

File Sent April 17 miscell groups

REMARKS OF
CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

BY AND LARGE, THE NATION WAS APPALLED WITH THE DEATH OF
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING. IT WAS A SENSELESS, OUTRAGEOUS ACT OF
BIGOTRY AND HATRED.

ON THE HEELS OF THE ASSASSINATION CAME OTHER SENSELESS,
DESTRUCTIVE ACTS . . . NEARLY 40 DEAD, THOUSANDS INJURED AND
MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN PROPERTY DAMAGE IN 120 CITIES.

NOW THE FIRES HAVE BURNED THEMSELVES OUT.

THE SHATTERED GLASS HAS BEEN SWEEPED UP AND CARTED NEATLY
AWAY.

THOSE LONG STREETS WHERE PEOPLE ONCE SHOPPED AND LIVED
ARE QUIET NOW.

HAVING JUST LEFT THE NATION'S CAPITAL -- WASHINGTON, WHERE
THE DAMAGE IF HEAPED TOGETHER WOULD FILL 500 SQUARE BLOCKS --
I CAN TELL YOU, PICTURES DON'T TELL THE STORY.

IF YOU'RE IN WASHINGTON OR ANOTHER RIOT-TORN CITY IN THE
NEAR FUTURE, I URGE YOU TO WALK THOSE STREETS AND ~~AND~~ INHALE
THE STENCH OF DESTRUCTION -- TO LEARN AND FEEL FIRSTHAND WHAT
HAPPENED.

THE SAME STENCH, I UNDERSTAND, WAS IN BERLIN . . . COLOGNE
AND DRESDEN, IN COVENTRY AND ROTTERDAM AND EAST LONDON.

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IT IS A PERVADING SMELL OF ASHES, WETTED BY HOSES AND OF SICKLY, LINGERING, ALL TOO PALPABLE AURA OF PEOPLE WHO LIVED CLOSE TOGETHER FOR A LONG TIME.

IN WASHINGTON, NO ONE WILL EVER KNOW JUST HOW MUCH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION TOOK PART IN THE ARSON AND LOOTING, BUT THERE IS EVERY INDICATION THAT IT WAS FIVE PER CENT AT MOST. FIVE PERCENT.

THE PROBLEM OF WHAT TO DO ABOUT THAT FIVE PER CENT IS ALMOST EVERYONE'S. THE QUESTION IS: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

-MONEY, ATTITUDES AND TIME-

WHEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S OWN RIOT COMMISSION SURVEYED THE RESULTS OF 20 MAJOR OUTBREAKS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE, IT REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT DESPITE THE NETWORK OF EXPENSIVE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND EFFORTS OF MANY CITIZENS AND OFFICIALS, THE MAIN REACTION IN THE GHETTOES WAS THAT "NOTHING MUCH CHANGED -- ONE WAY OR THE OTHER."

WHEN GUNNAR MYRDAL, THE SWEDISH SOCIAL PHILOSOPHER WHO HAS FOLLOWED THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THIS COUNTRY FOR 40 YEARS, VISITED IN THIS COUNTRY AGAIN RECENTLY, HE CONCLUDED A GREAT DEAL HAD CHANGED FOR THE BETTER.

BUT, HE ADDED, TO REALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM, IT WOULD TAKE "TRILLIONS" OF DOLLARS, A REVOLUTION IN INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND AT LEAST 20 YEARS.

-MONEY & GOVERNMENT IN THE GHETTOES-

GIANT SUMS OF MONEY...CHANGE IN ATTITUDES...AND TIME. LET'S TAKE A CLOSER LOOK AT EACH OF THESE. FIRST, MONEY.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM HAS SPENT BILLIONS IN THE CITIES. BY THE TIME RED TAPE HAS BEEN UNSNARLED, THE PROJECTS ACCOMPLISH LITTLE.

THE POVERTY WAR HAS BECOME A JUMBLE OF PATRONAGE AND INTRA-CITY SQUABBLING FOR CONTROL OF APPOINTIVE JOBS WHICH TAKE UP MOST OF THE PROGRAM FUNDS.

