PROBLEMS. YET THE CONGRESS HAS NOT BEGUN TO MOVE ON REVENUE-SHARING.

EARLIER I MENTIONED MANPOWER TRAINING IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEW FEDERALISM. I DID SO BECAUSE, AT PRESENT, MAYORS CONTROL NONE OF THE FEDERAL MANPOWER FUNDS THAT COME INTO THEIR CITIES UNDER THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT AND THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT.

IN CONTRAST, IF THE ADMINISTRATION'S NEW MANPOWER TRAINING ACT WAS FULLY IMPLEMENTED, THE NATION'S MAYORS WOULD HAVE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OVER ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS OF A BILLION DOLLARS IN FEDERAL FUNDS EACH YEAR.

INSTEAD OF A LARGE NUMBER OF

UNRELATED PROJECTS IN A CERTAIN METROPOLITAN AREA, WE WOULD HAVE ONE COHERENT PROGRAM AND ONE SPONSOR -- AND THE SPONSOR WOULD DESIGN A MIX OF SERVICES AND PROGRAM COMPONENTS UNIQUELY SUITED TO THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY.

I SPOKE AT THE OUTSET ABOUT THE INSATIABLE DESIRE OF AMERICANS TO BETTER THEMSELVES. THIS HAS BEEN TRANSLATED THROUGHOUT AMERICAN HISTORY INTO WHAT I CALL THE WORK ETHIC -- THE IDEA THAT EVERY MAN WORTH HIS SALT WORKS FOR A LIVING IF HE IS ABLE TO DO SO.

ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC STORIES OF AMERICAN HEROISM UNFOLDED DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION WHEN MILLIONS OF FAMILIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY FOUND SOME WAY TO PIECE TOGETHER A LIVING.

WHILE MOST AMERICANS CLUNG TO THE WORK ETHIC THROUGHOUT THE DEPRESSION,

MILLIONS WERE FORCED ONTO THE DOLE. WELFARE BECAME A WAY OF LIFE FOR THEM AND FOR THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS.

TODAY WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK THE WELFARE CYCLE -- TO MAKE A VIABLE TRUTH OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT IT PAYS TO WORK.

I AM SPEAKING OF THE PROPOSAL NOW BEFORE THE CONGRESS TO WIPE OUT THE SCANDALOUS WELFARE HANGOVER OF THE DEPRESSION DAYS -- WIPE IT OUT BY REPLACING IT WITH THE FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, A NEW PLAN CALLED "WORKFARE." THE NEW PROGRAM IS CALLED WORKFARE BECAUSE IT ENCOURAGES PEOPLE TO WORK.

UNDER THE PRESENT WELFARE SYSTEM, A POOR MAN WHO IS WORKING CAN LOOK ACROSS THE STREET AT A FAMILY ON WELFARE GETTING MORE FOR NOT WORKING.

WITH WORKFARE, THE "DISINCENTIVE"

TO WORK IS REMOVED. A POOR FAMILY WITH A WORKING MEMBER WILL ALWAYS GET MORE THAN A FAMILY WITHOUT A WORKING MEMBER.

WHAT WE WANT IS TO TAKE PEOPLE OFF WELFARE ROLLS AND PUT THEM ON PAYROLLS. WE THINK THESE PEOPLE WOULD RATHER HAVE A HAND UP THAN A HANDOUT. THEY WILL IF THE INCENTIVE IS THERE.

THE WORKFARE PROGRAM WILL SHOW US WHAT THE DIGNITY OF WORK CAN DO FOR A HUMAN BEING. AND IT WILL HELP TO KEEP FAMILIES TOGETHER. THAT, ALONE, WILL BE WORTH THE PRICE WE MUST PAY, FOR THE FAMILY IS THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH OUR REPUBLIC IS BUILT. IF THE FAMILY IS STRONG, THE NATION WILL BE STRONG.

AND AS WE INVEST IN HUMAN RESOURCES THROUGH THE WORKFARE PROGRAM WE MUST ALSO ACCEPT THE EXPENSIVE CHALLENGE OF RESTORING THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT --

CLEANING UP OUR AIR AND WATER AND DEALING WITH THE SOLID WASTES THAT CLUTTER UP OUR LAND.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE "NEW ECOLOGY," AS IT IS CALLED, IS BEING TAKEN UP BY GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS, THE STUDENTS IN OUR COLLEGES, AND OUR FORWARD-LOOKING INDUSTRIES.

