

**The original documents are located in Box D32, folder “Alfred University, Alfred, NY, April 24, 1972” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Press

Secretary

Since South

Viet Nam can not  
defund itself and

Vietnamization

equals increasing

air aid while decreasing  
ground aid how

much closer to place  
are we since Nixon  
took office? Perhaps

the U.S. should  
change its blanket

anti Communist  
attitude in SE Asia.

Comment?



ALFRED UNIVERSITY, ALFRED, N.Y., 8.15 P.M.  
MONDAY, APRIL 24, 1972.

*We are glad to invite  
in the past we have had some  
exceptional speakers  
Taylor*

*We hope you  
can accept.  
We will see  
you there  
standing*

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE  
TONIGHT. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, I FEEL LIKE  
A STATESMAN AND NOT A POLITICIAN.

BUT ACTUALLY A MAN MUST BE A  
GOOD POLITICIAN IF HE IS GOING TO BE A  
STATESMAN, AND THAT IS THE BASIC THRUST  
OF WHAT I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT TONIGHT.

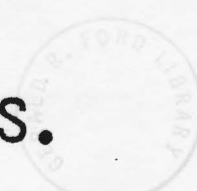
MY SUBJECT IS NEW DIRECTIONS  
FOR THE SEVENTIES -- CHALLENGES FACING  
THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE NATION IN  
THE 1970'S. THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE  
THE NATION ARE INDEED THE CHALLENGES  
FACING THE POLITICAL PARTIES. THE  
POLITICAL PARTY THAT IS MOST SUCCESSFUL  
DURING THE SEVENTIES WILL BE THE PARTY



THAT BEST MEETS THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIMES AND SELLS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON ITS STEWARDSHIP.

IN A POLITICAL SENSE, THERE IS ONE PROBLEM THAT CURRENTLY UNDERLIES ALL OF THE OTHERS. THAT PROBLEM IS MAKING GOVERNMENT SUFFICIENTLY RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE. IF WE DON'T MAKE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE, WE DON'T MAKE IT BELIEVABLE. AND WE MUST MAKE GOVERNMENT BELIEVABLE IF WE ARE TO HAVE A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY.

WE HAVE ALL SEEN MANY AMERICANS BECOME INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM -- AND I SPEAK NOW NOT ONLY OF THE YOUNG BUT OF COUNTLESS OLDER AMERICANS. THEY QUESTION WHETHER IT MATTERS IF THEY DO NOT GO TO THE POLLS.



AND THIS KIND OF QUESTIONING THREATENS  
OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

THERE IS AN ANSWER TO THIS  
QUESTIONING -- AND THAT ANSWER IS TO MAKE  
GOVERNMENT WORK IN A WAY THAT PEOPLE  
CAN SEE AND FEEL.

THE OTHER PARTY MAY COME FORWARD  
WITH ITS OWN IDEAS BUT I PERSONALLY FEEL  
THE BEST CURES FOR POPULAR LETHARGY AND  
VOTER APATHY LIE IN RETURNING POWER TO  
THE PEOPLE AND RESTRUCTURING THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT.

I AM TALKING SPECIFICALLY  
ABOUT NO-STRINGS SHARING OF FEDERAL  
REVENUE WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS  
AND ABOUT AN OVERHAUL OF FEDERAL CABINET  
DEPARTMENTS.

THIS IS NOT VERY SEXY STUFF,  
BUT IT'S WHAT IS NEEDED TO CLOSE THE GAP

BETWEEN PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE IN THE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE  
PEOPLE.

FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING IS A  
CONTINUING FINANCIAL TRANSFUSION THAT  
CAN SAVE OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM AND BRING  
NEW STRENGTH TO GOVERNMENT AT THE  
GRASSROOTS LEVEL. MONEY IS POWER, AND THE  
IDEA IS TO PUT MORE OF THE MONEY WHERE MORE  
OF THE POWER OUGHT TO BE -- AT THE LOCAL  
LEVEL. THE IDEA IS TO PUT THE MONEY WHERE  
THE PROBLEMS ARE, AND IN THAT WAY TO  
SOLVE THEM.


