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56TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
OF THE U.S.

MAY 1, 1968

"ISSUES OF 1968"

PRESIDENT BLUNT, MR. CHAIRMAN,  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR GENEROUS INTRO-  
DUCTION.

I'M ALWAYS A LITTLE UNCOMFORTABLE  
ABOUT BEING PRESENTED TO A MIXED AUDIENCE AS  
"THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE."

ALL YOU <sup>lovely</sup> LADIES KNOW WHO THE MINORITY  
LEADER OF THE HOUSE IS -- A HUSBAND.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THOUGH, WE  
HUSBANDS KNOW VERY WELL WHO'S THE REAL "SPEAKER  
OF THE HOUSE."

SINCE I'M SIMPLY A POTENTIAL  
CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS FROM THE FIFTH DISTRICT



OF MICHIGAN AND FOR SPEAKER OF THE NEXT  
REPUBLICAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, I'M  
HONORED TO SHARE THIS HOUR WITH THE "NEXT-TO-  
NEWEST" DECLARED CONTENDER FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

*The 1968 Presidential snafus*  
QUIT SINCE I LEFT MY OFFICE 15 MINUTES AGO.

<sup>1</sup> YOU ~~KNOW~~, THE LAST TIME VICE  
PRESIDENT HUMPHREY AND I WERE PAIRED ON A  
PROGRAM I FORMALLY ASSURED HIM THAT I HAD NO  
DESIGNS ON HIS ~~PRESIDENT~~ <sup>AS VICE PRESIDENT.</sup> JOB, SINCE THEN, IT'S  
TURNED OUT THAT ~~NOBODY HAS~~ HE DIDN'T EITHER.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ I REALLY WELCOME OUR DISTINGUISHED  
VICE-PRESIDENT S DECISION/TO OFFER HIMSELF TO  
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY/AS THE CONSERVATIVE <sup>DEMOCRATS'</sup> ONLY  
CHOICE,||THE LAST-DITCH DEFENDER OF THE  
CONFEDERATE DOLLAR,||THE LIFE-LONG FOE OF  
M<sup>C</sup>CARTHYISM|AND THE WHOLLY INVOLUNTARY CHAMPION  
OF THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION..

YOU CAN'T HELP BUT ADMIRE|A FIRST  
MATE WHO STANDS ON THE BURNING DECK|AFTER ~~EVERY~~

EVERYBODY FROM CAPTAIN TO CABIN BOY HAS FLED.  
IF ANYONE CAN EXTRACT A CAMPAIGN THEME OF  
"HAPPINESS AND JOY" FROM SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES I  
CANNOT CAST THE FIRST STONE. ~~AT HIM.~~

BESIDES, BOBBY ALREADY HAS.

AFTER ALL THAT'S HAPPENED ON THE  
POLITICAL SCENE LATELY, ANYONE WHO KEEPS ON  
MAKING PREDICTIONS ABOUT THE 1968 CAMPAIGN IS  
EITHER A FOOL OR A WASHINGTON COLUMNIST OR  
BOTH. (NO DISRESPECT INTENDED TO MR. LLOYD  
JONES.)

BUT THERE IS ONE SIGN THAT STANDS  
OUT LIKE A SORE THUMBPRINT ON EVERYBODY'S  
CRYSTAL BALL || THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FED UP  
AND FEARFUL || ~~YES,~~ THEY ARE ANXIOUS AND ANGRY,  
ABOUT THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING WITH THEIR  
COUNTRY.

LIKE A GATHERING SUMMER STORM, A  
POWERFUL DEMAND AND DETERMINATION FOR CHANGE IS  
STIRRING ALL ACROSS OUR LAND. AND IT IS FAR



FROM CERTAIN\ WHERE THIS PENT-UP FORCE WILL  
STRIKE,\| WHETHER ITS CONSEQUENCES WILL BE\| FOR  
GOOD OR EVIL.\| THESE ARE THE TIMES,\| AS TOM PAINE  
SAID,\| THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS \|- SOMETIMES THEY  
SUMMON PATRIOTS TO ACTION,\| AND SOMETIMES\| THEY  
RAISE DEMAGOGUES TO POWER. \|\

I AM GLAD THAT YOU ASKED ME TO TALK  
~~TODAY~~ ABOUT THE ISSUES OF 1968. THERE IS A  
VERY REAL DANGER IN THIS ERA OF INSTANTANEOUS  
MASS COMMUNICATIONS THAT THE BASIC AND  
FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE MAY GET  
LOST IN THE EXCITEMENT OF<sup>A</sup> RLP-SNORTING, BARE-  
KNUCKLE, NO-HOLDS-BARRED, PERSONAL FISTFIGHT FOR  
POLITICAL POWER. ISSUES ARE IMPORTANT. AND  
PART OF THE TROUBLE WE ARE IN TODAY STEMS FROM  
THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN TOO LONG FUZZED UP  
AND GLOSSED OVER.

YOUR PROGRAM OVER THE PAST THREE  
DAYS HAS BEEN TREMENDOUSLY IMPRESSIVE. IT IS  
ISSUE-ORIENTED AND ACTION-ORIENTED. I DARESAY

THE BRAINS AND EXPERIENCE, THE RESOURCES AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE ENERGIES REPRESENTED IN THIS ROOM AND BY THOSE WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN YOUR PREVIOUS PROGRAMS COULD NOT BE DUPLICATED IN ANY OTHER CAPITAL CITY IN THE WORLD TODAY.

