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WAGNER COLLEGE, STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.
8 P.M. MONDAY, MAY 13, 1968.

"NO MAN IS AN ISLAND"

WE LIVE IN A FRIGHTENING AGE--AN AGE WHEN VIOLENCE IS BROUGHT INTO THE LIVING ROOM OF EVERY AMERICAN HOME WITH A TELEVISION SET.

THIS IS NOT THE HEALTHY VIOLENCE OF THE COWBOY WESTERN, WITH THE GOOD GUYS AND THE BAD GUYS FIGHTING IT OUT AND THE GOOD GUYS...NATURALLY...WINNING EVERY TIME.

NOW IT'S WHAT'S HAPPENING. IT'S THE RIOTS WHICH HAVE GUTTED PARTS OF MORE THAN 100 AMERICAN CITIES. IT'S THE ACTION SHOTS OF A BLOODY WAR BEING FOUGHT BY AMERICANS IN A LITTLE RICE-GROWING COUNTRY HALFWAY ACROSS THE WORLD. IT'S A GROUP OF RADICAL STUDENTS SEIZING UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS AND PRODUCING

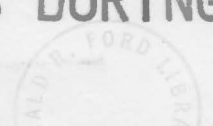


CHAOS, ANARCHY, FIST-THROWING AND HEAD-CRACKING AT ONE OF THE NATION'S OUTSTANDING SCHOOLS.

H. RAP BROWN, THE NEGRO MILITANT NOW UNDER INDICTMENT FOR INCITING TO ARSON AND CARRYING A RIFLE ACROSS STATE LINES, ONCE REMARKED THAT VIOLENCE IS AS AMERICAN AS APPLE PIE.

I DISAGREE. I THINK NEARLY ALL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE APPALLED BY VIETNAM, THE RIOTING IN OUR CITIES AND THE VIOLENT STUDENT PROTESTS.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE A DEEPLY MORAL PEOPLE. THEY ARE VERY MUCH CONCERNED WITH RIGHT AND WRONG. AND THEY ARE VERY MUCH CONCERNED THAT THIS BE A NATION OF LAWS. OURS IS THE PURITAN TRADITION, WITH AN OVERLAY OF THE DEEPLY RELIGIOUS FEELING IN THOSE EUROPEANS WHO EMIGRATED TO AMERICA IN GREAT WAVES DURING THE LATE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES.



AMERICANS TODAY ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED,
AND THEY ARE CONFUSED. THEY ARE ASKING WHY?...
WHY?...AND WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

I DON'T THINK ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL
IN AMERICA HAS THE ANSWERS. BUT PERHAPS ALL OF
US...TOGETHER...DO.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DESPERATELY
WANT THE RIOTING TO END. ~~THEY WANT THE RIOTING~~
~~TO END.~~ THEY WANT TO "MAKE THINGS RIGHT."
THE QUESTION AWAITING ACTION AND AN ANSWER IS
"HOW."

WHEN THE RIOTING FIRST BEGAN IN THE
CENTRAL CITIES, MANY AMERICANS SAID: "THIS IS
NOT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AT WORK, THIS
IS THE END OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT."

THEY WERE RIGHT, AND THEY WERE
WRONG.

IT WAS THE END OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS
MOVEMENT AS WE HAD KNOWN IT...PEACEFUL
PROTESTS, NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS,



PETITIONS, COMMUNICATIONS AND ECONOMIC
BOYCOTT.

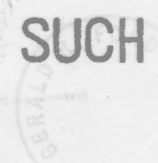
THE WEAPONS OF NON-VIOLENT PROTEST
HAD PRODUCED CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS FOR THOSE
SEEKING SOCIAL CHANGE AND LEGISLATION
GUARANTEEING CERTAIN CIVIL RIGHTS.

LANDMARK CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS WERE
PASSED, AND MULTI-BILLION-DOLLAR ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WERE LAUNCHED.

THIS PUSH FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE HAD
THE BACKING OF A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE--WHITE AND BLACK.

THERE SEEMS NO QUESTION THAT THE
ENACTMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND OF
MASSIVE SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS CAUSED A
MAJORITY OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO BELIEVE THEIR
LIVES WOULD SOMEHOW BE MIRACULOUSLY CHANGED.
GREAT HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS WERE AROUSED.

BUT THE PROMISE INHERENT IN SUCH
LEGISLATION WAS INCAPABLE OF SHORT-TERM

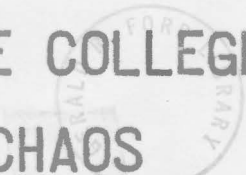


FULFILLMENT--IF INDEED THE PROMISE COULD BE REALIZED WITH THE MEANS AT HAND.