IT IS A CHALLENGE THAT DEMANDS FAR MORE OF US THAN PUTTING A MAN ON THE MOON, MAGNIFICENT AS THAT MISSION WAS.

IT IS FAR MORE DIFFICULT BECAUSE IT INVOLVES FAR MORE THAN THE ASSEMBLING OF GREAT BRAINS AND TECHNOLOGY IN PURSUIT OF A CLEAR-CUT NATIONAL GOAL. IT DOES INVOLVE THE ASSEMBLING OF A COMPLEX TECHNOLOGY BUT IT ALSO REQUIRES COORDINATION OF EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

I BELIEVE WE CAN WIN THE FIGHT TO

SAVE OUR ENVIRONMENT. AND THE REASON I BELIEVE IT, IS THAT WE NOW HAVE PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN THE EFFORT. THAT MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EMPTY RHETORIC AND A PROGRAM THAT CAN MOVE.

THIS IS NOT A VICTORY THAT CAN BE WON OVERNIGHT. BUT I BELIEVE WE CAN ESTABLISH A BRIDGEHEAD THIS YEAR AND ACHIEVE VICTORY WITHIN THIS DECADE. LET ME REMIND YOU THAT WE DO HAVE A BLUEPRINT FOR VICTORY IN THE FIGHT TO RESTORE OUR ENVIRONMENT -- A 37-POINT BATTLE PLAN WHICH HAS BEEN LAID BEFORE THE CONGRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THIS IS JUST ONE BIT OF EVIDENCE THAT WE ARE RE-ORDERING OUR PRIORITIES AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL. WE ARE WINDING DOWN THE VIETNAM WAR -- EXTRICATING OURSELVES FROM THAT TRAGIC CONFLICT HALFWAY AROUND THE WORLD -- AND TURNING OUR PRIORITIES AROUND.

LET ME GIVE YOU DOLLARS-AND-CENTS
PROOF OF THE SHIFT IN OUR PRIORITIES. LET
ME POINT OUT TO YOU THAT LAST YEAR, AS IN
EVERY YEAR SINCE THE KOREAN WAR, NATIONAL
DEFENSE ATE UP THE BIGGEST PART OF THE
FEDERAL DOLLAR. IN THE FISCAL 1971 BUDGET,
BY CONTRAST, THE LARGEST SHARE OF THE FEDERAL
BUDGET GOES TO THE CIVILIAN SECTOR AND
SPECIFICALLY TO HUMAN RESOURCES PROGRAMS --
EDUCATION, HEALTH, WELFARE, VETERANS NEEDS
AND MANPOWER PROJECTS.

THE SHIFT IS QUITE DRAMATIC. IN
FISCAL 1969, 44 PER CENT OF THE FEDERAL
BUDGET WENT TO DEFENSE AND 34 PER CENT TO
HUMAN RESOURCES. IN FISCAL 1971, NEARLY
THE REVERSE IS TRUE, WITH 41 PER CENT GOING
TO HUMAN RESOURCES AND 37 PER CENT TO
DEFENSE.

I HAVE TALKED TONIGHT ABOUT POLICY
CHANGES MADE OR SOUGHT BY THE NIXON

ADMINISTRATION, ABOUT THE NEW DIRECTIONS
IN WHICH THIS COUNTRY IS MOVING.

I WOULD BE REMISS IF IN ADDRESSING
THIS AUDIENCE I DID NOT COMMENT ON THE
POLICIES THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS EMPLOYED
TO MOVE TOWARD RELATIVE STABILITY IN THE
ECONOMY AND A NEW ERA OF SOUND ECONOMIC
GROWTH.

WE HAVE EMPLOYED THE TECHNIQUES
OF RESTRAINT WITHOUT COERCION -- A HOLDDOWN
IN FEDERAL SPENDING AND A TIGHT REIN ON THE
MONEY SUPPLY. WE HAVE REFUSED TO EMPLOY
WHAT I CALL ECONOMIC BLACKMAIL.