IF WE CAN SOLVE PROBLEMS INSTEAD  
OF JUST TALKING ABOUT THEM, PEOPLE WILL  
BELIEVE IN GOVERNMENT.

THIS IS WHY WE NEED A  
REORGANIZATION OF THE VERY FRAMEWORK OF



THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- TO MAKE IT  
BETTER ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF  
OUR PEOPLE. UNDER THE PLAN I HAVE IN  
MIND, SIX OF THE PRESENT 11 CABINET  
DEPARTMENTS WOULD BE CONSOLIDATED INTO  
FOUR NEW DEPARTMENTS: HUMAN RESOURCES,  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES,  
AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. HEARINGS HAVE BEEN  
CONDUCTED IN THE CONGRESS, AND IT IS  
SAFE TO PREDICT THAT AT LEAST THE NEW  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT WILL SEE  
THE LIGHT OF DAY THIS YEAR.

I SAID EARLIER THAT THE ONLY  
WAY TO MAKE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BELIEVERS  
IN THEIR GOVERNMENT IS TO LICK OUR  
PROBLEMS. SURELY ONE OF THE BIGGEST  
PROBLEMS OF ALL IS THE PRESENT WELFARE  
SYSTEM, WHICH IS LIKE POURING MONEY  
THROUGH A SIEVE.





WE MUST REFORM OUR ANTIQUATED  
AND DEMEANING WELFARE SYSTEM. THE  
PRESENT SYSTEM IS A SCANDAL. IT JUST  
ISN'T WORKING. NOBODY IS FOR A SYSTEM  
THAT MAKES IT MORE ATTRACTIVE TO BE ON  
WELFARE THAN TO WORK.

THE ANSWER, I THINK, IS THE  
ADMINISTRATION'S NEW FAMILY ASSISTANCE  
PLAN -- A PLAN TIED TO THE WORK ETHIC,  
A PLAN THAT ENCOURAGES FAMILIES TO STAY  
TOGETHER, A PLAN THAT WOULD PUT A FLOOR  
UNDER THE INCOME OF EVERY FAMILY IN  
AMERICA. IT IS THE KEY TO TAKING PEOPLE  
OFF WELFARE ROLLS AND PUTTING THEM ON  
PAYROLLS. IT IS THE MEANS TO A LIFE OF  
DIGNITY FOR LOW-INCOME AMERICANS.

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT MOVING  
PEOPLE FROM WELFARE ROLLS TO PAYROLLS,



IT IS ONLY NATURAL WE SHOULD SPEAK ALSO  
OF WHAT I CALL "THE NEW PROSPERITY" --  
PROSPERITY IN PEACETIME.

SELDOM IN THE HISTORY OF THE  
UNITED STATES HAVE WE HAD PEACE AND  
PROSPERITY AT THE SAME TIME. PROSPERITY  
HAS USUALLY COME WITH A WARTIME ECONOMY,  
A BOOMING DEFENSE INDUSTRY. WE ARE NOW  
TRYING TO ACHIEVE PROSPERITY AT THE SAME  
TIME THAT WE END OUR INVOLVEMENT IN A  
COSTLY AND TRAGIC WAR.

WHAT ARE WE DEALING WITH? WE  
ARE SEEKING TO BRING UNDER CONTROL AN  
INFLATION THAT ROARED AHEAD ALMOST  
UNCHECKED BETWEEN 1965 AND 1969. WE ARE  
SEEKING TO STIMULATE AN ECONOMY THAT HAS  
BEEN THROTTLED BACK AS WE HAVE FOUGHT  
INFLATION, HAVE PARTIALLY SHUT DOWN OUR

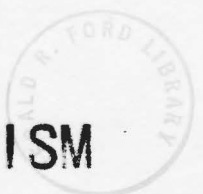


DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND HAVE CUT OUR FIGHTING FORCES BY A MILLION MEN.

THE CHALLENGE THAT FACES THE  
TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE  
SEVENTIES IS WHETHER WE MAKE  
INFLATION-FIGHTING WORK WHILE AT THE  
SAME TIME STIMULATING THE ECONOMY TO  
BRING ABOUT PEACETIME PROSPERITY.

WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD PRICE STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY DESPITE POLITICAL IN-FIGHTING AND THE NATURAL RELUCTANCE OF SOME AMERICANS TO SEE A PRESIDENT OF THE OPPOSITE POLITICAL PERSUASION SUCCEED IN MEETING ONE OF THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES OF OUR TIMES.

I THINK PHASE 2 OF OUR  
INFLATION FIGHT IS WORKING. IT HAS A  
LOT GOING FOR IT, DESPITE OBSTRUCTIONISM



ON THE PART OF ORGANIZED LABOR. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE THE STIMULUS OF THE TAX CUTS REQUESTED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AND ENACTED BY THE CONGRESS. THIS SHOULD ULTIMATELY MEAN THE CREATION OF THOUSANDS OF NEW JOBS.

CERTAINLY ONE OF OUR KEY PROBLEMS -- AND ONE OF THE CHALLENGES OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES -- IS THE RESTORATION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. WE HAVE ALREADY TAKEN GIANT STEPS TOWARD CLEANER AIR THROUGH PASSAGE OF THE CLEAN AIR AMENDMENTS OF 1970. NOW WE MUST FOCUS ON THE NEED TO CLEAN UP THE NATION'S WATERWAYS. WE MUST TAKE EVERY FEASIBLE ACTION NECESSARY TO MAKE OUR LAKES AND STREAMS CLEAN AGAIN. IN SUM, WE MUST ENTER UPON A NEW "GET TOUGH" ERA IN THE



EFFORT TO RESTORE CLEAN AIR, CLEAN WATER AND OPEN SPACES -- SO THAT THESE ELEMENTS WILL, AS THE PRESIDENT PUTS IT, "ONCE AGAIN BE THE BIRTHRIGHT OF EVERY AMERICAN."

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY OTHER URBAN ILLS -- CRIME, POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, INADEQUATE HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION. THESE MUST BE ATTACKED ON A REGIONAL BASIS, RATHER THAN IN PIECEMEAL FRAGMENTED FASHION.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS CAN WORK TOGETHER AS ONE IN ATTACKING CRIME, IMPROVING TRANSPORTATION AND HOUSING, FINDING JOBS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED THROUGH METROPOLITAN AREA JOB CENTERS.

NEW ATTITUDES ARE ALSO NECESSARY AT OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

STATE AND FEDERAL OFFICIALS  
MUST COME TO REALIZE THAT THE PROBLEMS  
OF THE CITY GO FAR BEYOND SPECIFIC SLUM  
AREAS AND SOCIAL ILLS. CITY METROPOLITAN  
AREA GOVERNMENTS MUST BE GIVEN THE  
RESOURCES -- MONEY AND AUTHORITY -- TO  
SOLVE THE LARGER PROBLEMS OF THE WHOLE  
COMMUNITY.

FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING IS  
THE KEY TO SUCH LOCAL PROBLEM-SOLVING.  
AND THERE MUST BE A CUTTING OF CONTROLS  
FROM WASHINGTON AND STATE CAPITOLS IF  
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ARE TO HAVE THE  
FLEXIBILITY TO GET THE JOB DONE.

THERE IS STILL ANOTHER KEY  
PROBLEM WHERE INITIATIVE MUST BE TAKEN  
AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL. THAT IS THE  
PROBLEM OF HEALTH CARE. PROGRESS IS



BEING MADE. WITH BIPARTISAN SUPPORT,  
THE CONGRESS LAST YEAR ENACTED THE MOST  
COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH MANPOWER  
LEGISLATION IN THE NATION'S HISTORY.  
THIS NEW HEALTH MANPOWER PROGRAM IS  
DESIGNED TO WIPE OUT THE ESTIMATED  
SHORTAGE OF 50,000 DOCTORS BY 1978 AND TO  
INCREASE THE NUMBER OF NURSES BY 400,000  
BY 1980.

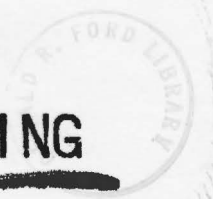
BUT THE HEALTH MANPOWER SHORTAGE  
IS ONLY PART OF THE CHALLENGE THAT FACES  
US. THE FACTS ARE THAT OUR ENTIRE  
HEALTH DELIVERY SYSTEM NEEDS IMPROVING.