THE RHETORIC OF THE PROMISSORY POLITICIAN HAD MISLED SLUM DWELLERS INTO BELIEVING THERE WAS HOPE FOR EARLY ELIMINATION OF ALL THE INEQUALITY AND IMBALANCE IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPHERES OF AMERICAN LIFE.

THIS PRODUCED A TERRIBLE FRUSTRATION, FED BY BLACK MILITANTS WHO HATE THE WHITE MAN AND SAW AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSUME POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP AMONG THEIR PEOPLE. AND SO THERE EMERGED A NEW MOVEMENT AMONG THE AMERICAN NEGRO--THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT MARKED BY VIOLENCE, ARSON, LOOTING AND DEFINITE LINKS WITH COMMUNIST THOUGHT AND LEADERSHIP.

I DO NOT THINK IT IS INACCURATE TO LINK, ALSO, THE BLACK MILITANTS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES WITH THE BLACK MILITANTS ON SOME COLLEGE CAMPUSES WHO HAVE CREATED ANARCHY AND CHAOS



AT SOME SCHOOLS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT MOST OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE BLACK MILITANTS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES ARE SEEKING THE OVERTHROW OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

BUT THE BASIC TACTIC IS THE SAME-- VIOLENCE EMPLOYED TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE THROUGH TERROR AND COERCION.

THIS IS ALIEN TO THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. THIS IS ALIEN TO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. THIS IS TERRORISM. THIS IS WHAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL MEANS WHEN HE CALLS FOR A VIETNAM IN AMERICA.

A WAVE OF LAWLESSNESS HAS SWEEPED ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. WHILE THE NON-VIOLENT PETITION FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES CONTINUES-- AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH ON WASHINGTON--THE CONSTANT FEAR NOW IS THAT OSTENSIBLY NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS WILL ERUPT INTO VIOLENCE.

THE REPEATED RESORT TO VIOLENCE IN




THE CENTRAL CITIES AND ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES CANNOT BE TOLERATED IN AMERICA. LAWBREAKERS MUST BE DEALT WITH FIRMLY BUT FAIRLY. IT IS WRONG TO ACCEPT WRONGDOING. THAT WAY LIES DISASTER.

YET REPRESSION ALONE IS NOT THE ANSWER. THE PARALLEL NEED IS FOR A NEW PROGRAM OF EDUCATION IN THIS NATION--A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS, COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THOSE IN POWER AND THOSE WITH REAL OR IMAGINED GRIEVANCES. THE BEST PRESCRIPTION FOR PEACE, WHETHER IN THE HOME, ON THE CAMPUS, OR IN WORLD COUNCILS, HAS ALWAYS BEEN: LET'S TALK THIS OUT.

WE MUST TALK WITH EACH OTHER AND WE MUST TALK WITH THE MILITANTS, AS DIFFICULT AS THE LATTER MAY BE.

THERE ARE MANY DEFECTS IN OUR SOCIETY. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT CHANGES MUST BE MADE, IMPROVEMENTS ACHIEVED, ADVANCES



REALIZED. BUT THE CHANGES MUST BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION, CAREFUL CONSIDERATION AND THOUGHT, AND INTELLIGENT DECISIONS--NOT BECAUSE SOME BLACK MILITANT URGES NEGROES IN THE CENTRAL CITY TO GO GET THEM A GUN.

THE MILITANTS, THE RADICALS, THE NEW LEFT SHOULD HAVE SOMETHING BETTER TO OFFER WHEN THEY DEMAND CHANGES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY AND THEY SHOULD MAKE A CASE FOR IT.

IT IS NOT HELPFUL FOR A NEGRO STUDENT TO ASK, AS ONE DID OF ME DURING A VISIT TO MY CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE: "WHAT WILL YOU DO IF WE JUST KEEP ON BURNING DOWN YOUR CITIES?"

IT IS TRULY IRONIC THAT THE CAMPUS RADICALS WHO SHOUT DOWN SPEAKERS AND SEIZE UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS PRETEND TO BE LIBERALS. RADICALS ARE NOT LIBERALS. THEY ARE THE THIEVES OF FREEDOM, THE DESTROYERS OF DEMOCRACY, THE TRAMPLERS OF RIGHTS.