UNFORTUNATELY, I MUST ALSO SAY THE RECENT SCENES OF ANARCHY AND SENSELESS DESTRUCTION WITNESSED ONLY A FEW BLOCKS AWAY FROM THIS HOTEL COULD NOT BE DUPLICATED TO SUCH A DEGREE IN ANY OTHER WORLD CAPITAL -- EXCEPT PERHAPS BY THE RED GUARD ~~OUTRAGES~~ <sup>RAMPAGES</sup> IN PEIPING.

THAT IS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE GAP BETWEEN THE VISION OF AMERICA WE HAVE ALWAYS CHERISHED AND THE WAY IT REALLY IS IN 1968.

ISSUES IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN ARE NOT MADE BY POLITICIANS.

THERE ARE NO "REPUBLICAN ISSUES" AND "DEMOCRATIC ISSUES." THERE ARE ONLY AMERICAN ISSUES AND THEY EMERGE FROM EVENTS. AN ISSUE ARISES WHEN MATTERS OF PUBLIC CONTROVERSY

ARE RIPE FOR DECISION. THUS THE ISSUES OF 1968 ARE NOT DULL ABSTRACTIONS -- THEY ARE DEMANDS FOR ACTION.

I BELIEVE THERE ARE AT LEAST FOUR KEY ISSUES OF THE 1968 CAMPAIGN ALREADY EVIDENT. THEY ARE ISSUES WHICH AFFECT EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD AND PERHAPS UNBORN AMERICANS AS WELL.

POSSIBLY WE CAN BE GRATEFUL THESE UNBORN GENERATIONS CANNOT VOTE, CONSIDERING THE <sup>some of</sup> WAY THEIR UNWED MOTHERS AND UNWASHED FATHERS HAVE BEEN BEHAVING LATELY ON OUR COLLEGE CAMPUSES.

AMERICANS ARE GOING TO ASK WHAT THEIR NEXT NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IS GOING TO DO TO PROTECT THEIR LIVES, THE SAFETY OF THEIR HOMES AND THEIR WORLDLY GOODS, THEIR SECURITY ON THE PUBLIC STREETS AND AT WORK AND WORSHIP AND PLAY. THEY ARE GOING TO INSIST THERE BE ONE STANDARD OF JUSTICE FOR ALL. THEY ARE GOING TO ASK WHETHER THE LAW WILL BE ENFORCED FIRMLY AND FAIRLY FOR THE PROTECTION OF LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS



OR WITH A SPECIAL TOLERANCE FOR CERTAIN TYPES OF LAWBREAKERS. THEY ARE GOING TO EXPECT FROM THEIR FUTURE LEADERS AN EXAMPLE OF RESPECT FOR LAW AND DECISIVE ACTION TO PREVENT TROUBLE BEFORE IT STARTS. UNJUST LAWS CAN BE CHANGED BY DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. BUT THEY CANNOT BE DEFIED.

THIS IS GOING TO BE A MAJOR ISSUE OF 1968, PERHAPS EVEN LARGER THAN IT ALREADY LOOMS. I AM A LAWYER BY PROFESSION AS WELL AS A LAWMAKER BY INCLINATION <sup>of counsel</sup> AT THE SUFFERANCE OF MY CONSTITUENTS. THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO WAS CERTAINLY NO REACTIONARY AND WHOSE MANUAL STILL GUIDES OUR LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES IN THE CONGRESS, ONCE OBSERVED THAT THE EXECUTION OF THE LAWS IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE MAKING OF THEM. WHAT WE NEED MOST TODAY ARE NOT MORE LAWS, ~~THE~~ PERHAPS BETTER LAWS, <sup>BUT</sup> ~~THE~~ CERTAINLY BETTER EXECUTION OF THE LAWS WE HAVE. I PROFOUNDLY BELIEVE THAT LAW IS THE BASIS OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY. I BELIEVE THAT LAW EXISTS TO PROTECT

THE WEAK, THAT IT PROVIDES A MINORITY WITH ITS ONLY SURE SHIELD AGAINST THE TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY. WHATEVER THE GRIEVANCES OF ANY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP, HOWEVER MUCH HE MAY HAVE BEEN WRONGED, THERE IS NO SAFETY FOR HIM OR FOR ANY OF US OUTSIDE THE LAW.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD ON THE ISSUE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IS A PROPER SOURCE OF PRIDE FOR ME AS OUR PARTY LEADER IN THE HOUSE. THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD IS PUZZLING, TO SAY THE LEAST. REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES GREATLY STRENGTHENED AND IMPROVED THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSED LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT OF 1967, NOTABLY BY REQUIRING THAT FEDERAL FUNDS BE CHanneled THROUGH THE STATES WHICH UNDER THE CONSTITUTION HAVE THE PRIMARY ROLE <sup>OF</sup> ~~IN~~ POLICE POWER. ALTHOUGH THIS REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE AND CHANGE WON THE SUPPORT OF 49 OF THE 50 GOVERNORS, THE HOUSE BILL HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO LANGUISH IN THE SENATE. DESPITE <sup>There has been this tragic delay</sup> NEWARK, DESPITE <sup>1</sup> DETROIT, DESPITE THE SECOND BURNING OF WASHINGTON



AND ~~THE~~<sup>A</sup> HUNDRED OTHER DISTURBANCES, BECAUSE THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL WANTS TO DOLE OUT THE MONEY DIRECTLY TO CITY POLITICIANS. SIMILARLY, THE REPUBLICAN-SPONSORED FEDERAL ANTI-RIOT BILL, WHICH PASSED THE HOUSE OVERWHELMINGLY IN 1966, AND AGAIN IN 1967, WAS ONLY RECENTLY ENACTED BY THE SENATE AS PART OF THE 1968 CIVIL RIGHTS PACKAGE.