ONE OF THE MAJOR PARTIES  
WOULD MEET THE CHALLENGE BY PUTTING THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN CHARGE OF THE  
ENTIRE HEALTH DELIVERY SYSTEM AND  
UNDERWRITING ALL HEALTH CARE THROUGH



THE FEDERAL TREASURY. MY PARTY WOULD  
EXPAND THE GOVERNMENT ROLE OF FINANCING  
CARE FOR THE HELPLESS AND NEEDY WHILE  
IMPROVING BASIC HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE  
FOR ALL OTHERS. ~~EMPLOYERS WOULD PAY THE~~  
~~BULK OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE~~  
~~FOR ALL OTHERS.~~ EMPLOYERS WOULD PAY THE  
BULK OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE PREMIUMS  
FOR THE WORKING POPULATION. CATASTROPHIC  
ILLNESSES WOULD BE COVERED UP TO  
\$50,000 FOR EACH FAMILY MEMBER. THE  
PLAN ALSO WOULD STRESS PREVENTIVE  
MEDICINE -- KEEPING PEOPLE HEALTHY  
INSTEAD OF SENDING THEM INTO HOSPITALS  
WITH MINOR AILMENTS AND THUS ESCALATING  
THE NATION'S HEALTH CARE BILL.

MY PARTY BELIEVES THE HEALTH  
CARE PROBLEM CAN BEST BE MET BY IMPROVING



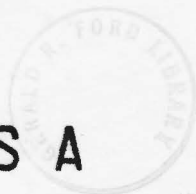


THE PRESENT SYSTEM, NOT BY SCRAPPING IT  
AND ERECTING A FEDERAL BUREAUCRATIC  
STRUCTURE IN ITS PLACE.

WE HAVE BEEN TALKING SOLELY  
ABOUT CHALLENGES ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE.  
LET US TURN NOW TO THE FOREIGN ARENA.

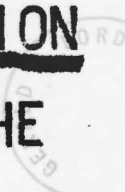
THE CHALLENGE IN FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS IS TO BUILD A FOUNDATION FOR  
FUTURE PEACE WHILE REPELLING EFFORTS BOTH  
ON THE RIGHT AND ON THE LEFT TO SHUNT  
AMERICA OFF INTO A NEW POSTURE OF  
ISOLATIONISM. WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR  
POSITION OF LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD IF  
THE WORLD IS TO HAVE ANY CHANCE TO LIVE  
IN PEACE.

A NEW QUALITY OF REALISM NOW  
DOMINATES AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. WE  
HAVE AGREED TO ACCEPT MAINLAND CHINA AS A



SOVEREIGN NATION, ADJUSTING OUR POLICIES IN ASIA TO MEET CHANGED ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS THERE. FOLLOWING OUR MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM, WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SUPPORT UNDER THE NIXON DOCTRINE FOR OUR NON-COMMUNIST FRIENDS IN ASIA.

IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, NEW REALISM ON BOTH SIDES HAS RECOGNIZED A MUTUAL INTEREST IN REDUCING THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT AN AGREEMENT ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF NUCLEAR MISSILES WILL RESULT FROM THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. SHOULD THESE TALKS INDEED PROVE SUCCESSFUL, THEY WILL SHOW THAT WITH HARD BARGAINING AND DILIGENT NEGOTIATION WE CAN AVOID A NEW UPWARD SPIRAL OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.



THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE  
UNITED STATES HAVE CHANGED DRASTICALLY  
WITH PRESIDENT NIXON'S ██████ VISIT  
TO CHINA AND HIS PLANNED TRIP TO THE  
SOVIET UNION ON ██████ MAY 22. ██████  
██████ CONSULTED WITH OUR FREEDOM  
PARTNERS IN ADVANCE OF HIS TRIP. ██████  
██

IN ANNOUNCING HIS VISIT TO  
MOSCOW, THE PRESIDENT REFERRED TO  
"RECENT ADVANCES IN BILATERAL AND  
MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING THE  
TWO COUNTRIES." IT IS SAFE TO ASSUME  
THIS INCLUDED THE SALT TALKS.

SOURCES CLOSE TO THE TALKS  
INDICATE A GOOD PROSPECT FOR A LIMIT ON  
OFFENSIVE MISSILES.