AS NEWS COMMENTATOR AND COLUMNIST
ERIC SEVAREID PUTS IT:

"OUR FREEDOM WILL BE IMPERILED ONLY
IF IT TURNS INTO LICENSE, SERIOUSLY IMPAIRING
ORDER. THERE CAN BE NO FREEDOM IN THE ABSENCE
OR ORDER. THERE CAN BE NO PERSONAL OR
COLLECTIVE LIFE WORTH LIVING IN THE ABSENCE OF
MODERATION."

ONE OF THE SHOCKING ASPECTS OF THE
RECENT RIOT IN WASHINGTON, D.C., WAS THE
CARNIVAL ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE LOOTERS AND THE
SIGHT OF POLICEMEN MERELY STANDING BY WHILE
CELEBRANTS MADE OFF WITH STORE ITEMS.

THE STRANGE ELEMENT IN THAT RIOT
IS THAT SOME OF THE LOOTERS WERE GOVERNMENT
EMPLOYEES WHO WERE MAKING FAIRLY GOOD MONEY.

ACCORDING TO NEWS STORIES, THESE
PEOPLE FELT ASHAMED OF THEMSELVES AFTER THE
RIOTING HAD STOPPED AND ORDER RETURNED TO THE
NATION'S CAPITAL. IN FACT, SOME OF THE LOOTERS

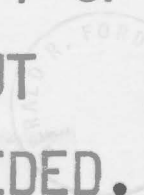
WANTED TO BRING ITEMS BACK IF NO QUESTIONS WOULD BE ASKED.

THERE IS HOPE, THEN, FOR SOME SELF-DISCIPLINE IN THIS SITUATION IN FUTURE.

EDMUND BURKE ONCE WROTE: "MEN ARE QUALIFIED FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES IN EXACT PROPORTION TO THEIR DISPOSITION TO PUT MORAL CHAINS UPON THEIR OWN APPETITES. SOCIETY CANNOT EXIST UNLESS A CONTROLLING POWER UPON WILL AND APPETITE BE PLACED SOMEWHERE, AND THE LESS OF IT THERE IS WITHIN, THE MORE THERE MUST BE WITHOUT. IT IS ORDAINED IN THE ETERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THINGS THAT MEN OF INTEMPERATE MINDS CANNOT BE FREE. THEIR PASSIONS FORGE THEIR FETTERS."

THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR VIOLENCE-- EITHER IN THE STREETS OR ON THE CAMPUSES.

OUR SYSTEM PROVIDES A VARIETY OF AVENUES TO CHANGE, METHODS TO BRING ABOUT REFORMS AND IMPROVEMENTS IF THEY ARE NEEDED.




PEACEFUL PROTESTS, PETITIONS AND DISCUSSION, PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE USE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER ARE THE PROPER INSTRUMENTS OF CHANGE. LAWLESSNESS IS NO SHORTCUT, ONLY THE ROAD TO DESTRUCTION.

OURS IS A FREE SOCIETY BASED ON LAW. TO PRESERVE THAT SOCIETY WE FOLLOW CERTAIN PROCEDURES WHICH GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS AND PRESERVE THEIR FREEDOMS. ORDER IS THE BAISS OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM--AND NONE OF OUR SYSTEM'S IMPERFECTIONS JUSTIFY TEARING IT DOWN. LET'S BUILD ON IT.

AS PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY SAID:
"WE MUST MOVE THIS COUNTRY AHEAD."

THIS MEANS THAT WE SHOULD NOT ACT OUT OF FEAR BUT NEITHER SHOULD WE FEAR TO ACT. WE MUST ACT NOT BECAUSE OF MARCHES ON WASHINGTON OR RIOTS IN THE CITIES BUT BECAUSE THERE ARE PROBLEMS WHICH FOR TOO LONG HAVE CRIED OUT FOR A SOLUTION AND NEEDS WHICH FOR TOO



LONG HAVE GONE UNANSWERED.


THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE CONFUSED AND TROUBLED. THEY ARE ASKING INSISTENTLY... WHAT SHALL WE DO.

I THINK THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS HAS PROVIDED US WITH A BASIC GUIDE TOWARD THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND THE MAKING OF PROGRESS IN OUR CENTRAL CITIES.

I DO NOT ACCEPT ALL OF THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BUT THE COMMISSION'S REPORT POINTED THE WAY TO A COMMON-SENSE ACTION PROGRAM FOR THE CITIES.

FOR THE GOOD OF ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE MUST GET ABOUT A TASK TOO LONG NEGLECTED--THE REBUILDING OF OUR CITIES.