YOU HAVE HEARD MUCH CRITICISM
OF THE ADMINISTRATION FOR NOT REIMPOSING
PRICE AND WAGE GUIDELINES, PUTTING INDUSTRY
AND LABOR INTO A PUBLIC FISHBOWL AND
WHIPPING THE FISHBOWL INTO A FROTH IF THEY
ENGAGED IN WAGE AND PRICE ACTIONS DEEMED
INFLATIONARY BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

WE KNOW HOW THE GUIDELINES WORKED IN PRACTICE. WHILE LABOR IGNORED THE WAGE GUIDELINE, MAJOR INDUSTRY WAS PUBLICLY CASTIGATED FOR PRICE INCREASE ANNOUNCEMENTS AND GOVERNMENT BUSINESS WAS WITHHELD TO WHIP COMPANIES INTO LINE. THAT, I REPEAT, IS ECONOMIC BLACKMAIL AND I AM PLEASED THAT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS HAVING NO PART OF IT. I, FOR ONE, DO NOT THINK IT NAIVE TO BELIEVE THAT WHEN LARGE INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS RAISE PRICES IN A COMPETITIVE FIELD THOSE PRICE INCREASES ARE CAUSED BY RISING COSTS AND SHRINKING PROFIT MARGINS. SO I MAKE NO APOLOGIES FOR THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S REFUSAL TO GO BACK TO WAGE AND PRICE GUIDELINES AND TO JAWBONING.

I SUBMIT THAT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES ARE WORKING IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION.

WHOLESALE PRICES HAVE LARGELY LEVELLED OFF.
~~WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE A~~ ^{MADE A MINOR} ~~SHIFT IN~~
POLICY ~~IS IN ORDER~~ -- A SHIFT TO LESS
MONETARY RESTRAINT AND SOME FISCAL STIMULUS.

IT MAY APPEAR TO SOME THAT THE
EASING OF MONETARY RESTRAINT IS PREMATURE,
BUT IN ACTUALITY IT IS WELL TIMED. WE MUST
REMEMBER THAT THERE IS ALWAYS A LAG BEFORE
THE IMPACT OF SUCH ACTIONS IS FELT IN THE
ECONOMY.

BESIDES SLIGHTLY LOOSENING THE
CURBS ON THE ECONOMY, WE MUST ALSO FOCUS
ON THE NEED TO AVOID THE ECONOMIC
DISLOCATION WHICH WOULD COME FROM A
NATIONWIDE STRIKE IN TRANSPORTATION. THERE
IS A PRESSING NEED FOR QUICK CONGRESSIONAL
ACTION TO IMPROVE OUR HANDLING OF NATIONAL
EMERGENCY LABOR DISPUTES IN THE TRANSPORT
FIELD.

THE PRESIDENT HAS LAID PROPOSALS

INVOLVING THREE CAREFULLY THOUGHT-OUT
OPTIONS BEFORE THE CONGRESS -- OPTIONS
INTENDED TO BRING ABOUT SOLUTIONS IN
TRANSPORTATION LABOR DISPUTES THROUGH
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING BUT ALSO DESIGNED TO
PROVIDE A SOLUTION OF LAST RESORT IF NEED
BE.

CONGRESS CANNOT AFFORD TO DELAY
ACTION ON THIS MOST PRESSING PROBLEM. WE
MUST EMULATE THE COURAGE DEMONSTRATED BY
THE PRESIDENT IN FORMULATING THIS MAJOR
LABOR LEGISLATION AND PROCEED TO IMPLEMENT
IT. I BELIEVE THE ENTIRE NATION WILL
BENEFIT. THIS IS LEGISLATION NOT ONLY IN
THE PUBLIC INTEREST BUT IN THE INTEREST OF
THE PRINCIPALS INVOLVED.

I WOULD ADD A FOOTNOTE. IF THE
RAILROAD LABOR DISPUTE IS NOT SETTLED BY
DEADLINE TIME APRIL 11, THE CONGRESS SHOULD
IMPOSE THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSED BY THE

PRESIDENT RATHER THAN SIMPLY TO EXTEND THE DEADLINE. IT IS TIME WE SHOWED A LITTLE GUTS. IF WE DON'T, THE PROBLEM WILL BE BACK ON CONGRESS'S DOORSTEP IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

I HAVE TALKED OF PROBLEMS HERE TONIGHT, AND I HAVE TALKED OF NEW DIRECTIONS IN WASHINGTON AND THE NATION. LET ME TELL YOU ~~THAT~~ I HAVE THE GREATEST CONFIDENCE THAT WE WILL SURMOUNT OUR DIFFICULTIES OF THE MOMENT AND MOVE THIS NATION TO NEW HIGHS OF GROWTH AND PROSPERITY.

