

The original documents are located in Box D24, folder “Debate with Senator Gore, Arizona State University, April 28, 1968” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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NOTES FOR DEBATE WITH SORE
AT ARIZ. STATE UNIV. 4/28/68.

YOU HAVE ALL HEARD, TIME AND AGAIN, THE CRY THAT WE ARE FACING AN URBAN CRISIS. THE UNFORTUNATE PART OF THIS REPETITION IS THAT WE BECOME INURED TO THE FACT THAT THERE IS A CRISIS AND THAT UNLESS SOMETHING IS DONE, AND DONE SOON, OUR CITIES WILL NO LONGER BE CENTERS OF CULTURE AND COMMERCE BUT WILL BECOME CESSPOOLS OF CRIME AND CORRUPTION -- HOLDING DOWN AMERICA'S PROGRESS RATHER THAN FURTHERING IT.

UNTIL THE LEADERS OF OUR NATION, AND THIS MEANS PRIMARILY YOU, THE COLLEGE TRAINED MEN AND WOMEN, BECOME SUFFICIENTLY AROUSED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS, THE PROBLEMS WILL CONTINUE TO GROW UNCHECKED. IT IS SO MANY OF A REAL SHAME THAT/THOSE WHO HAVE GOTTEN SO MUCH FROM OUR COUNTRY ARE UNWILLING TO DO ANYTHING TO HELP OTHERS WHO NEED HELP. TOO MANY, STUDENTS AS WELL AS FACULTY, SIT HERE IN A NICE, SAFE ACADEMIC ATMOSPHERE AND PONTIFICATE ABOUT GREAT ISSUES WITHOUT EVER REALLY GETTING INVOLVED.

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SINCE THE TOPIC "THE URBAN CRISIS" ENCOMPASSES SO MANY PROBLEMS AND I DO WANT TO SAVE SOME TIME TO ANSWER QUESTIONS, LET ME LIMIT MY REMARKS TO THREE KEY PROBLEMS -- CRIME, EMPLOYMENT, AND EDUCATION.

(CRIME) BEFORE I GET INTO THE MEASURES WHICH THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE HAS PROPOSED TO COMBAT CRIME, PERMIT ME TO QUICKLY SKETCH THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM AND BRIEFLY COMPARE THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROMISES WITH ITS ACTUAL PERFORMANCE.

IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, OUR POPULATION GREW BY 11%, BUT OUR CRIME RATE GREW BY 83% -- ALMOST 8 TIMES THE RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH!! THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE ESTIMATED THAT THE TOTAL COST OF CRIME EACH YEAR IN THE UNITED STATES PROBABLY EXCEEDS 50 BILLION DOLLARS -- THAT'S RIGHT, 50 BILLION DOLLARS EVERY YEAR! ALTHOUGH NO ONE WILL CLAIM THAT CRIME CAN EVER BE COMPLETELY

ELIMINATED, I KNOW OF NO ONE WHO FEELS THAT OUR SOCIETY CAN CONTINUE TO PERMIT THIS RATE OF INCREASE WITHOUT UNDERMINING THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SOCIETY.

NOR IS PHOENIX EXEMPT FROM THE CLIMBING CRIME RATE. ACCORDING TO THE UNIFORM CRIME REPORT, PUBLISHED BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, IN 1966, ALONE, 2,810 CRIMES WERE REPORTED. HOW MANY OTHERS WERE NOT REPORTED NO ONE KNOWS, ALTHOUGH WE DO KNOW THAT MANY MORE CRIMES ACTUALLY OCCUR THAN ARE EVER REPORTED.

I MUST COMMEND THE PRESIDENT. HE RECOGNIZED THAT AN URBAN CRIME PROBLEM DOES EXIST. UNFORTUNATELY, AS IS TYPICAL OF MOST OF THE THINGS THE ADMINISTRATION DOES, ALL WE GOT WERE PROMISES OF ACTION.