I AM CONVINCED THE BARGAINING FROM STRENGTH CARRIED ON BY THE ADMINISTRATION AT SALT HAS EARNED THE RESPECT OF THE RUSSIANS. THE PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT TODAY ARE RELATED, IN MY VIEW, TO OUR OWN DECISION TO PROCEED WITH STRATEGIC WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT -- INCLUDING THE ABM SYSTEM -- DURING THESE TALKS.

WE ARE TURNING FROM AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION TO AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION. BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION IN MY MIND THAT NEGOTIATION WILL PROVE FRUITFUL ONLY IF WE NEGOTIATE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. THIS IS THE LESSON WHICH IS LOST ON THE NEO-ISOLATIONISTS.

WE ARE ACHIEVING SUCCESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS BECAUSE WE ARE CONTINUING

TO SHOW THE WORLD THAT WE ARE DETERMINED  
TO DISCHARGE AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITIES.

WE DID NOT WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM  
EUROPE IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREEMENT FOR  
MUTUAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL.

WE STOOD UP TO RUSSIA IN THE  
SYRIA-JORDAN CRISIS IN OCTOBER OF 1970.

WE REINFORCED THE SIXTH FLEET TO  
COMPENSATE FOR RUSSIAN MOVES.

WE ARE NOT GOING TO LET RUSSIAN  
EXPANSIONISM IN THE INDIAN OCEAN GO  
UNANSWERED.

CURRENTLY WE ARE RESPONDING TO  
THE CHALLENGE POSED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE  
INVASION OF SOUTH VIETNAM. THIS WAS A  
CHALLENGE THAT COULD NOT GO UNANSWERED.

WE COULD NOT ABANDON OUR ALLY IN  
THE FACE OF AN INVASION THAT BLATANTLY

VIOLATED THE GENEVA ACCORDS OF 1954 AND  
THE "UNDERSTANDINGS" WHICH LED TO THE  
U.S. BOMBING HALT OF 1968. WE COULD NOT  
ALLOW THE INVASION TO GO UNCHECKED WHILE  
THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS STILL ARE IN  
VIETNAM.

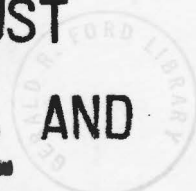
WHAT AMAZES ME IS THE FACT THAT  
SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CONDEMN THE  
PRESIDENT FOR GOING TO THE AID OF SOUTH  
VIETNAM WITH AIR AND SEA POWER INSTEAD  
OF CONDEMNING THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FOR  
INVADING THE SOUTH.

IT IS ALSO DISHEARTENING THAT  
THE UNITED NATIONS HAS UTTERED NOT ONE  
WORD OF PROTEST CONCERNING THE INVASION  
STAGED BY NORTH VIETNAM AGAINST ANOTHER  
SOVEREIGN STATE.



IN MY VIEW, THE VERBAL ATTACKS  
MADE ON THE PRESIDENT BY CRITICS OF HIS  
VIETNAM POLICY ARE COMPLETELY  
IRRESPONSIBLE. FOR THOSE WHO LABEL  
THE VIETNAM WAR IMMORAL TO COMPLETELY  
IGNORE THE IMMORALITY OF THE NORTH  
VIETNAMESE INVASION OF SOUTH VIETNAM  
IS ABSOLUTELY INCREDIBLE.

WHERE DOES THE FAULT LIE FOR  
THE PRESENT ESCALATION OF FIGHTING IN  
THE VIETNAM WAR? IT CERTAINLY DOES NOT  
LIE WITH A PRESIDENT WHO HAS REDUCED THE  
NUMBER OF U.S. TROOPS IN VIETNAM FROM  
543,000 TO 85,000 AND IS INTENT ON  
REDUCING THE NUMBER TO 69,000 OR LESS BY  
MAY 1. IF WE ARE TO PROPERLY ASSIGN THE  
BLAME, WE MUST LOOK ELSEWHERE. WE MUST  
LOOK AT THE AGGRESSOR, NORTH VIETNAM, AND



ITS CHIEF MILITARY SUPPLIER, THE SOVIET UNION.