THIS WILL BE A GOOD YEAR. PROFITS WILL IMPROVE ON THE WHOLE. THERE WILL BE A PICKUP IN SALES. BIG INCREASES ARE PLANNED IN BUSINESS INVESTMENT FOR 1970, PARTICULARLY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR. AUTO SALES ARE IMPROVING. THE DECLINE IN HOME BUILDING HAS LEVELED OFF, AND THE ADMINISTRATION IS PROVIDING THAT INDUSTRY

FORD

WITH STIMULUS.

THERE IS MUCH FOR GOVERNMENT TO DO -- AND GOVERNMENT HAS DONE MUCH. I THINK WE CURRENTLY ARE CORRECTING MANY OF THE MISTAKES OF THE RECENT PAST -- MISTAKES THAT HAVE BROUGHT US A TRAGIC WAR, INFLATION, AN UNSTABLE ECONOMY.

BUT WE ARE REMEDYING THOSE ERRORS. AND TO CONTINUE IN THAT GREAT WORK WE NEED MORE THAN JUST THE ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE HUMAN SPIRIT, THE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE THAT BUILT AMERICA.

WE NEED THE WILL AND THE WISDOM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IF WE ARE TO DO ALL THAT MUST BE DONE TO WIN THE VICTORY AGAINST THE FORCES OF DEFEATISM AT HOME AND ARMED AGGRESSION ABROAD.

BUILDING ON THE PAST AND LEARNING FROM OUR ERRORS, WE CAN MAKE AMERICA MORE

DESERVING THAN EVER OF THE GREAT PRIDE WE
FEEL IN HER -- MORE WORTHY THAN EVER TO SERVE
AS A MODEL FOR OTHER LANDS.

-- END --

TEXT

DETROIT, MICH.

APR. 6, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
OFFICE OF THE MINORITY LEADER
PUBLIC DOCUMENT
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Gerald R. Ford
M.C.

P / We were late arriving because
of delayed departure - air controller.
No one from Detroit Press was at
meeting & no Press Conference.
One T.V. Station - only interested
in school integration

MONDAY
6:30 P.M.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF
OXYGEN
OPEN HEARTH AND BASIC STEEL COMMITTEE



Distribution : 20 copies Mr. Ford

M Office Copy

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF
THE OPEN HEARTH AND BASIC OXYGEN STEEL COMMITTEE
AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN
6:30 P.M. MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1970

FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 P.M. MONDAY

In 1778, a French nobleman said of Americans, "They are the hope of the world. They may become its model."

From that time forth, Americans have been envied and feared, seldom loved. We have been much admired, much maligned, and much misunderstood. It might also be said we have difficulty understanding ourselves.

It was another Frenchman, De Toqueville, who saw Americans clearly. In his famous book, "Democracy in America," De Toqueville talked of the perpetual dissatisfaction of Americans with their situation in life, their constant striving for something better.

Said De Toqueville of Americans:

"They have all a lively faith in the perfectibility of man; they judge that the diffusion of knowledge must necessarily be advantageous, and the consequences of ignorance fatal; they all consider society as a body in a state of improvement, humanity as a changing scene, in which nothing is, or ought to be, permanent; and they admit that what appears to them today to be good, may be superseded by something better tomorrow."

De Toqueville put his finger on the key character trait of Americans -- their restlessness, their thirst for something better, their drive toward change, the riveting of their eyes on tomorrow.

So it has always been in this great and glorious land we call America, and so it is today.

We stand today on the threshold of great change. I am sure this is not apparent to some, perhaps even to millions of Americans. I am not speaking of the kind of changes sought by the violently revolutionary elements in our society but of changes that are being wrought within and at the instigation of what is called "The Establishment."

I am talking about the "new ecology." I am talking about welfare reform. I am talking about population planning and population control. I am talking about giving cities and states a percentage slice of Federal income tax revenue, and of everything else that comes under the heading of "the New Federalism."

(more)



These are revolutionary changes, and they are changes which I believe are not only acquiesced in but demanded by what has come to be known as The Silent Majority.

In fact, if all of the exciting new programs now before the Congress are enacted into law, we will see a greater reform of our political and social system than at any time since the first administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I might add they will have come about because of a new atmosphere of reform that harkens back to another similar era -- the days of Teddy Roosevelt.