LET ME ENUMERATE SOME OF THE PROMISES AND THEN YOU TELL ME HOW MANY OF ~~THEM~~ THEY WERE CARRIED OUT. IN 1964, ACCEPTING THE DEMOCRATIC

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, PRESIDENT JOHNSON PLEDGED "THE FULL RESOURCES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT" TO CONTROL CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS. IN 1965, HE PROMISED A RELENTLESS ATTACK ON ORGANIZED CRIME. IN 1966, A THREE-STAGE NATIONAL STRATEGY TO CONTROL CRIME WAS PROMISED. IN 1967, SAFE STREETS WERE PROMISED. IN 1968, PUBLIC SAFETY WAS PROMISED. IF ANY OF THESE PROMISES WERE CARRIED OUT, I DON'T KNOW OF THEM.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION HAS IGNORED AND FAILED TO IMPLEMENT MANY VITAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, A COMMISSION PERSONALLY SELECTED AND APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO EXAMINE "EVERY FACET OF CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN AMERICA".

HOWEVER, ~~THE~~ REPUBLICANS ARE NOT CONTENT TO MERELY POINT OUT
~~THEXEMPTXNXXX~~

THE EMPTYNESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROMISES. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT POSSESS THE ABILITY TO CALL UPON THE VAST FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY FOR HELP IN DEVELOPING IDEAS, WE CAN CALL UPON MANY CONCERNED CITIZENS WHO ARE WILLING TO GET INVOLVED AND WHO ARE NOT ENMESHED IN OLD, NEW DEAL MYTHS WHICH HAVE LITTLE OR NO RELATION TO OUR PRESENT SOCIETY.

(CRIMINAL JUSTICE) TO IMPROVE THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED . . .

1. A FUNDAMENTAL REVISION OF THE RULES OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE AND THE LAWS GOVERNING APPELLATE REVIEW OF CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS IN ORDER TO SET FORTH, CLEARLY, THE LIMITS TO INTERROGATION AT THE SCENE OF THE CRIME, DURING THE INVESTIGATION AND AT THE STATION HOUSE AND TO PREVENT ENDLESS DELAYS DURING APPEALS OVER INSIGNIFICANT TECHNICALITIES.

2. INNOVATION AND IMPROVEMENT IN JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION. [#]COURT ADMINISTRATION MUST MOVE FROM THE ERA OF THE LEDGER TO THE ERA OF THE COMPUTER.

> ~~FORSETHILL OFFICE~~ TO CRACK DOWN ON ORGANIZED CRIME WHICH HAS FLOURISHED FOR TOO LONG IN TOO MANY OF OUR MAJOR CITIES, WHICH, I MIGHT ADD, ARE UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL, THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED. . .

1. IMMEDIATE ENACTMENT OF A BILL WHICH I AM PROUD TO HAVE CO-SPONSORED, H.R. 13275, WHICH WOULD OUTLAW ALL PRIVATE WIRETAPPING BUT WOULD AUTHORIZE "ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE IN SPECIFIC CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS BY LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS ACTING UNDER STRICT COURT SUPERVISION."

2. ENACTMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN-SPONSORED CRIME IMMUNITY BILL WHICH WOULD ALLOW A WITNESS TO BE GRANTED IMMUNITY FROM PROSECUTION IN RETURN FOR WHICH HE WOULD BE REQUIRED TO TESTIFY OR FACE JAIL FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT.


3. PASSAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL TO LESSEN THE TOO RIGID
PROOF REQUIREMENTS IN PERJURY CASES.

4. ENACT ^{ment of} THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD ALLOW FEDERAL PROSECUTORS
TO APPEAL COURT RULINGS SURPRESSING EVIDENCE.

5. PASSAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH FEDERAL
RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES IN ORDER TO PROTECT WITNESSES AND THEIR FAMILIES
FROM RETALIATION BY THE MOB.