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IS JUST ONE ASPECT, OF COURSE, OF THE WIDE ARRAY OF PRESSING PROBLEMS FACING OUR CITIES. IT IS SMALL COMFORT TO OBSERVE THAT THE BIG CITIES OF AMERICA HAVE LONG BEEN THE CITADELS OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL POWER. WHATEVER ELSE, THE DEMOCRATS HAVE NOT SOLVED THE MUSHROOMING PROBLEMS OF OUR METROPOLITAN AREAS AND THEIR EFFORTS HAVE IN FACT MULTIPLIED OUR URBAN PROBLEMS.

AS JOHN W. GARDNER COMMENTED SHORTLY BEFORE HE RESIGNED AS SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE: "THERE IS BITTERNESS AND

ANGER TOWARD OUR INSTITUTIONS THAT WELLS UP WHEN HIGH HOPES TURN SOUR. CYNICISM CONCERNING ALL LEADERS, ALL OFFICIALS, ALL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IS CONTINUALLY FED AND RENEWED BY THE RAGE OF PEOPLE WHO EXPECT TOO MUCH AND GOT TOO LITTLE."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BEEN IN POWER IN THE WHITE HOUSE FOR 27 OF THE LAST 35 YEARS, FOR 29 OF THOSE YEARS IN CONGRESS, FOR ALL BUT TWO YEARS OF THE 20 I HAVE SERVED IN THE HOUSE. DURING THOSE YEARS THE DEMOCRATS HAVE POURED BILLIONS UPON BILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF *YOUR* FEDERAL MONEY INTO PROGRAMS SUPPOSEDLY DESIGNED TO SOLVE THE VERY PROBLEMS THAT ARE ERUPTING INTO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE TODAY. IF IT IS TRUE NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS, WHAT WE ARE WITNESSING NOW IS THAT NOTHING FAILS SO SPECTACULARLY AS FAILURE.

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, THE FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR AND A LIBERAL WHO NOW HEADS THE HARVARD-MIT JOINT CENTER FOR

URBAN AFFAIRS, HAS STATED FRANKLY: "LIBERALS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ACQUIRE FROM LIFE WHAT CONSERVATIVES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ENDOWED WITH AT BIRTH, NAMELY, HEALTHY SKEPTICISM OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO DO GOOD. WE MUST ABANDON THE NOTION THAT THE NATION, ESPECIALLY THE CITIES OF THE NATION, CAN BE RUN FROM AGENCIES IN WASHINGTON."

THIS IS PRECISELY THE REPUBLICAN APPROACH. REPUBLICANS PROPOSE -- AND IN SOME RECENT LEGISLATIVE VICTORIES HAVE ACTUALLY SUCCEEDED -- IN DECENTRALIZING OUR ATTACK ON AMERICA'S COMPLEX PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE DEFIED THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY FOR TWO GENERATIONS.

REPUBLICANS WOULD REDIRECT THESE COSTLY AND INEFFECTIVE PROGRAMS THROUGH BLOCK GRANTS AND REVENUE-SHARING THAT WOULD FUNNEL FEDERAL FUNDS TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO MEET LOCAL NEEDS.

THE PROBLEMS OF EACH OF OUR 50





STATES, OF OUR THOUSANDS OF CITIES AND COUNTIES AND OTHER JURISDICTIONS, ARE NOT IDENTICAL. AND NO BUREAUCRAT IN WASHINGTON IS COMPETENT TO PRESCRIBE <sup>or write 2 constructive prescriptions</sup> FOR ALL OF THEM. THE REPUBLICAN BLOCK-GRANT APPROACH HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY INCORPORATED INTO THE FEDERAL COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH ACT, THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, THE AIR QUALITY AND MEAT INSPECTION ACTS OF THE LAST SESSION AND THE PREVIOUSLY-MENTIONED LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ACT NOW HANGING FIRE IN THE SENATE.

A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION AND A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS WOULD RESTORE EVEN MORE AUTHORITY AND LEEWAY IN PROBLEM SOLVING TO STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, ~~UNDER A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION~~ ALONG WITH THE NECESSARY FEDERAL FUNDS. WE WOULD DO THIS NOT BECAUSE OF A STERILE IDEOLOGICAL DEVOTION TO STATE'S RIGHTS BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE EXPERIENCE HAS PROVED THE PRESENT WAY -- MASSIVE FEDERAL MISMANAGEMENT

FROM WASHINGTON -- WASTES TIME AND MONEY AND DOESN'T SOLVE THE PROBLEMS.

TO MOVE ON TO A THIRD ISSUE OF 1968, RELATED TO CRIME AND THE CRISIS OF OUR CITIES, AND TO SOME DEGREE (THOUGH THE EVIDENCE IS CONFLICTING) CONNECTED WITH RACIAL DISTURBANCES, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF FINDING JOBS FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED. HERE THE DEMOCRATS LOOK, AS ALWAYS, TO THE APPLICATION OF MORE FEDERAL MONEY FILTERED THROUGH MORE FEDERAL PROGRAMS. THOUGH RECENTLY THERE HAS BEEN SOME "BOBBY-COME-LATELY" LIP SERVICE TO PRIVATE INDUSTRY PROGRAMS.