Some of these reforms stem from the fact that we have witnessed the demise of the New Deal, as surely as if a curtain had been drawn across the spectacular drama which began with the Great Depression.

We have reached a point where Federal programs have piled upon Federal programs in a mix that constitutes a mess, duplication that has mounted to chaos, a multiplicity of Federal programs that has mayors and State officials groping for Federal help as in a maze.

We are now striving to straighten out that mess, bringing order out of chaos, cutting a direct route through the maze. We are reversing the flow of power. Far too much power has become concentrated in Washington. We are seeking to turn some of that power back to the cities and states.

This is what we call "the New Federalism." It can be found in the Administration's proposed new comprehensive Manpower Training Act, the proposed Family Assistance Act which would turn welfare into "workfare," changes in the unemployment insurance system, and a long overdue Revenue Sharing Act.

This is a fundamental change in Federal policy -- a new approach in manpower training, income maintenance, and Federal aid to cities and States with top priority to local priorities.

We want to return more responsibilities to the States and local communities and to help them with the fiscal burden of shouldering those responsibilities. This is a sharp departure from the New Deal pattern of "the Federal bureaucrat knows best and you'll do it our way or else."

As the President has stated, we want to do this "not as a way of avoiding problems but as a better way of solving problems."

(more)

Last Sept. 24 I joined with more than 75 other members of the U.S. House of Representatives to introduce legislation that will make federally-collected revenues available for percentage sharing with the cities and states. The aim of this legislation is to carry out a proposal made by President Nixon last August 13.

The introduction of this revenue-sharing bill marked the first time in recent history that a concerted effort has been made to give states and local governments funds that will allow them effectively to live up to their commitments to their citizens.

Now, money flowing from the Federal Government to the states is being dispensed in the form of categorical grants, with the Federal Government determining how and where the funds will be spent. The legislation we are seeking would provide additional funds that states and cities could spend as they see fit.

There are those who lack confidence in the ability of states and local governments to spend money effectively or properly. But we have no farther to look than the Federal Government to see how great sums of money have been badly spent on poorly devised programs devised for questionable reasons.

A majority of Americans have lost faith in heavily centralized government. And the cause for that is not hard to find, for in the five years prior to 1969 we saw scores of new Federal programs enacted with tens of thousands of new employees added to Federal payrolls and tens of billions of dollars spent with the avowed aim of healing the Nation's grave social ills. Yet despite this massive infusion of Federally-directed programs and dollars, the problems of our cities deepened into flaming crisis.

I believe more and more Americans are turning away from the central government to their local and State governments as the best way to deal with local and State problems. Yet the Congress has not begun to move on revenue-sharing.

Earlier I mentioned manpower training in connection with the New Federalism. I did so because at present mayors control none of the Federal manpower funds that come into their cities under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act.

In contrast, if the Administration's new Manpower Training Act was fully implemented, the Nation's mayors would have administrative control over about three-quarters of a billion dollars in Federal funds each year.

Instead of a large number of unrelated projects in a certain metropolitan area, we would have one coherent program and one sponsor -- and the sponsor would

(more)

design a mix of services and program components uniquely suited to the needs of the community.

I spoke at the outset about the insatiable desire of Americans to better themselves. This has been translated throughout American history into what I call the work ethic -- the idea that every man worth his salt works for a living if he is able to do so.

One of the most dramatic stories of American heroism unfolded during the Great Depression when millions of families throughout the country found some way to piece together a living.

While most Americans clung to the work ethic throughout the depression, millions were forced onto the dole. Welfare became a way of life for them and for their sons and daughters.

Today we have an opportunity to break the welfare cycle -- to make a viable truth of the principle that it pays to work.

I am speaking of the proposal now before the Congress to wipe out the scandalous welfare hangover of the depression days -- wipe it out by replacing it with the Family Assistance Program, a new plan called "workfare." The new program is called workfare because it encourages people to work.

Under the present welfare system, a poor man who is working can look across the street at a family on welfare getting more for not working.

With workfare, the "disincentive" to work is removed. A poor family with a working member will always get more than a family without a working member.

What we want is to take people off welfare rolls and put them on payrolls. We think these people would rather have a hand up than a handout. They will if the incentive is there.