THERE IS A SIMPLE REMEDY FOR THE UPSURGE IN FIGHTING IN VIETNAM. LET THE NORTH VIETNAMESE STOP THE INVASION, THE U.S. STOP THE BOMBINGS, AND LET BOTH SIDES COME TOGETHER AGAIN AT THE PEACE TABLE IN PARIS. THE PRESIDENT WOULD WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RESUME THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE CHALLENGE THAT FACES US IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS THAT WE CONTINUE TO ASSERT WORLD LEADERSHIP IN THE FACE OF NEO-ISOLATIONISM, WELL-MEANING BUT MISTAKEN PACIFISM AND RADICAL-LED PROTEST MOVEMENTS AIMED AT HELPING THE OTHER SIDE.

THESE, THEN, ARE THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND



THE NATION IN THE SEVENTIES.

WE MUST PUT THE NATION ON A NEW  
COURSE, TAKE HER IN NEW DIRECTIONS THAT  
POINT TOWARD A NEW ERA OF GREATNESS FOR  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE MUST LAY A FOUNDATION FOR  
PROSPERITY WITHOUT WAR AND WE MUST BUILD  
A NEW STRATEGY FOR PEACE.

OUR GOALS ARE CLEAR. OUR  
PURPOSE IS STRONG. WITH THE HELP OF THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE CANNOT FAIL.

-- END --



~~Reading Copy~~ Office Copy

ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.  
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AT ~~THE~~ *Alfred University*  
~~CLINIC PATHOLOGIC SOCIETY~~ *Alfred, N.Y.*

~~6:30 P.M. FEBRUARY 15, 1972~~

*8:15 p.m. Monday, April 24, 1972*

FOR RELEASE AT *8:15 p.m. Mon*  
~~8:30~~ ~~TUESDAY~~

It is a pleasure to be here tonight. In this atmosphere, I feel like a statesman and not a politician.

But actually a man must be a good politician if he is going to be a statesman, and that is the basic thrust of what I am going to talk about tonight.

My subject is New Directions for the Seventies--challenges facing the political parties and the Nation in the 1970's. The challenges that face the nation are indeed the challenges facing the political parties. The political party that is most successful during the Seventies will be the party that best meets the challenges of our times and sells the American people on its stewardship.

In a political sense, there is one problem that currently underlies all of the others. That problem is making Government sufficiently responsive to the people. If we don't make government responsive to the people, we don't make it believable. And we must make government believable if we are to have a functioning democracy.

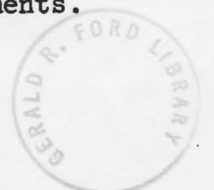
We have all seen many Americans become increasingly skeptical of our political system--and I speak now not only of the young but of countless older Americans. They question whether it matters if they do not go to the polls. And this kind of questioning threatens our democratic system.

There is an answer to this questioning--and that answer is to make government work in a way that people can see and feel.

The other party may come forward with its own ideas but I personally feel the best cures for popular lethargy and voter apathy lie in returning power to the people and restructuring the Federal Government.

I am talking specifically about no-strings sharing of Federal revenue with state and local governments and about an overhaul of Federal cabinet departments.

(more)



This is not very sexy stuff, but it's what is needed to close the gap between promise and performance in the relationship between government and the people.

Federal revenue sharing is a continuing financial transfusion that can save our federal system and bring new strength to government at the grassroots level. Money is power, and the idea is to put more of the money where more of the power ought to be--at the local level. The idea is to put the money where the problems are, and in that way to solve them.

If we can solve problems instead of just talking about them, people will believe in government.

This is why we need a reorganization of the very framework of the Federal Government--to make it better able to deal with the problems of our people. Under the plan I have in mind, six of the present 11 cabinet departments would be consolidated into four new departments: Human Resources, Community Development, Natural Resources, and Economic Affairs. Hearings have been conducted in the Congress, and it is safe to predict that at least the new Community Development Department will see the light of day this year.

I said earlier that the only way to make the American people believers in their government is to lick our problems. Surely one of the biggest problems of all is the present welfare system, which is like pouring money through a sieve.

We must reform our antiquated and demeaning welfare system. The present system is a scandal. It just isn't working. Nobody is for a system that makes it more attractive to be on welfare than to work.