I DON'T NEED TO DESCRIBE TO THIS AUDIENCE THE SUCCESSES OF MANY LOCAL PROGRAMS ENLISTING THE RESOURCES OF BUSINESS AND LABOR AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN TRAINING AND MATCHING MEN AND JOBS. NOR DO I NEED TO DWELL ON THE SHABBY PERFORMANCE AND SHOCKING SCANDALS THAT HAVE PLAGUED THE OVERPUBLICIZED POVERTY WAR



APPROACH OF THE DEMOCRATS. I NEED ONLY SAY THAT THE AFFIRMATIVE REPUBLICAN RESPONSE TO THIS ISSUE WOULD GREATLY EXPAND PRIVATE PARTICIPATION THROUGH TAX INCENTIVES SUCH AS THOSE IN ~~THE~~<sup>OUR</sup> HUMAN INVESTMENT ACT AND OTHER PROPOSALS.

NEXT IN OUR SURVEY OF THE ISSUES OF 1968 COMES THE ONE WHICH PERHAPS SHOULD BE PLACED FIRST. BECAUSE UNLESS IT CAN BE RESOLVED SUCCESSFULLY ALL THE REST GO BY THE BOARDS.

I SPEAK NOW OF THE URGENT NECESSITY OF RESTORING, AFTER SEVEN YEARS, SOME SEMBLANCE OF FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR FEDERAL BUDGET. WE ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE, AS YOU KNOW, HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS FOR YEARS. WE'RE STILL TRYING AND <sup>WE</sup> WON'T GIVE UP.

WE HAVE BEEN REWARDED FOR OUR CONCERN BY PRESIDENTIAL TAUNTS OF OBSTRUCTIONISM AND "WOODEN SOLDIERS OF THE STATUS QUO." WHAT THE GREAT SPENDERS NEVER WILL ACKNOWLEDGE, AND

MOST PEOPLE DON'T REALIZE, IS THAT DEMOCRATIC INFLATION SINCE PRESIDENT EISENHOWER LEFT OFFICE HAS CLIPPED THE SOCIAL SECURITY CHECKS OF EVERY SENIOR CITIZEN, THE PENSIONS OF EVERY DISABLED VETERAN, THE WELFARE BENEFITS OF EVERY NEEDY FAMILY AND THE SAVINGS AND FIXED INCOMES OF EVERY AMERICAN BY NEARLY 20 CENTS OUT OF EVERY DOLLAR.

NO WONDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON HIMSELF DESCRIBED INFLATION AS "THE CRUELEST TAX OF ALL." IT IS TAKEN PRIMARILY FROM THE PITTANCES OF THE POOR. BUT TO THIS HOUR HE PERSISTS IN USING THIS CRUEL TAX TO PAY FOR THE HEAVY BURDENS OF A MAJOR WAR IN VIETNAM WITHOUT BEING WILLING TO FOREGO THE FRILLS OF SPENDING AS USUAL ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT.

TO BE SURE, THE PRESIDENT NOW SEEKS A 10% SURTAX ON THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX. THE PROSPECT OF AT LEAST ANOTHER \$20 BILLION DEFICIT THIS COMING FISCAL YEAR HAS TOUCHED OFF A



CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE THAT THREATENS THE AMERICAN DOLLAR IN WORLD MARKETS. AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, WILLIAM McCHESNEY MARTIN, RECENTLY CURLED THE HAIR OF EVERY AMERICAN OVER 50 BY WARNING THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS THAT "THE NATION IS IN THE MIDST OF THE WORST FINANCIAL

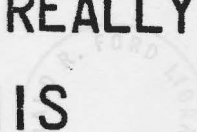


X CRISIS SINCE 1931."

MR. MARTIN SAID "WE HAVE BEEN LIVING IN A FOOLS PARADISE" AND THAT CONTINUED FAILURE TO PUT OUR FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER MIGHT WELL LEAD "TO UNCONTROLABLE INFLATION AND EVENTUAL DEFLATION OR DEPRESSION."

IF WHAT MR. MARTIN AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION EXPERTS AND LEADING ECONOMISTS SAY PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY IS EVEN HALF CORRECT, WE CANNOT MAKE PARTISAN CAPITAL OF OUR FISCAL CRISIS -- WE MUST DO SOMETHING TO CORRECT IT NOW. IT IS TRUE THE DEMOCRATS IN 1932 DELIBERATELY WITHHELD THEIR COOPERATION AND LET THE WORLDWIDE FINANCIAL PANIC WORSEN AND THE DOMESTIC DEPRESSION DETERIORATE FROM NOVEMBER TO MARCH UNTIL THEIR ADMINISTRATION COULD BE INAUGURATED. I CANNOT BELIEVE ANY REPUBLICAN WOULD ADVOCATE REPAYING THIS IN KIND TODAY.

BUT IF PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS REALLY REMOVED HIMSELF FROM PARTISAN POLITICS THIS





YEAR, IF HE REALLY WANTS REPUBLICAN SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS FOR MEANINGFUL FISCAL REFORMS, HE MUST NOW LAY IT ON THE LINE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE MY COOPERATION, AND THAT OF THE REPUBLICAN MINORITY, WHEN HE TELLS THE NATION PLAINLY THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO PAY THE PIPER. THAT HE WANTS REAL AND SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN FEDERAL SPENDING AND IN FUTURE SPENDING AUTHORITY. THAT HE WILL SET REALISTIC PRIORITIES FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS IN THE FACE OF WARTIME DEMANDS. AND THAT ALL THIS WILL GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE TAX INCREASE HE CONSIDERS NECESSARY.