NOT BEING A PROPHET OF DOOM, LET ME SAY, MANY OF THESE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS -- LOCAL, STATE AND NATIONAL -- REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT BEGINNING.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT IS TO ELIMINATE THOSE WHICH ARE MEANINGLESS AND STRENGTHEN THOSE WHICH ARE MEANINGFUL.

-THE HOPE: EDUCATING YOUTH-

IN MY OPINION, FIRST CALL ON GOVERNMENT FUNDS TO HELP PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES SHOULD BE FOR EDUCATION.

LARGE SUMS ARE BEING SPENT ON WELFARE PROGRAMS, PRISON SYSTEMS, INSURANCE FOR RIOT DAMAGE. SOME OF THIS MONEY COULD BE SAVED -- AND BE BETTER DIRECTED -- IF IT WERE SPENT ON EDUCATION.

ONLY BY WELL EDUCATING OUR YOUTH -- PARTICULARLY DURING THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL YEARS -- DO WE HAVE ANY LASTING HOPE OF TRULY HELPING PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES.

THE BETTER THE EDUCATION, THE BETTER THE JOBS, THE BETTER THE HOUSING AND SO ON -- IT'S A CHAIN REACTION.

THERE MUST BE A COMMITMENT OF EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES -- FUNDS, FACILITIES, PERSONNEL AND LEADERSHIP -- THAT MUST BE SUMMONED AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO OVERCOME THE EDUCATIONAL DEFICIT EXISTING IN MANY CITIES.

-WHAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW DOES-

LET'S LOOK FOR A MOMENT AT THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW PASSED JUST LAST WEEK.

THE NEW LAW DOES WHAT THE CONSTITUTION DOES NOT -- IT PROVIDES PENALTIES FOR THOSE WHO WOULD DENY OTHER CITIZENS THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES.

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL PORTION OF THE LAW IS THE SO-CALLED 'FAIR HOUSING' SECTION. ITS GENERAL EFFECT IS TO PROHIBIT THE DENIAL OF HOUSING TO ANY PERSON BECAUSE OF HIS COLOR OR OTHER DISCRIMINATION. BANNED IS DISCRIMINATION IN THE SALE, RENTAL, FINANCING OR ADVERTISING FOR ABOUT 80 PER CENT OF THE HOUSES AND APARTMENTS IN THE COUNTRY.

THE LAW ALSO STIFFENS ENFORCEMENT POWERS BEHIND OTHER ANTI-DISCRIMINATION MEASURES. IT OFFERS ADDED PROTECTION FOR SUCH BASIC AMERICAN RIGHTS AS VOTING, EMPLOYMENT, JURY SERVICE, ATTENDING COLLEGE, TRAVEL, EATING AND LODGING ACCOMODATIONS.

THERE ARE ALSO PROVISIONS MAKING IT A FEDERAL CRIME TO CROSS STATE LINES TO INCITE OR ORGANIZE RIOTS.

-WHAT THE LAW DOESN'T DO-

WE'VE TALKED ABOUT WHAT THE NEW LAW DOES DO. HERE'S
WHAT IT DOESN'T DO.

IT DOES NOT INCLUDE A PROVISION ON HOW NEGROES ARE TO
BE ENABLED TO BUY THE HOUSES THEY WILL NOW BE PERMITTED TO
BUY.

NO CONGRESSIONAL METHODS WAS INCLUDED EITHER TO ALTER
THE HUMAN NATURE OF THOSE WHO WILL NOT ACCEPT NEGROES ON A
BASIS OF SOCIAL EQUALITY.

NOR HAS ANY SERIOUSLY ADVANCED PROGRAM ADEQUATE TO
IMPROVE DRAMATICALLY THE ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIAL CLIMATE OF
THE CENTRAL CITIES FAST ENOUGH BEEN INCLUDED.

NO LAW -- NO MATTER HOW COMPREHENSIVE OR HOW HERALDED --
WILL AUTOMATICALLY USHER IN BROTHERLY LOVE. WE CANNOT
LEGISLATE TOGETHERNESS.