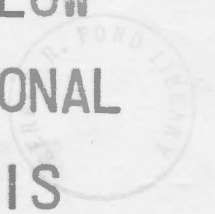
I BELIEVE WE CAN ONLY REBUILD OUR CITIES IF WE BUILD THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTRAL CITIES INTO SELF-RELIANT INDIVIDUALS WITH THE SELF-RESPECT THAT BRINGS RESPECT FROM OTHERS--



HELP THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES AND TO LIVE BETTER LIVES FROM A SENSE OF PERSONAL PRIDE.

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS SAID THE BASIC PRESCRIPTION FOR CURING THE SICKNESS OF THE CITIES IS JOBS. I AGREE. I HAVE LONG URGED THE CONGRESS TO OFFER INDUSTRY TAX CREDITS SO AS TO TRIGGER A NATIONWIDE PROGRAM OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING FOR CENTRAL CITY YOUTHS AND TO GET INDUSTRY TO BUILD INDUSTRIAL PLANTS IN THE CENTRAL CITY. THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS HAS ENDORSED SUCH A PLAN--BUT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS OPPOSED.

COUPLED WITH A NATIONWIDE PROGRAM OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING BY INDUSTRY I SEE A PLAN TO LAUNCH A MASSIVE, GOVERNMENT-UNDERWRITTEN PROGRAM OF MORTGAGE FUNDING FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES--A NATIONAL HOME OWNERSHIP FOUNDATION--TO PROVIDE PRIVATE HOUSING FOR THOSE OF LOW INCOME AND GIVE THEM THE TREMENDOUS PERSONAL PRIDE THAT GOES WITH HOME OWNERSHIP. THIS



WOULD HELP KEEP FAMILIES TOGETHER AND THUS STRENGTHEN THE ENTIRE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY.

WE NEED AN ENTIRELY NEW APPROACH TO AMERICA'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS TODAY--NOT AN EXPANSION OF THE TRADITIONAL TOTAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE PROVED SO INADEQUATE. WE NEED TO BRING BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY INTO A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PROBLEM-SOLVING, ALONG WITH GOVERNMENT, AT ALL LEVELS.

AND WE MUST CULTIVATE A NEW MEASURE OF UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--THE REALIZATION, AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN EXPRESSED IT, THAT A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND.

I SAID AT THE OUTSET THAT I BELIEVE ALL AMERICANS WORKING TOGETHER CAN SURMOUNT THE TERRIBLE PROBLEMS WHICH BESET US TODAY. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THIS.


THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS DID THIS COUNTRY A SERVICE WHEN THEY WARNED

THAT WE WERE MOVING TOWARD TWO WARRING SOCIETIES--ONE WHITE AND ONE BLACK. THIS IS A SICKNESS. IT IS A SICKNESS WHICH ARISES NOT ONLY FROM MISUNDERSTANDING, HOSTILITY AND HATRED BUT FROM APATHY AND ALOOFNESS.

YOU CAN HELP TO CURE THE SICKNESS THAT INFECTS AMERICA TODAY IF YOU WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT EVERY MAN WANTS TO FEEL HE COUNTS FOR SOMETHING. THAT EVERY MAN WANTS TO BE RESPECTED AND LOVED.

THE WAY FOR AMERICA TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS IS TO GET ALL AMERICANS INVOLVED IN SOLVING THEM. WE CAN ACHIEVE MIGHTILY IF WE CAN ONLY TAP THE GREAT WELL OF COMMITMENT AND IDEALISM THAT IS JUST WAITING TO BE DRAWN UPON.

ARE YOU CONCERNED? THE CRISIS OF THE CITIES TELLS US THAT WE SHOULD ALL BE CONCERNED. THE AFFLUENT HAVE FLED THE CTIES, LEAVING THEM TO SIMMER WITH THEIR SLUMS AND THEIR SEETHING DISCONTENT. IF OUR CITIES DIE, ALL AMERICANS



WILL BE AFFECTED.

WE ARE ALL A PART OF HUMANITY; WE MUST NOT FAIL EACH OTHER.

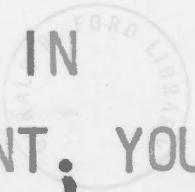
AS THE BRITISH POET JOHN DONNE SO NOBLY EXPRESSED IT:

"NO MAN IS AN ISLAND, ENTIRE OF ITSELF, EVERY MAN IS A PIECE OF THE CONTINENT, A PART OF THE MAIN.

"ANY MAN'S DEATH DIMINISHES ME, BECAUSE I AM INVOLVED IN MANKIND, AND THEREFORE NEVER SEND TO KNOW FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS, IT TOLLS FOR THEE."