UNLESS WE CAN WORK TOGETHER <sup>IN CONGRESS</sup> DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS, TO HEAD OFF THE DANGER TO OUR DOLLAR AND OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY — WITH THE PRESIDENT'S FULL PUBLIC SUPPORT, THIS TOO WILL BE A MAJOR ISSUE OF 1968. IF LBJ PUTS POLITICS FIRST IT COULD BE THE ISSUE FOR



THE NEXT 35 YEARS. (INSERT)

I HAVE COME TO THE END OF MY CATALOG OF ISSUES WITHOUT TOUCHING ON VIETNAM. THERE IS A <sup>VERY</sup> FINE LINE WHICH SOME OF US WHO STILL BELIEVE IN OLD-FASHIONED PATRIOTISM TRY TO OBSERVE WHEN OUR COUNTRY IS AT WAR AND MORE THAN HALF A MILLION AMERICANS ARE INVOLVED.

I STILL FIND NO FAULT WITH THE COUNSEL OF THE LATE GENERAL MACARTHUR THAT "ANYBODY WHO COMMITS THE LAND POWER OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CONTINENT OF ASIA OUGHT TO HAVE HIS HEAD EXAMINED." BUT WE ARE THERE. I MUST ALSO SAY THAT ANYONE WHO JEOPARDIZES OR DELAYS THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THAT CONFLICT FOR A FEW LONG-HAIRED VOTES OUGHT TO HAVE NOT ONLY HIS HEAD BUT HIS HEART EXAMINED.

ONLY THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF CAN CONDUCT A WAR INVOLVING AMERICAN LIVES AND THE RECORD IS CLEAR THAT I HAVE <sup>EARLY AND</sup> DISAGREED <sup>^</sup> OFTEN WITH THE WAY THIS WAR HAS BEEN

CONDUCTED. BUT OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVE NOW IS TO BRING NORTH VIETNAM TO THE PEACE TABLE. I WILL DO NOTHING TO DISRUPT ~~THE~~ THIS EFFORT.

OUR TOTAL DEFENSE POSTURE, THE FAILURES OF THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION TO ATTEND TO LONG-RANGE MILITARY NEEDS OR TO MEET SUCH CHALLENGES AS THE CAPTURE OF THE PUEBLO AND THE SOVIET PENETRATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST, ARE AND SHOULD BE PROPER SUBJECTS FOR CAMPAIGN DISCUSSION. BUT TIME FORBIDS IT TODAY.

PERSONAL SAFETY, ECONOMIC STABILITY, NATIONAL SECURITY, NEW DIRECTIONS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES, CREATE JOBS AND STRENGTHEN LAW ENFORCEMENT, THESE ARE SOME OF THE ISSUES THAT ARE STIRRING THE WINDS OF CHANGE IN AMERICA. THEY ARE VERY IMPORTANT AND FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES AND THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES OVER THEM HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED IN ACTIONS AS WELL AS WORDS.

I THINK REPUBLICANS REFLECT THE



FEELINGS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THESE ISSUES AT THIS POINT IN HISTORY. I DO NOT BELIEVE AMERICANS WILL BUY THE SILLY IDEA THAT THE CHANGES THEY WANT CAN BE ENSURED THROUGH A SIMPLE SWITCH OF NAMES AT THE TOP OF THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET. I FEEL IT IN MY BONES THAT WE ARE GOING TO WIN A RESOUNDING MANDATE IN NOVEMBER -- NOT A REPUBLICAN/ <sup>VICTORY</sup> BUT A VICTORY FOR AMERICA.

I WAS ASKED TO MAKE A PARTISAN SPEECH HERE TODAY, AS SPOKESMAN FOR MY PARTY, AND I HAVE. BUT PARTISANSHIP HAS TO STOP SOMEWHERE.

THE THINGS THAT UNITE US AS AMERICANS ARE FAR MORE ENDURING THAN THE THINGS THAT DIVIDE US -- EVEN IN AN ELECTION YEAR.

AS THE CAMPAIGN GETS HOTTER, LET'S ALL REMEMBER TO SINGE BUT NEVER TO BURN....THAT NOT JUST THE HIPPIES, BUT ALL OF US, WOULD RATHER MAKE LOVE THAN WAR....THAT BOTH DEMOCRATS

AND REPUBLICANS ARE STRIVING TOGETHER TO CREATE  
A MORE PERFECT UNION, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE  
FOR ALL.

OUR UNWRITTEN COMPACT OF RESPECT  
FOR THE CONVICTIONS OF OTHERS, AND FAITH IN THE  
DECENCY OF OTHERS, ALLOWS AMERICANS THE LUXURY  
OF RUGGED POLITICAL COMPETITION. LET'S ALL  
WORK TO BANISH WAR FROM OUR SHRINKING WORLD AND  
HATE FROM OUR EXPANDING HEARTS -- TO MAKE THIS  
WHOLE PLANET AS FULL OF FRIENDSHIP AND FELICITY  
AS THIS ROOM TODAY.

THANK YOU.