The workfare program will show us what the dignity of work can do for a human being. And it will help to keep families together. That, alone, will be worth the price we must pay, for the family is the foundation on which our republic is built. If the family is strong, the Nation will be strong.

And as we invest in human resources through the workfare program we must also accept the expensive challenge of restoring the American environment -- cleaning up our air and water and dealing with the solid wastes that clutter up our land.

The challenge of the "new ecology," as it is called, is being taken up by government at all levels, the students in our colleges, and our forward-looking industries.

(more)

It is a challenge that demands far more of us than putting a man on the moon, magnificent as that mission was.

It is far more difficult because it involves far more than the assembling of great brains and technology in pursuit of a clear-cut national goal. It does involve the assembling of a complex technology but it also requires coordination of effort on the part of the Federal, state and local governments.

I believe we can win the fight to save our environment. And the reason I believe it is that we now have Presidential leadership in the effort. That makes all the difference between empty rhetoric and a program that can move.

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This will be a good year. Profits will improve on the whole. There will be a pickup in sales. Big increases are planned in business investment for 1970, particularly in the second half of the year. Auto sales are improving. The decline in home building has leveled off, and the Administration is providing that industry with stimulus.

There is much for Government to do -- and Government has done much. I think we currently are correcting many of the mistakes of the recent past -- mistakes that have brought us a tragic war, inflation, an unstable economy.

But we are remedying those errors. And to continue in that great work we need more than just the actions of Government. There is no substitute for the human spirit, the individual initiative that built America.

We need the will and the wisdom of the American people if we are to do all that must be done to win the victory against the forces of defeatism at home and armed aggression abroad.

Building on the past and learning from our errors, we can make America more deserving than ever of the great pride we feel in her -- more worthy than ever to serve as a model for other lands.

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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF
THE OPEN HEARTH AND BASIC OXYGEN STEEL COMMITTEE
AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN
6:30 P.M. MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1970

FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 P.M. MONDAY

In 1778, a French nobleman said of Americans, "They are the hope of the world. They may become its model."

From that time forth, Americans have been envied and feared, seldom loved. We have been much admired, much maligned, and much misunderstood. It might also be said we have difficulty understanding ourselves.

It was another Frenchman, De Toqueville, who saw Americans clearly. In his famous book, "Democracy in America," De Toqueville talked of the perpetual dissatisfaction of Americans with their situation in life, their constant striving for something better.

Said De Toqueville of Americans:

"They have all a lively faith in the perfectibility of man; they judge that the diffusion of knowledge must necessarily be advantageous, and the consequences of ignorance fatal; they all consider society as a body in a state of improvement, humanity as a changing scene, in which nothing is, or ought to be, permanent; and they admit that what appears to them today to be good, may be superseded by something better tomorrow."

De Toqueville put his finger on the key character trait of Americans -- their restlessness, their thirst for something better, their drive toward change, the riveting of their eyes on tomorrow.

So it has always been in this great and glorious land we call America, and so it is today.

We stand today on the threshold of great change. I am sure this is not apparent to some, perhaps even to millions of Americans. I am not speaking of the kind of changes sought by the violently revolutionary elements in our society but of changes that are being wrought within and at the instigation of what is called "The Establishment."

I am talking about the "new ecology." I am talking about welfare reform. I am talking about population planning and population control. I am talking about giving cities and states a percentage slice of Federal income tax revenue, and of everything else that comes under the heading of "the New Federalism."

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These are revolutionary changes, and they are changes which I believe are not only acquiesced in but demanded by what has come to be known as The Silent Majority.

In fact, if all of the exciting new programs now before the Congress are enacted into law, we will see a greater reform of our political and social system than at any time since the first administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I might add they will have come about because of a new atmosphere of reform that harkens back to another similar era -- the days of Teddy Roosevelt.

Some of these reforms stem from the fact that we have witnessed the demise of the New Deal, as surely as if a curtain had been drawn across the spectacular drama which began with the Great Depression.

We have reached a point where Federal programs have piled upon Federal programs in a mix that constitutes a mess, duplication that has mounted to chaos, a multiplicity of Federal programs that has mayors and State officials groping for Federal help as in a maze.

We are now striving to straighten out that mess, bringing order out of chaos, cutting a direct route through the maze. We are reversing the flow of power. Far too much power has become concentrated in Washington. We are seeking to turn some of that power back to the cities and states.