WHAT WILL COUNT, IN THE LONG RUN, IS NOT ~~MERELY~~ HUGE
DOSES OF MONEY OR LEGISLATION, BUT GENUINELY FAIR ACTION BY
EVERYONE ON ALL FRONTS -- ACTION WHICH IGNORES ALL FORMS OF
ARBITRARY DISCRIMINATION.

-INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES-

THIS BRINGS ME TO MY SECOND POINT -- INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES.
GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN, THOSE WHO FEEL THEMSELVES
DISPOSSESSED MUST PLOW THE SAME FURROW OTHERS HAVE DONE, EACH
IN PROPORTION TO WHAT HE MERITS BY HIS OWN DOING.

THERE IS NO OTHER WAY. SUCCESS MUST BE EARNED --
NOT LEGISLATED.

WHAT EACH MAN STILL CAN DO IN THIS COUNTRY IS TO GROW
IN DIGNITY AND STATURE, TO MAKE THE WAY BETTER FOR HIS
CHILDREN, JUST AS THE WAY FOR HIM IS BETTER THAN HIS FORBEARS
KNEW -- WHITE OR NEGRO.

A SPECIAL BURDEN MUST BE PLACED UPON OUR MORE AFFLUENT
NEGRO NEIGHBORS TO CONVINCED THE DISENCHANTED FIVE PER CENT
THAT THIS IS TRUE.

- REACTION: THE MARYLAND GOVERNOR-

WHAT HAVE BEEN THE REACTIONS TO THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN
LUTHER KING AND THE SUBSEQUENT CIVIL STRIFE?

IN MARYLAND, GOVERNOR SPIRO AGNEW, A MOST LIBERAL
REPUBLICAN, HAD THIS TO SAY IN A MEETING WITH NEGRO LEADERS
IN BALTIMORE LAST THURSDAY:

"WHEN YOU, WHO COURAGEOUSLY SLAPPED HARD AT IRRES-
PONSIBILITY, ACTED, YOU DID MORE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
THAN YOU REALIZE. BUT WHEN WHITE LEADERS OPENLY
COMPLIMENTED YOU FOR YOUR OBJECTIVE, COURAGEOUS
ACTION, YOU IMMEDIATELY ENCOUNTERED A STORM OF
CENSURE FROM PARTS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. THE
CRITICISM WAS BORN OF A PERVERTED CONCEPT OF RACE
LOYALTY...

"AND YOU RAN. YOU MET IN SECRET WITH
A DEMOGOGIC LEADER AND OTHERS LIKE HIM
-- AND YOU AGREED TO PUBLISHED REPORTS
THAT HAVE BEEN NOT DENIED, THAT YOU
WOULD NOT OPENLY CRITICIZE ANY BLACK
SPOKESMAN, REGARDLESS OF THE CONTENT OF
HIS REMARKS. YOU WERE BEGUILED BY THE
RATIONALIZATIONS OF UNITY; YOU WERE STUNG
BY INSINUATIONS THAT WERE MR. CHARLIE'S
BOY, BY EPITHETS LIKE 'UNCLE TOM'. GOD
KNOWS I CANNOT FAULT YOU WHO SPOKE OUT
FOR BREAKING AND RUNNING IN THE FACE OF
WHAT APPEARED TO BE OVERWHELMING OPINION
IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. BUT ACTUALLY IT
WAS ONLY THE OPINION OF THOSE WHO DEPEND
UPON CHAOS AND TURMOIL FOR LEADERSHIP --
THOSE WHO DELIBERATELY WERE NOT INVITED
TODAY. IT WAS THE OPINION OF A FEW DIS-
TORTED AND MAGNIFIED BY THE SILENCE OF
MOST OF YOU HERE TODAY."

IN HIS SPEECH, THE MARYLAND GOVERNOR ADDED:

"TELL ME ONE CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENT
THAT HAS FLOWED FROM THE MADNESS OF
THE TWIN PRIESTS OF VIOLENCE, STOKELY
CARMICHAEL AND RAP BROWN.

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"THEY DO NOT BUILD -- THEY DEMOLISH.
THEY ARE AGENTS OF DESTRUCTION AND
THEY WILL SURELY DESTROY US IF WE
DO NOT REPUDIATE THEM AND THEIR PHIL-
OSOPHIES -- ALONG WITH THE WHITE RACISTS
SUCH AS JOSEPH CARROLL AND CONNIE LYNCH
-- THE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY, THE JOHN
BIRCHERS AND THEIR FELLOW TRAVELERS."