The answer, I think, is the Administration's new Family Assistance Plan--a plan tied to the work ethic, a plan that encourages families to stay together, a plan that would put a floor under the income of every family in America. It is the key to taking people off welfare rolls and putting them on payrolls. It is the means to a life of dignity for low-income Americans.

When we talk about moving people from welfare rolls to payrolls, it is only natural we should speak also of what I call "the new prosperity"--prosperity in peacetime.

Seldom in the history of the United States have we had peace and prosperity at the same time. Prosperity has usually come with a wartime economy, a booming defense industry. We are now trying to achieve prosperity at the same time that we end our involvement in a costly and tragic war.

(more)

What are we dealing with? We are seeking to bring under control an inflation that roared ahead almost unchecked between 1965 and 1969. We are seeking to stimulate an economy that has been throttled back as we have fought inflation, have partially shut down our defense industries and have cut our fighting forces by a million men.

The challenge that faces the two major political parties in the Seventies is whether we make inflation-fighting work while at the same time stimulating the economy to bring about peacetime prosperity.

We are making progress toward price stability and economic prosperity despite political in-fighting and the natural reluctance of some Americans to see a President of the opposite political persuasion succeed in meeting one of the biggest challenges of our times.

I think Phase 2 of our inflation fight is working. It has a lot going for it, despite obstructionism on the part of organized labor. At the same time, we have the stimulus of the tax cuts requested by President Nixon and enacted by the Congress. This should ultimately mean the creation of thousands of new jobs.

Certainly one of our key problems---and one of the challenges of both political parties--is the restoration of our environment. We have already taken giant steps toward cleaner air through passage of the Clean Air Amendments of 1970. Now we must focus on the need to clean up the nation's waterways. We must take every feasible action necessary to make our lakes and streams clean again. In sum, we must enter upon a new "get tough" era in the effort to restore clean air, clean water and open spaces---so that these elements will, as the President puts it, "once again be the birthright of every American."

There are, of course, many other urban ills--crime, poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing and transportation. These must be attacked on a regional basis, rather than in piecemeal fragmented fashion.

Local governments can work together as one in attacking crime, improving transportation and housing, finding jobs for the unemployed through metropolitan area job centers.

New attitudes are also necessary at other levels of government.

State and federal officials must come to realize that the problems of the city go far beyond specific slum areas and social ills. City metropolitan area governments must be given the resources--money and authority--to solve the larger problems of the whole community.

(more)

Federal revenue sharing is the key to such local problem-solving. And there must be a cutting of controls from Washington and State capitols if local governments are to have the flexibility to get the job done.

There is still another key problem where initiative must be taken at the Federal level. That is the problem of health care. Progress is being made. With bipartisan support, the Congress last year enacted the most comprehensive health manpower legislation in the nation's history. This new health manpower program is designed to wipe out the estimated shortage of 50,000 doctors by 1978 and to increase the number of nurses by 400,000 by 1980.

But the health manpower shortage is only part of the challenge that faces us. The facts are that our entire health delivery system needs improving.

One of the major parties would meet the challenge by putting the Federal Government in charge of the entire health delivery system and underwriting all health care through the Federal Treasury. My party would expand the government role of financing care for the helpless and needy while improving basic health insurance coverage for all others. Employers would pay the bulk of the health insurance premiums for the working population. Catastrophic illnesses would be covered up to \$50,000 for each family member. The plan also would stress preventive medicine--keeping people healthy instead of sending them into hospitals with minor ailments and thus escalating the nation's health care bill.

My party believes the health care problem can best be met by improving the present system, not by scrapping it and erecting a Federal bureaucratic structure in its place.

We have been talking solely about challenges on the domestic scene. Let us turn now to the foreign arena.

The challenge in foreign affairs is to build a foundation for future peace while repelling efforts both on the Right and on the Left to shunt America off into a new posture of isolationism. We must maintain our position of leadership in the world if the world is to have any chance to live in peace.

A new quality of realism now dominates American foreign policy. We have agreed to accept Mainland China as a sovereign nation, adjusting our policies in Asia to meet changed economic and political conditions there. Following our military withdrawal from Vietnam, we will continue to provide support under the Nixon Doctrine for our non-Communist friends in Asia.