-END-







# NEWS RELEASE

## *M Office Copy* 56<sup>th</sup> ANNUAL MEETING

Chamber of Commerce of the United States  
April 28 - May 1, 1968 / Washington, D.C.

FOR AFTERNOON RELEASE  
Wednesday, May 1, 1968

Contact: News Department  
659-6233

Remarks of: The Honorable Gerald R. Ford, Minority Leader  
United States House of Representatives  
Representative from Michigan

#69

Before: Luncheon - Your Decision in '68  
Wednesday, May 1, 1968  
Sheraton-Park Hotel, Sheraton Hall

*Office Copy*



# "ISSUES OF 1968"

By: Gerald R. Ford

President Blount, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Thank you for your generous introduction.

I'm always a little uncomfortable about being presented to a mixed audience as "the Minority Leader of the House."

All you ladies know who the minority leader of the house is -- a husband!

On the other hand, though, we husbands know very well who's the real "Speaker of the House."

Since I'm simply a potential candidate for Congress from the Fifth District of Michigan and for Speaker of the next Republican House of Representatives, I'm honored to share this hour with the "next-to-newest" declared contender for the Presidency.

I hope nobody else has entered or quit since I left my office 15 minutes ago.

You know, the last time Vice President Humphrey and I were paired on a program I formally assured him that I had no designs on his present job. Since then, it's turned out that nobody has.

I really welcome our distinguished Vice President's decision to offer himself to the Democratic Party as the conservative's only choice, the last-ditch defender of the Confederate dollar, the life-long foe of McCarthyism and the wholly involuntary champion of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

You can't help but admire a First Mate who stands on the burning deck after everybody from Captain to Cabin Boy has fled. If anyone can extract a campaign theme of "happiness and joy" from such circumstances I cannot cast the first stone at him.

Besides, Bobby already has.

After all that's happened on the political scene lately anyone who keeps on making predictions about the 1968 campaign is either a fool or a Washington columnist, or both. (No disrespect intended to Mr. Lloyd Jones!)

But there is one sign that stands out like a sore thumbprint on everybody's crystal ball -- the American people are fed up and fearful, yes, they are anxious and angry, about the way things are going with their country.

Like a gathering summer storm, a powerful demand and determination for change is stirring all across our land. And it is far from certain where this pent-up force will strike, whether its consequences will be for good or evil. These are the times, as Tom Paine said, that try men's souls -- sometimes they summon patriots to action, and sometimes they raise demagogues to power.

I am glad that you asked me to talk today about the issues of 1968. There is a very real danger in this era of instantaneous mass communications that the basic and fundamental issues of our national life may get lost in the excitement of a rip-snorting, bare-knuckle, no-holds-barred personal

(more)

fistfight for political power. Issues are important, and part of the trouble we are in today stems from the fact that they have been too long fuzzed up and glossed over.

Your program over the past three days has been tremendously impressive. It is issue-oriented and action-oriented. I daresay the brains and experience, the resources and the constructive energies represented in this room and by those who have participated in your previous programs could not be duplicated in any other capital city in the world today.

Unfortunately, I must also say the recent scenes of anarchy and senseless destruction witnessed only a few blocks away from this hotel could not be duplicated to such a degree in any other world capital -- except perhaps by the Red Guard outrages in Peiping.

That is the magnitude of the gap between the vision of America we have always cherished and the way it really is in 1968.

Issues in a political campaign are not made by politicians.

There are no "Republican issues" and "Democratic issues." There are only American issues and they emerge from events. An issue arises when matters of public controversy are ripe for decision. Thus the issues of 1968 are not dull abstractions -- they are demands for action.

I believe there are at least four key issues of the 1968 campaign already evident. They are issues which affect every man, woman and child and perhaps unborn Americans as well.

Possibly we can be grateful these unborn generations cannot vote, considering the way their unwed mothers and unwashed fathers have been behaving lately on our college campuses.

Americans are going to ask what their next national leadership is going to do to protect their lives, the safety of their homes and their worldly goods, their security on the public streets and at work and worship and play. They are going to insist there be one standard of justice for all. They are going to ask whether the law will be enforced firmly and fairly for the protection of law-abiding citizens, or with a special tolerance for certain types of lawbreakers. They are going to expect from their future leaders an example of respect for law and decisive action to prevent trouble before it starts. Unjust laws can be changed by democratic processes, but they cannot be defied.

This is going to be a major issue of 1968, perhaps even larger than it already looms. I am a lawyer by profession as well as a lawmaker by inclination at the sufferance of my constituents. Thomas Jefferson, who was certainly no reactionary and whose manual still guides our legislative procedures in the Congress, once observed that the execution of the laws is more important than the making of them. What we need most today are not more laws, but perhaps better laws, and certainly better execution of the laws we have. I profoundly believe that law is the basis of civilized society. I believe that law exists to protect the weak, that it provides a minority with its only sure shield against the tyranny of the majority. Whatever the grievances of any individual or group, however much he may have been wronged, there is no safety for him or for any of us outside the law.

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Crime and law enforcement is just one aspect, of course, of the wide array of pressing problems facing our cities. It is small comfort to observe that the big cities of America have long been the citadels of Democratic political power. Whatever else, the Democrats have not solved the mushrooming problems of our metropolitan areas and their efforts have in fact multiplied our urban problems.

As John W. Gardner commented shortly before he resigned as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, "There is bitterness and anger toward our institutions that wells up when high hopes turn sour. Cynicism concerning all leaders, all officials, all social institutions is continually fed and renewed by the rage of people who expect too much and got too little."