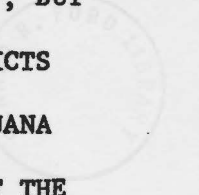
6. ENACTMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE HEAVIER PENALTIES
TO CONVICTED GANG LEADERS.

7. AND PASSAGE OF THE GOP SPONSORED PLAN TO CREATE A PERMANENT
JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZED CRIME.



HOWEVER, I THINK WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CANNOT
SUPPLY THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF CRIME IN THE CITIES. BOTH STATE AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MUST FURNISH THE PRIMARY IMPETUS. THE STATES, WITH AS
MUCH FEDERAL AID AS IS NECESSARY, SHOULD DIRECT AND COORDINATE THE WAR
AGAINST CRIME. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DEVELOP NEW AND IMPROVED
TECHNIQUES OF CRIME CONTROL, BUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE NEW
TECHNIQUES MUST BE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

ONE OTHER MAJOR CRIME PROBLEM FOUND PRIMARILY IN THE CITIES IS THE
QUESTION OF DRUG ABUSE. I REALIZE THAT MANY STUDENTS TODAY FEEL THERE IS
NOTHING WRONG WITH "BLOWING A LITTLE GRASS" OR ^{SMOKING} ~~SMOKING~~ A LITTLE "POT", BUT
THERE IS. ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE CONVENIENT TO IGNORE ALL THE DRUG ADDICTS
DOWN IN THE REHABILITATION HOSPITAL IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, MARIJUANA
CAN LEAD TO SUCH AN END. FOR THIS REASON, I, ALONG WITH THE REST OF THE



REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP WANT TO INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF RESEARCH THAT GOES INTO THE CAUSES AND CURES OF NARCOTICS ADDICTION AND WANT TO CUT DOWN ON THE AMOUNT OF DRUG TRAFFIC WHICH HAS RUINED SO MANY LIVES.

(TRANSITION) IF I MAY SHIFT GEARS NOW, ^{I WOULD LIKE TO} ~~FOCUS~~ ^{INADEQUATE} UPON THE ROOT CAUSE OF MANY OF THE URBAN PROBLEMS. OF COURSE, I AM REFERRING TO ^{TO} EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEGED WHO MAKE UP SUCH A LARGE PORTION OF THE URBAN POPULATION.

(JOBS) THE FIRST THING THAT MUST BE DONE BECAUSE IT WILL HAVE THE MOST IMMEDIATE IMPACT IS TO FIND JOBS FOR THE URBAN POOR. UNFORTUNATELY, THE PRESENT PROGRAMS ARE BOTH EXPENSIVE AND INEFFECTIVE. BEFORE I GO ON TO THE WORKABLE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES, LET ME FOCUS UPON ONE PROGRAM WHICH THE DEMOCRATS POINTED TO WITH GREAT PRIDE BUT WHICH TYPIFIES THE TYPICAL DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM CONCEIVED IN HASTE AND RAISED IN CONFUSION.

(JOB CORP) I AM SPEAKING OF THE JOB CORP. THE JOB CORP IS ONE OF THE MOST EXPENSIVE OF THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. IT IS ADMINISTERED BY THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY WITH ASSISTANCE FROM FEDERAL, STATE, ~~AND~~ LOCAL AND PRIVATE AGENCIES. IT IS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE EDUCATION, SKILL TRAINING AND WORK EXPERIENCE IN AN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING. IN A MAY 1967 SURVEY CONDUCTED FOR THE JOB CORP, ONLY 56% OF A GROUP OF JOB CORPS GRADUATES WERE WORKING UPON LEAVING THE JOB CORPS WHILE 47% HAD BEEN WORKING BEFORE ENTERING. ~~FOR~~ FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1966-67, THE JOB CORPS WAS AUTHORIZED TO ^{BUT} SPEND \$211 MILLION, ~~IT~~ IT ACTUALLY SPENT \$355 MILLION ~~OF~~ ^{IF THE JOB CORPS GROUP} YOUR PARENT'S HARD EARNED TAX DOLLARS. ~~WHICH WAS STUDIED WAS TYPICAL OF ALL THE TRAINEES. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE~~ OBVIOUSLY ARE GETTING A PITIFULLY SMALL RETURN FOR THEIR INVESTMENT. I THINK THIS SHOULD PROVE TO ALL THAT JUST POURING MONEY INTO A PROBLEM AREA IS NO SOLUTION. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A WELL THOUGHT OUT