ANOTHER GREAT BRITISHER, WINSTON CHURCHILL, ONCE SAID: "GIVE US THE TOOLS, AND WE WILL FINISH THE JOB."

YOU HAVE THE TOOLS TO DO THE JOB-- YOU AND OTHER AMERICANS WHO ARE WILLING AND EAGER TO GET INVOLVED IN YOUR COLLEGE'S PROBLEMS, IN YOUR COMMUNITY'S PROBLEMS, IN YOUR COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. YOU HAVE TALENT; YOU



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HAVE BRAINS. GIVE OF YOURSELF TO AMERICA.

WITH YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU, WE
CANNOT HELP BUT SUCCEED.

-END-



Distribution: 70 Copies Mr. Ford

M Office Copy

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., AT WAGNER COLLEGE, STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.
FOR DELIVERY AT 8 P.M. MONDAY, MAY 13, 1968.

*[Note: Speech not
Delivered]*

For Release in Tuesday AM's

"NO MAN IS AN ISLAND"

We live in a frightening age--an age when violence is brought into the living room of every American home with a television set.

This is not the healthy violence of the cowboy Western, with the good guys and the bad guys fighting it out and the good guys...naturally...winning every time.

Now it's what's happening. It's the riots which have gutted parts of more than 100 American cities. It's the action shots of a bloody war being fought by Americans in a little rice-growing country halfway across the world. It's a group of radical students seizing university buildings and producing chaos, anarchy, fist-throwing and head-cracking at one of the Nation's outstanding schools.

H. Rap Brown, the Negro militant now under indictment for inciting to arson and carrying a rifle across state lines, once remarked that violence is as American as apple pie.

I disagree. I think nearly all of the American people are appalled by Vietnam, the rioting in our cities and the violent student protests.

The American people are a deeply moral people. They are very much concerned with right and wrong. And they are very much concerned that this be a Nation of laws. Ours is the Puritan tradition, with an overlay of the deeply religious feelings in those Europeans who emigrated to America in great waves during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Americans today are deeply disturbed, and they are confused. They are asking why?...why?...and what's to be done?

I don't think any one individual in America has the answers. But perhaps all of us...together...do.

The American people desperately want the rioting to end. They want to "make things right." The question awaiting action and an answer is "how."

When the rioting first began in the central cities, many Americans said: "This is not the civil rights movement at work; this is the end of the civil rights movement."

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They were right, and they were wrong.

It was the end of the civil rights movement as we had known it...peaceful protests, non-violent demonstrations, petitions, communications and economic boycott.

The weapons of non-violent protest had produced considerable success for those seeking social change and legislation guaranteeing certain civil rights.

Landmark civil rights bills were passed, and multi-billion-dollar economic assistance programs were launched.

This push for peaceful change had the backing of a majority of the American people--white and black.

There seems no question that the enactment of civil rights legislation and of massive social welfare programs caused a majority of American Negroes to believe their lives would somehow be miraculously changed. Great hopes and expectations were aroused.

But the promise inherent in such legislation was incapable of short-term fulfillment--if indeed the promise could be realized with the means at hand.

The rhetoric of the promissory politician had misled slum dwellers into believing there was hope for early elimination of all the inequality and imbalance in the economic, social and political spheres of American life.

This produced a terrible frustration, fed by black militants who hate the white man and saw an opportunity to assume positions of leadership among their people. And so there emerged a new movement among the American Negro--the Black Power movement marked by violence, arson, looting and definite links with Communist thought and leadership.

I do not think it is inaccurate to link, also, the black militants in the central cities with the black militants on some college campuses who have created anarchy and chaos at some schools. This is not to say that most of those who support the black militants on college campuses are seeking the overthrow of the United States government.

But the basic tactic is the same--violence employed to bring about change through terror and coercion.

This is alien to the American character. This is alien to the American system. This is terrorism. This is what Stokely Carmichael means when he calls for a Vietnam in America.

A wave of lawlessness has swept across this country. While the non-violent petition for redress of grievances continues--as exemplified by the Poor People's

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March on Washington--the constant fear now is that ostensibly non-violent demonstrations will erupt into violence.

The repeated resort to violence in the central cities and on college campuses cannot be tolerated in America. Lawbreakers must be dealt with firmly but fairly. It is wrong to accept wrongdoing. That way lies disaster.

Yet repression alone is not the answer. The parallel need is for a new program of education in this Nation--a dialogue between the haves and have-nots, communication between those in power and those with real or imagined grievances. The best prescription for peace, whether in the home, on the campus, or in world councils, has always been: Let's talk this out.