The Democratic Party has been in power in the White House for 27 of the last 35 years, for 29 of those years in Congress, for all but two years of the 20 I have served in the House. During those years the Democrats have poured billions upon billions of dollars of Federal money into programs supposedly designed to solve the very problems that are erupting into domestic violence today. If it is true nothing succeeds like success, what we are witnessing now is that nothing fails so spectacularly as failure.

Daniel P. Moynihan, the former Assistant Secretary of Labor and a liberal who now heads the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Affairs, has stated frankly: "We must abandon the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington."

This is precisely the Republican approach. Republicans propose -- and in some recent legislative victories have actually succeeded -- in decentralizing our attack on America's complex problems which have defied the Federal bureaucracy for two generations.

Republicans would redirect these costly and ineffective programs through block grants and revenue sharing that would funnel Federal funds to State and local governments to meet local needs.

The problems of each of our 50 States, of our thousands of cities and counties and other jurisdictions, are not identical, and no bureaucrat in Washington is competent to prescribe for all of them. The Republican block-grant approach has been successfully incorporated into the Federal Comprehensive Health Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Air Quality and Meat Inspection Acts of the last session and the previously-mentioned Law Enforcement Assistance Act now hanging fire in the Senate.

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To move on to a third issue of 1968, related to crime and the crisis of our cities, and to some degree (though the evidence is conflicting) connected with racial disturbances, there is the problem of finding jobs for the hard-core unemployed. Here the Democrats look as always to the application of more Federal money filtered through more Federal programs, though recently there has been some Bobby-come-lately lip service to private industry programs.

I don't need to describe to this audience the successes of many local programs enlisting the resources of business and labor and community leadership in training and matching men and jobs. Nor do I need to dwell on the shabby performance and shocking scandals that have plagued the overpublicized Poverty War approach of the Democrats. I need only say that the affirmative Republican response to this issue would greatly expand private participation through tax incentives such as those in the Human Investment Act and other proposals.

Next in our survey of the issues of 1968 comes the one which perhaps should be placed first, because unless it can be resolved successfully all the rest go by the boards.

I speak now of the urgent necessity of restoring, after seven years, some semblance of fiscal responsibility to our Federal budget. We on the Republican side, as you know, have been trying to do something about this for years. We're still trying and won't give up.

We have been rewarded for our concern by Presidential taunts of obstructionism and "wooden soldiers of the status quo." What the great spenders never will acknowledge, and most people don't realize, is that Democratic inflation since President Eisenhower left office has clipped the Social Security checks of every senior citizen, the pensions of every disabled veteran, the welfare benefits of every needy family and the savings and fixed incomes of every American by nearly 20 cents out of every dollar.

No wonder President Johnson himself described inflation as "the cruelest tax of all." It is taken primarily from the pittance of the poor. But to this hour he persists in using this cruel tax to pay for the heavy burdens of a major war in Vietnam without being willing to forego the frills of spending as usual on the domestic front.

To be sure, the President now seeks a 10% surtax on the Federal income tax. The prospect of at least another \$20 billion deficit this coming fiscal year has touched off a crisis of confidence that threatens the American dollar in world markets, and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William McChesney Martin, recently curled the hair of every American over 50 by warning the American Society of Newspaper Editors that "the nation is in the midst of the worst financial crisis since 1931."

Mr. Martin said we "have been living in a fools' paradise" and that continued failure to put our fiscal house in order might well lead "to uncontrollable inflation and eventual deflation or depression."

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If what Mr. Martin and other administration experts and leading economists say publicly and privately is even half correct, we cannot make partisan capital of our fiscal crisis -- we must do something to correct it now. It is true the Democrats in 1932 deliberately withheld their cooperation and let the worldwide financial panic worsen and the domestic depression deteriorate from November to March until their Administration could be inaugurated; I cannot believe any Republican would advocate repaying this in kind today.

But if President Johnson has really removed himself from partisan politics this year, if he really wants Republican support in the Congress for meaningful fiscal reforms, he must now lay it on the line to the American people.

The President will have my cooperation, and that of the Republican minority, when he tells the nation plainly that the time has come to pay the piper, that he wants real and substantial reductions in Federal spending and in future spending authority, that he will set realistic priorities for domestic programs in the face of wartime demands, and that all this will go hand in hand with the tax increase he considers necessary.

Unless we can work together, Democrats and Republicans, to head off the danger to our dollar and our domestic economy with the President's full public support, this too will be a major issue of 1968. If LBJ puts politics first it could be the issue for the next 35 years.

I have come to the end of my catalog of issues without touching on Vietnam. There is a fine line which some of us who still believe in old-fashioned patriotism try to observe when our country is at war and more than half a million Americans are involved.

I still find no fault with the counsel of the late General MacArthur that "anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined." But we are there. I must also say that anyone who jeopardizes or delays the successful conclusion of that conflict for a few long-haired votes ought to have not only his head but his heart examined.

Only the President as Commander in Chief can conduct a war involving American lives and the record is clear that I have disagreed often with the way this war has been conducted. But our national objective now is to bring North Vietnam to the peace table. I will do nothing to disrupt it.

Our total defense posture, the failures of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to attend to long-range military needs or to meet such challenges as the capture of the Pueblo and the Soviet penetration of the Middle East, are and should be proper subjects for campaign discussion. But time forbids it today.