ALTERNATIVE, SUCH AS ~~THE~~ ^{3/}REPUBLICAN OFFER. LET ME ~~CITE~~ ^{CITE} A FEW PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE COME FROM THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND SEE IF YOU DON'T AGREE THAT THEY MAKE A LOT MORE SENSE THAN THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF MONEY AND MORE MONEY.

1. FIRST, IN ORDER TO ELIMINATE A LOT OF WASTE AND CONFUSION, THE JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS OF THE OEO SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO EXISTING AGENCIES WHERE COMPETANT PROFESSIONALS ARE AVAILABLE TO RUN THESE PROGRAMS EFFECTIVELY.

2. A ~~NEW~~ ~~MAXIMUM~~ CONTINUING NATIONAL JOB OPPORTUNITY SURVEY SHOULD CONDUCTED BE ~~EXXEXEXE~~ TO COLLECT DATA ON JOB MARKET CONDITIONS AND DEVELOPING JOB NEEDS, TO BE MADE AVAILABLE TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATORS FOR USE IN FUTURE TRAINING PROGRAMS.

4. TEENAGERS SHOULD BE OFFERED UP TO TWO YEARS OF TRAINING IN NEEDED NEW SKILLS. THIS SHOULD BE OPEN TO HIGH SCHOOL AND NON-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES.

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IN ORDER TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO ALTERNATE CLASSROOM TRAINING WITH APPRENTICE TRAINING, EMPLOYERS SHOULD RECEIVE A CREDIT AGAINST THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX FOR PART OF THE WAGES PAID ENROLLES.

5. ALTERNATIVELY, A ~~NEW~~ TWO YEAR FULL TIME APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY GIVING A PARTIAL TAX CREDIT TO EMPLOYERS WHO ARE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE.

6. EXISTING LABOR LAWS SHOULD BE RE-EXAMINED AND CHANGED TO PERMIT PART TIME EMPLOYMENT NECESSARY TO ENABLE SOME YOUNG PEOPLE TO CONTINUE IN SCHOOL AND TO MEET FINANCIAL NEEDS WHILE UNDERGOING A VALUABLE WORK EXPERIENCE.

7. DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT MUST BE ELIMINATED.

8. PERSONS RECEIVING AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN SHOULD BE GIVEN GREATER ENCOURAGEMENT TO INCREASE THEIR INCOMES BY TAKING JOBS AND

THEREBY WORK TOWARD ~~THE~~ BECOMING SELF-SUFFICIENT.

9. FINALLY, VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND JOB RETRAINING PROGRAMS SHOULD BE EXPANDED IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE ON PUBLIC RELIEF ROLLS TO BECOME SELF-RELIANT.

THROUGHOUT HISTORY, AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS STOOD OUT BECAUSE THEY STOOD ON THEIR OWN TWO FEET. IT IS IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION THAT EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. UNFORTUNATELY, SOME OF THE GHETTO DWELLERS ARE REALLY OUTSIDE OF THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT AND HAVE NOT DEVELOPED THE SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE AND THE DESIRE FOR AN EDUCATION WHICH HAVE HELPED AMERICA DEVELOP. WHAT ~~THE~~ REPUBLICAN^S PROPOSE IS TO GIVE THESE PEOPLE AN OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE, TO ADVANCE WITH THE REST OF AMERICANS AND TO PARTAKE OF SOME OF THE BENEFITS OUR SOCIETY HAS MADE POSSIBLE.