This is what we call "the New Federalism." It can be found in the Administration's proposed new comprehensive Manpower Training Act, the proposed Family Assistance Act which would turn welfare into "workfare," changes in the unemployment insurance system, and a long overdue Revenue Sharing Act.

This is a fundamental change in Federal policy -- a new approach in manpower training, income maintenance, and Federal aid to cities and States with top priority to local priorities.

We want to return more responsibilities to the States and local communities and to help them with the fiscal burden of shouldering those responsibilities. This is a sharp departure from the New Deal pattern of "the Federal bureaucrat knows best and you'll do it our way or else."

As the President has stated, we want to do this "not as a way of avoiding problems but as a better way of solving problems."

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Last Sept. 24 I joined with more than 75 other members of the U.S. House of Representatives to introduce legislation that will make federally-collected revenues available for percentage sharing with the cities and states. The aim of this legislation is to carry out a proposal made by President Nixon last August 13.

The introduction of this revenue-sharing bill marked the first time in recent history that a concerted effort has been made to give states and local governments funds that will allow them effectively to live up to their commitments to their citizens.

Now, money flowing from the Federal Government to the states is being dispensed in the form of categorical grants, with the Federal Government determining how and where the funds will be spent. The legislation we are seeking would provide additional funds that states and cities could spend as they see fit.

There are those who lack confidence in the ability of states and local governments to spend money effectively or properly. But we have no farther to look than the Federal Government to see how great sums of money have been badly spent on poorly devised programs devised for questionable reasons.

A majority of Americans have lost faith in heavily centralized government. And the cause for that is not hard to find, for in the five years prior to 1969 we saw scores of new Federal programs enacted with tens of thousands of new employees added to Federal payrolls and tens of billions of dollars spent with the avowed aim of healing the Nation's grave social ills. Yet despite this massive infusion of Federally-directed programs and dollars, the problems of our cities deepened into flaming crisis.

I believe more and more Americans are turning away from the central government to their local and State governments as the best way to deal with local and State problems. Yet the Congress has not begun to move on revenue-sharing.

Earlier I mentioned manpower training in connection with the New Federalism. I did so because at present mayors control none of the Federal manpower funds that come into their cities under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act.

In contrast, if the Administration's new Manpower Training Act was fully implemented, the Nation's mayors would have administrative control over about three-quarters of a billion dollars in Federal funds each year.

Instead of a large number of unrelated projects in a certain metropolitan area, we would have one coherent program and one sponsor -- and the sponsor would

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design a mix of services and program components uniquely suited to the needs of the community.

I spoke at the outset about the insatiable desire of Americans to better themselves. This has been translated throughout American history into what I call the work ethic -- the idea that every man worth his salt works for a living if he is able to do so.

One of the most dramatic stories of American heroism unfolded during the Great Depression when millions of families throughout the country found some way to piece together a living.

While most Americans clung to the work ethic throughout the depression, millions were forced onto the dole. Welfare became a way of life for them and for their sons and daughters.

Today we have an opportunity to break the welfare cycle -- to make a viable truth of the principle that it pays to work.

I am speaking of the proposal now before the Congress to wipe out the scandalous welfare hangover of the depression days -- wipe it out by replacing it with the Family Assistance Program, a new plan called "workfare." The new program is called workfare because it encourages people to work.

Under the present welfare system, a poor man who is working can look across the street at a family on welfare getting more for not working.

With workfare, the "disincentive" to work is removed. A poor family with a working member will always get more than a family without a working member.

What we want is to take people off welfare rolls and put them on payrolls. We think these people would rather have a hand up than a handout. They will if the incentive is there.

The workfare program will show us what the dignity of work can do for a human being. And it will help to keep families together. That, alone, will be worth the price we must pay, for the family is the foundation on which our republic is built. If the family is strong, the Nation will be strong.

And as we invest in human resources through the workfare program we must also accept the expensive challenge of restoring the American environment -- cleaning up our air and water and dealing with the solid wastes that clutter up our land.

The challenge of the "new ecology," as it is called, is being taken up by government at all levels, the students in our colleges, and our forward-looking industries.

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It is a challenge that demands far more of us than putting a man on the moon, magnificent as that mission was.

It is far more difficult because it involves far more than the assembling of great brains and technology in pursuit of a clear-cut national goal. It does involve the assembling of a complex technology but it also requires coordination of effort on the part of the Federal, state and local governments.

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