Personal safety, economic stability, national security, new directions to solve the problems of the cities, create jobs and strengthen law enforcement, these are some of the issues that are stirring the winds of change in America. They are very important and fundamental issues and the difference between the two parties over them has been demonstrated in actions as well as words.

I think Republicans reflect the feelings of the majority of the American people on these issues at this point in history. I do not believe

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Americans will buy the silly idea that the changes they want can be ensured through a simple switch of names at the top of the Democratic ticket. I feel it in my bones that we are going to win a resounding mandate in November -- not a Republican victory, but a victory for America.

I was asked to make a partisan speech here today, as spokesman for my party, and I have. But partisanship has to stop somewhere.

The things that unite us as Americans are far more enduring than the things that divide us -- even in an election year.

As the campaign gets hotter, let's all remember to singe but never to burn....that not just the hippies, but all of us, would lots rather make love than war....that both Democrats and Republicans are striving together to create a more perfect Union, with liberty and justice for all.

Our unwritten compact of respect for the convictions of others and faith in the decency of others, allows Americans the luxury of rugged political competition. Let's all work to banish war from our shrinking world and hate from our expanding hearts -- to make this whole planet as full of friendship and felicity as this room today.

Thank you.

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# NEWS RELEASE



## 56<sup>th</sup> ANNUAL MEETING

Chamber of Commerce of the United States  
April 28 - May 1, 1968 / Washington, D.C.

**FOR AFTERNOON RELEASE**  
**Wednesday, May 1, 1968**

**Contact: News Department**  
**659-6233**

**Remarks of: The Honorable Gerald R. Ford, Minority Leader**  
**United States House of Representatives**  
**Representative from Michigan**

**#69**

**Before: Luncheon - Your Decision in '68**  
**Wednesday, May 1, 1968**  
**Sheraton-Park Hotel, Sheraton Hall**

"ISSUES OF 1968"

By: Gerald R. Ford

President Blount, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Thank you for your generous introduction.

I'm always a little uncomfortable about being presented to a mixed audience as "the Minority Leader of the House."

All you ladies know who the minority leader of the house is -- a husband!

On the other hand, though, we husbands know very well who's the real "Speaker of the House."

Since I'm simply a potential candidate for Congress from the Fifth District of Michigan and for Speaker of the next Republican House of Representatives, I'm honored to share this hour with the "next-to-newest" declared contender for the Presidency.

I hope nobody else has entered or quit since I left my office 15 minutes ago.

You know, the last time Vice President Humphrey and I were paired on a program I formally assured him that I had no designs on his present job. Since then, it's turned out that nobody has.

I really welcome our distinguished Vice President's decision to offer himself to the Democratic Party as the conservative's only choice, the last-ditch defender of the Confederate dollar, the life-long foe of McCarthyism and the wholly involuntary champion of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

You can't help but admire a First Mate who stands on the burning deck after everybody from Captain to Cabin Boy has fled. If anyone can extract a campaign theme of "happiness and joy" from such circumstances I cannot cast the first stone at him.

Besides, Bobby already has.

After all that's happened on the political scene lately anyone who keeps on making predictions about the 1968 campaign is either a fool or a Washington columnist, or both. (No disrespect intended to Mr. Lloyd Jones!)

But there is one sign that stands out like a sore thumbprint on everybody's crystal ball -- the American people are fed up and fearful, yes, they are anxious and angry, about the way things are going with their country.

Like a gathering summer storm, a powerful demand and determination for change is stirring all across our land. And it is far from certain where this pent-up force will strike, whether its consequences will be for good or evil. These are the times, as Tom Paine said, that try men's souls -- sometimes they summon patriots to action, and sometimes they raise demagogues to power.

I am glad that you asked me to talk today about the issues of 1968. There is a very real danger in this era of instantaneous mass communications that the basic and fundamental issues of our national life may get lost in the excitement of a rip-snorting, bare-knuckle, no-holds-barred personal

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fistfight for political power. Issues are important, and part of the trouble we are in today stems from the fact that they have been too long fuzzed up and glossed over.

Your program over the past three days has been tremendously impressive. It is issue-oriented and action-oriented. I daresay the brains and experience, the resources and the constructive energies represented in this room and by those who have participated in your previous programs could not be duplicated in any other capital city in the world today.

Unfortunately, I must also say the recent scenes of anarchy and senseless destruction witnessed only a few blocks away from this hotel could not be duplicated to such a degree in any other world capital -- except perhaps by the Red Guard outrages in Peiping.

That is the magnitude of the gap between the vision of America we have always cherished and the way it really is in 1968.

Issues in a political campaign are not made by politicians.

There are no "Republican issues" and "Democratic issues." There are only American issues and they emerge from events. An issue arises when matters of public controversy are ripe for decision. Thus the issues of 1968 are not dull abstractions -- they are demands for action.

I believe there are at least four key issues of the 1968 campaign already evident. They are issues which affect every man, woman and child and perhaps unborn Americans as well.

Possibly we can be grateful these unborn generations cannot vote, considering the way their unwed mothers and unwashed fathers have been behaving lately on our college campuses.

Americans are going to ask what their next national leadership is going to do to protect their lives, the safety of their homes and their worldly goods, their security on the public streets and at work and worship and play. They are going to insist there be one standard of justice for all. They are going to ask whether the law will be enforced firmly and fairly for the protection of law-abiding citizens, or with a special tolerance for certain types of lawbreakers. They are going to expect from their future leaders an example of respect for law and decisive action to prevent trouble before it starts. Unjust laws can be changed by democratic processes, but they cannot be defied.

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