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NUMBERS
THIS CANNOT BE DONE MERELY BY POURING VAST ~~SUMS~~₁ OF OUR HARD EARNED DOLLARS INTO THE GHETTOS. ALTHOUGH NO ONE WILL DENY CORRECTING THE OVERSIGHTS OF THE PAST WILL BE EXPENSIVE, THE KEY IS TO PROVIDE JOBS AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES SO THAT THESE PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP THE PRIDE AND ABILITY TO ADVANCE IN SOCIETY AND INCULCATE IN THEIR CHILDREN THE IDEAS WHICH MADE AMERICA GREAT. MERELY POURING IN MONEY DEFEATS THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM BECAUSE IT ENCOURAGES DEPENDENCE AND AGGRAVATES THE SITUATION BY ENCOURAGING THESE PEOPLE'S CHILDREN TO FOLLOW THE PATTERNS OF DEPENDENCE SET BY THEIR PARENTS.

TIME IS RUNNING SHORT SO LET ME IN CONCLUSION MENTION THREE BROAD PRINCIPALS
~~PROGRAMS~~ WHICH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS EMBRACED:

1. FIRST, THE ENORMOUS RESOURCES AND STRENGTH OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE MUST BE BROUGHT TO BEAR AGAINST THE MANY-FACETED PROBLEM OF THE SLUM. MERE

LIP SERVICE TO PRIVATE ENTERPRIZE IS NOT ENOUGH. OUR NATIONAL POLICY MUST BE THOROUGHLY REORIENTED TO GENERATE THE MAXIMUM INVOLVMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR -- BUSINESS, LABOR, THE PROFESSIONS, AND OUR NON-PROFIT ASSOCIATIONS -- IN URBAN IMPROVEMENT. THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD EMPHASIZE REINFORCEMENT AND GUARANTEE, RATHER THAN EXECUTION AND CONTROL.

2. SECOND, A NEW NATIONAL EFFORT MUST FOCUS ON HOME OWNERSHIP FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOW POOR. A CENTURY AGO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PASSED THE HOMESTEAD ACT, WHICH POPULATED THE PRAIRIES OF THE WEST WITH FREE AND INDEPENDENT FARMERS. NOW THE OPPORTUNITY FOR HOME OWNERSHIP AND THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH IT, MUST BE OPENED TO THOSE PRESENTLY BEHOLDEN TO THE SLUM LORD^g OR CONFINED TO TENANCY IN SOMBER AND IMPERSONAL PUBLIC HOUSING. FOR HOME OWNERSHIP -- WHETHER IT BE A SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE, OR A CONDOMINIUM APARTMENT, OR A SHARE IN A HOUSING COOPERATIVE -- BRINGS PRIDE AND DIGNITY AND INDEPENDENCE.

A MAN WITH SOMETHING TANGIBLE OF HIS OWN HAS ROOTS, AND A STAKE IN HIS COMMUNITY, ITS STABILITY AND ITS PROGRESS.

3. THIRD, THE POOR PEOPLE OF OUR URBAN SLUMS MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO ACTIVELY INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN SELF-HELP PROGRAMS LEADING TO BETTER HOUSING, DECENT JOBS, AND ECONOMIC SECURITY. THIS TASK WILL NOT BE EASY. BUT NO LONGER CAN WE TOLERATE A GOVERNMENTAL PHILOSOPHY INTENT ON DOING THINGS FOR PEOPLE, UNCONCERNED WITH HELPING ~~THEM~~ PEOPLE TO LEARN HOW TO DO THINGS FOR THEMSELVES. SELF-HELP MEANS SELF-ESTEEM. IT MEANS AN END TO "WELFARE PATERNALISM". IT MEANS THAT A POOR MAN CAN ADVANCE THROUGH HIS OWN EFFORTS.

NOTES

ARIZONA STATE UNIV. APR. 28, 1968

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Gerald R. Ford
M.C.

DEBATE WITH
SENATOR GORE