(more)

In our relations with the Soviet Union, new realism on both sides has recognized a mutual interest in reducing the risk of nuclear war. There are signs that an agreement on the deployment of nuclear missiles will result from the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Should these talks indeed prove successful, they will show that with hard bargaining and diligent negotiation we can avoid a new upward spiral of the nuclear arms race.

The foreign relations of the United States have changed drastically with President Nixon's upcoming visit to China and his planned trip to the Soviet Union in late May. The President also has consulted with our Free World partners in advance of his trips to the summit in Peking and Moscow.

In announcing his visit to Moscow, the President referred to "recent advances in bilateral and multilateral negotiations involving the two countries." It is safe to assume this included the SALT Talks.

Sources close to the Talks indicate a good prospect for limiting anti-ballistic missile systems on both sides and a fair prospect for a limit on offensive missiles.

I am convinced the bargaining from strength carried on by the Administration at SALT has earned the respect of the Russians. The prospects for agreement today are related, in my view, to our own decision to proceed with strategic weapons development--including the ABM system--during these Talks.

We are turning from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. But there is no question in my mind that negotiation will prove fruitful only if we negotiate from a position of strength. This is the lesson which is lost on the neo-isolationists.

We are achieving success in foreign affairs because we are continuing to show the world that we are determined to discharge America's responsibilities.

We did not withdraw troops from Europe in the absence of an agreement for mutual troop withdrawal.

We stood up to Russia in the Syria-Jordan crisis in October of 1970.

We reinforced the Sixth Fleet to compensate for Russian moves.

We are not going to let Russian expansionism in the Indian Ocean go unanswered

~~what we are telling the Soviet Union and the world is that we will not allow the other super-power to gain any advantages and we will continue to lead the world toward peace.~~

(more)



Currently we are responding to the challenge posed by the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam. This was ~~the~~ a challenge that could not go ~~unanswered~~ unanswered.

We could not abandon our ally in the face of an invasion that ~~is~~ blatantly ~~violated~~ violated the Geneva Accords of 1954 and the "Understandings" which led to the U.S. bombing halt of 1968. We could not allow the invasion to go unchecked while thousands of U.S. troops still are in Vietnam.

What amazes ~~me~~ me is the fact that some members of Congress condemn the President for going to the aid of South Vietnam with air and sea power instead of condemning the North Vietnamese for invading the South.

It is also disheartening that the United ~~Nations~~ Nations has uttered not one word of ~~protest~~ <sup>concerning</sup> protest ~~against~~ the invasion staged by North Vietnam against another sovereign state.

In my view, the verbal attacks made on the President by critics of his Vietnam policy are completely irresponsible. For those who label the Vietnam War immoral to completely ~~ignore~~ ignore the immorality of the North Vietnamese ~~invasion~~ invasion of South Vietnam is absolutely incredible.

Where does the fault lie for the present escalation of fighting in the Vietnam War? ~~It~~ It certainly does not lie with a President who has reduced the number of U.S. troops ~~in~~ in Vietnam from 543,000 to 85,000 and is ~~intending~~ <sup>intention</sup> to reducing the number to 69,000 or less by May 1. If we are to properly assign the blame, we must look ~~elsewhere~~ elsewhere. We must look at the aggressor, North Vietnam, and its chief military supplier, the Soviet Union.

There is a simple remedy for the upsurge in fighting in Vietnam. Let the North Vietnamese <sup>The U.S. stop the bombing</sup> stop the invasion and let ~~both~~ both sides come together again at the peace table in Paris. The President would welcome this opportunity ~~to~~ to resume the negotiations.



~~is~~ <sup>T</sup>he challenge that faces us in foreign affairs <sup>is</sup> that we continue to assert world leadership in the face of neo-isolationism, well-meaning but mistaken pacifism and radical-led protest movements aimed at helping the other side.

These, then, are the challenges that face the major political parties and the nation in the Seventies.

We must put the nation on a new course, take her in new directions that point toward a new era of greatness for the American people.

We must lay a foundation for prosperity without war and we must build a new strategy for peace.

Our goals are clear. Our purpose is strong. With the help of the American people, we cannot fail.

###