We must talk with each other and we must talk with the militants, as difficult as the latter may be.

There are many defects in our society. There is no question that changes must be made, improvements achieved, advances realized. But the changes must be made on the basis of knowledge and information, careful consideration and thought, and intelligent decision--not because some black militant urges Negroes in the central city to go get them a gun.

The militants, the radicals, the New Left should have something better to offer when they demand changes in American society and they should make a case for it.

It is not helpful for a Negro student to ask, as one did of me during a visit to my congressional office: "What will you do if we just keep on burning down your cities?"

It is truly ironic that the campus radicals who shout down speakers and seize university buildings pretend to be liberals. Radicals are not liberals. They are the thieves of freedom, the destroyers of democracy, the trampers of rights.

As news commentator and columnist Eric Sevareid puts it:

"Our freedom will be imperiled only if it turns into license, seriously impairing order. There can be no freedom in the absence of order. There can be no personal or collective life worth living in the absence of moderation."

One of the shocking aspects of the recent riot in Washington, D. C., was the carnival atmosphere among the looters and the sight of policemen merely standing by while celebrants made off with store items.

The strange element in that riot is that some of the looters were government employes who were making fairly good money.

According to news stories, these people felt ashamed of themselves after

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the rioting had stopped and order returned to the Nation's capital. In fact, some of the looters wanted to bring items back if no questions would be asked.

There is hope, then, for some self-discipline in this situation in future.

Edmund Burke once wrote: "Men are qualified for civil liberties in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."

There is no excuse for violence--either in the streets or on the campuses.

Our system provides a variety of avenues to change, methods to bring about reforms and improvements if they are needed. Peaceful protests, petitions and discussion, peaceful demonstrations and the use of economic and political power are the proper instruments of change. Lawlessness is no shortcut, only the road to destruction.

Ours is a free society based on law. To preserve that society we follow certain procedures which guarantee the rights of others and preserve their freedoms. Order is the basis of our constitutional system--and none of our system's imperfections justify tearing it down. Let's build on it.

As President John F. Kennedy said: "We must move this country ahead."

This means that we should not act out of fear but neither should we fear to act. We must act not because of Marches on Washington or riots in the cities but because there are problems which for too long have cried out for a solution and needs which for too long have gone unanswered.

The American people are confused and troubled. They are asking insistently... what shall we do.

I think the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has provided us with a basic guide toward the restoration of peace and the making of progress in our central cities.

I do not accept all of the commission's conclusions and recommendations but the commission's report pointed the way to a common-sense action program for the cities.

For the good of all the American people, we must get about a task too long neglected--the rebuilding of our cities.

I believe we can only rebuild our cities if we build the people of the central cities into self-reliant individuals with the self-respect that brings

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respect from others--help them to help themselves and to live better lives from a sense of personal pride.

The Commission on Civil Disorders said the basic prescription for curing the sickness of the cities is jobs. I agree. I have long urged the Congress to offer industry tax credits so as to trigger a nationwide program of on-the-job training for central city youths and to get industry to build industrial plants in the central city. The Commission on Civil Disorders has endorsed such a plan--but the present Administration is opposed.

Coupled with a nationwide program of on-the-job training by industry I see a plan to launch a massive, government-underwritten program of mortgage funding for low-income families--a National Home Ownership Foundation--to provide private housing for those of low income and give them the tremendous personal pride that goes with home ownership. This would help keep families together and thus strengthen the entire fabric of our society.

We need an entirely new approach to America's social problems today--not an expansion of the traditional total government programs which have proved so inadequate. We need to bring business and industry into a leadership role in problem-solving, along with government, at all levels.

And we must cultivate a new measure of understanding among the American people--the realization, as Abraham Lincoln expressed it, that a House divided against itself cannot stand.

I said at the outset that I believe all Americans working together can surmount the terrible problems which beset us today. I firmly believe this.

The Commission on Civil Disorders did this country a service when they warned that we were moving toward two warring societies--one white and one black. This is a sickness. It is a sickness which arises not only from misunderstanding, hostility and hatred but from apathy and aloofness.

You can help to cure the sickness that infects America today if you will always remember that every man wants to feel he counts for something, that every man wants to be respected and loved.

The way for America to solve its problems is to get all Americans involved in solving them. We can achieve mightily if we can only tap the great well of commitment and idealism that is just waiting to be drawn upon.

Are you concerned? The crisis of the cities tells us that we should all be concerned. The affluent have fled the cities, leaving them to simmer with their slums and their seething discontent. If our cities die, all Americans will be affected.

(more)

We are all a part of humanity; we must not fail each other.

As the British poet John Donne so nobly expressed it:

"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent,
a part of the main.

"Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and
therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Another great Britisher, Winston Churchill, once said: "Give us the tools,
and we will finish the job."

You have the tools to do the job--you and other Americans who are willing and
eager to get involved in your college's problems, in your community's problems,
in your country's problems. You have talent; you have brains. Give of yourself
to America.

With young people like you, we cannot help but succeed.

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Note :

Speech not
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We live in a frightening age--an age when violence is brought into the living room of every American home with a television set.

This is not the healthy violence of the cowboy Western, with the good guys and the bad guys fighting it out and the good guys...naturally...winning every time.

Now it's what's happening. It's the riots which have gutted parts of more than 100 American cities. It's the action shots of a bloody war being fought by Americans in a little rice-growing country halfway across the world. It's a group of radical students seizing university buildings and producing chaos, anarchy, fist-throwing and head-cracking at one of the Nation's outstanding schools.

H. Rap Brown, the Negro militant now under indictment for inciting to arson and carrying a rifle across state lines, once remarked that violence is as American as apple pie.

I disagree. I think nearly all of the American people are appalled by Vietnam, the rioting in our cities and the violent student protests.

The American people are a deeply moral people. They are very much concerned with right and wrong. And they are very much concerned that this be a Nation of laws. Ours is the Puritan tradition, with an overlay of the deeply religious feelings in those Europeans who emigrated to America in great waves during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Americans today are deeply disturbed, and they are confused. They are asking why?...why?...and what's to be done?

I don't think any one individual in America has the answers. But perhaps all of us...together...do.

The American people desperately want the rioting to end. They want to "make things right." The question awaiting action and an answer is "how."

When the rioting first began in the central cities, many Americans said: "This is not the civil rights movement at work; this is the end of the civil rights movement."

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They were right, and they were wrong.

It was the end of the civil rights movement as we had known it...peaceful protests, non-violent demonstrations, petitions, communications and economic boycott.

The weapons of non-violent protest had produced considerable success for those seeking social change and legislation guaranteeing certain civil rights.

Landmark civil rights bills were passed, and multi-billion-dollar economic assistance programs were launched.

This push for peaceful change had the backing of a majority of the American people--white and black.

There seems no question that the enactment of civil rights legislation and of massive social welfare programs caused a majority of American Negroes to believe their lives would somehow be miraculously changed. Great hopes and expectations were aroused.

But the promise inherent in such legislation was incapable of short-term fulfillment--if indeed the promise could be realized with the means at hand.

The rhetoric of the promissory politician had misled slum dwellers into believing there was hope for early elimination of all the inequality and imbalance in the economic, social and political spheres of American life.

This produced a terrible frustration, fed by black militants who hate the white man and saw an opportunity to assume positions of leadership among their people. And so there emerged a new movement among the American Negro--the Black Power movement marked by violence, arson, looting and definite links with Communist thought and leadership.

I do not think it is inaccurate to link, also, the black militants in the central cities with the black militants on some college campuses who have created anarchy and chaos at some schools. This is not to say that most of those who support the black militants on college campuses are seeking the overthrow of the United States government.

But the basic tactic is the same--violence employed to bring about change through terror and coercion.

This is alien to the American character. This is alien to the American system. This is terrorism. This is what Stokely Carmichael means when he calls for a Vietnam in America.

A wave of lawlessness has swept across this country. While the non-violent petition for redress of grievances continues--as exemplified by the Poor People's

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March on Washington--the constant fear now is that ostensibly non-violent demonstrations will erupt into violence.

The repeated resort to violence in the central cities and on college campuses cannot be tolerated in America. Lawbreakers must be dealt with firmly but fairly. It is wrong to accept wrongdoing. That way lies disaster.

Yet repression alone is not the answer. The parallel need is for a new program of education in this Nation--a dialogue between the haves and have-nots, communication between those in power and those with real or imagined grievances. The best prescription for peace, whether in the home, on the campus, or in world councils, has always been: Let's talk this out.

We must talk with each other and we must talk with the militants, as difficult as the latter may be.

There are many defects in our society. There is no question that changes must be made, improvements achieved, advances realized. But the changes must be made on the basis of knowledge and information, careful consideration and thought, and intelligent decision--not because some black militant urges Negroes in the central city to go get them a gun.

The militants, the radicals, the New Left should have something better to offer when they demand changes in American society and they should make a case for it.

It is not helpful for a Negro student to ask, as one did of me during a visit to my congressional office: "What will you do if we just keep on burning down your cities?"

It is truly ironic that the campus radicals who shout down speakers and seize university buildings pretend to be liberals. Radicals are not liberals. They are the thieves of freedom, the destroyers of democracy, the trampers of rights.

As news commentator and columnist Eric Sevareid puts it:

"Our freedom will be imperiled only if it turns into license, seriously impairing order. There can be no freedom in the absence of order. There can be no personal or collective life worth living in the absence of moderation."

One of the shocking aspects of the recent riot in Washington, D. C., was the carnival atmosphere among the looters and the sight of policemen merely standing by while celebrants made off with store items.

The strange element in that riot is that some of the looters were government employes who were making fairly good money.

According to news stories, these people felt ashamed of themselves after

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the rioting had stopped and order returned to the Nation's capital. In fact, some of the looters wanted to bring items back if no questions would be asked.

There is hope, then, for some self-discipline in this situation in future.

Edmund Burke once wrote: "Men are qualified for civil liberties in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."

There is no excuse for violence--either in the streets or on the campuses.

Our system provides a variety of avenues to change, methods to bring about reforms and improvements if they are needed. Peaceful protests, petitions and discussion, peaceful demonstrations and the use of economic and political power are the proper instruments of change. Lawlessness is no shortcut, only the road to destruction.

Ours is a free society based on law. To preserve that society we follow certain procedures which guarantee the rights of others and preserve their freedoms. Order is the basis of our constitutional system--and none of our system's imperfections justify tearing it down. Let's build on it.

As President John F. Kennedy said: "We must move this country ahead."

This means that we should not act out of fear but neither should we fear to act. We must act not because of Marches on Washington or riots in the cities but because there are problems which for too long have cried out for a solution and needs which for too long have gone unanswered.

The American people are confused and troubled. They are asking insistently... what shall we do.

I think the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has provided us with a basic guide toward the restoration of peace and the making of progress in our central cities.

I do not accept all of the commission's conclusions and recommendations but the commission's report pointed the way to a common-sense action program for the cities.

For the good of all the American people, we must get about a task too long neglected--the rebuilding of our cities.

I believe we can only rebuild our cities if we build the people of the central cities into self-reliant individuals with the self-respect that brings

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respect from others--help them to help themselves and to live better lives from a sense of personal pride.

The Commission on Civil Disorders said the basic prescription for curing the sickness of the cities is jobs. I agree. I have long urged the Congress to offer industry tax credits so as to trigger a nationwide program of on-the-job training for central city youths and to get industry to build industrial plants in the central city. The Commission on Civil Disorders has endorsed such a plan--but the present Administration is opposed.

Coupled with a nationwide program of on-the-job training by industry I see a plan to launch a massive, government-underwritten program of mortgage funding for low-income families--a National Home Ownership Foundation--to provide private housing for those of low income and give them the tremendous personal pride that goes with home ownership. This would help keep families together and thus strengthen the entire fabric of our society.

We need an entirely new approach to America's social problems today--not an expansion of the traditional total government programs which have proved so inadequate. We need to bring business and industry into a leadership role in problem-solving, along with government, at all levels.

And we must cultivate a new measure of understanding among the American people--the realization, as Abraham Lincoln expressed it, that a House divided against itself cannot stand.

I said at the outset that I believe all Americans working together can surmount the terrible problems which beset us today. I firmly believe this.

The Commission on Civil Disorders did this country a service when they warned that we were moving toward two warring societies--one white and one black. This is a sickness. It is a sickness which arises not only from misunderstanding, hostility and hatred but from apathy and aloofness.

You can help to cure the sickness that infects America today if you will always remember that every man wants to feel he counts for something, that every man wants to be respected and loved.

The way for America to solve its problems is to get all Americans involved in solving them. We can achieve mightily if we can only tap the great well of commitment and idealism that is just waiting to be drawn upon.

Are you concerned? The crisis of the cities tells us that we should all be concerned. The affluent have fled the cities, leaving them to simmer with their slums and their seething discontent. If our cities die, all Americans will be affected.

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We are all a part of humanity; we must not fail each other.

As the British poet John Donne so nobly expressed it:

"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent,
a part of the main.

"Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and
therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Another great Britisher, Winston Churchill, once said: "Give us the tools,
and we will finish the job."

You have the tools to do the job--you and other Americans who are willing and
eager to get involved in your college's problems, in your community's problems,
in your country's problems. You have talent; you have brains. Give of yourself
to America.

With young people like you, we cannot help but succeed.

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