GOVERNOR AGNEW CONCLUDED:

"LET US PROMPTLY AND PUBLICLY RENOUNCE
ANY WHO COUNSEL OR CONDONE VIOLENCE. LET
US ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAVE A REAL STAKE
IN OUR SOCIETY. LET US PROUDLY ACCLAIM
OUR PATRIOTISM AND OUR RECOGNITION THAT
NO NATION OFFERS SUCH OPPORTUNITY. THE
FICTION THAT NEGROES LACK ANY OPPORTUNITIES
IN THIS COUNTRY IS DISPELLED BY THE STATUS
OF THOSE OF YOU IN THIS ROOM.

"AS THOMAS JEFFERSON SAID, NEARLY TWO
CENTURIES AGO, 'WITH ALL THE IMPERFECTIONS
OF OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENT, IT IS WITHOUT
COMPARISON THE BEST EXISTING, OR THAT EVER
DID EXIST."

-ARCHIE MOORE: VOICE OF CALM AND REASON-

AMIDST THE RIOTS AND VIOLENCE OF LAST WEEK, A VOICE OF CALM AND REASON STOOD OUT AS A BEACON OF HOPE TO ALL AMERICANS. THE VOICE WAS THAT OF ARCHIE MOORE -- FORMER LIGHT HEAVY-WEIGHT CHAMPION.

HIMSELF A PRODUCT OF A NEGRO GHETTO IN ST. LOUIS, MOORE IS NOW EMBARKED ON A PROGRAM WHICH HE CALLS "ABC"-- STANDING FOR "ANY BOY CAN" -- DESIGNED TO TEACH YOUNGSTERS THAT THERE IS GREATNESS IN AMERICA.

THIS IS WHAT ARCHIE MOORE SAID:

"THE WORLD OWES NOBODY -- BLACK OR WHITE -- A LIVING. WE MADE IT BECAUSE WE HAD A GOAL, AND WE WERE WILLING TO WORK FOR IT. DON'T TALK TO ME OF YOUR 'GUARANTEED NATIONAL INCOME'. ANY FOOL KNOWS THAT THIS IS INSANITY. DO WE BRING THOSE WHO WORKED TO GET AHEAD DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF THOSE WHO NEVER GAVE A DAMN?

"NOW DON'T GET THE IDEA THAT I DIDN'T GROW UP HATING THE INJUSTICES OF THIS WORLD. I AM A STAUNCH ADVOCATE OF THE NEGRO REVOLUTION FOR THE GOOD OF MANKIND. AND I'VE SEEN UNBELIEVABLE PROGRESS IN THE LAST HANDFUL OF YEARS.

"GRANTED THE NEGRO STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO TO GAIN A FAIR SHAKE WITH THE WHITE MAN IN THIS COUNTRY.

"BUT BELIEVE THIS: IF WE RESORT TO LAWLESSNESS,
THE ONLY THING WE CAN HOPE FOR IS CIVIL WAR,
UNTOLD BLOODSHED, AND THE END OF OUR DREAMS.

"I DO NOT FOR A MOMENT THINK THAT ANY TRULY
RESPONSIBLE NEGRO WANTS ANARCHY. I DON'T
THINK YOU'LL FIND INTELLIGENT...MATURE NEGROES
RUNNING WILD IN THE STREETS OR SNIPING AT TOTAL
STRANGERS. GOD MADE THE WHITE MAN AS WELL AS
THE BLACK. TRUE, WE HAVEN'T ACTED AS BROTHERS
IN THE PAST, BUT WE ARE BROTHERS. IF WE'RE TO
BE SO MANY CAINS AND ABELS, THAT'S OUR CHOICE.
WE CAN'T BLAME GOD FOR IT."

-SUMMARY-

TO SUMMARIZE, WE MUST REALIZE FEDERAL DOSES OF
MONEY AND MANPOWER INTO DEPRESSED AREAS CANNOT SOLELY
STRIKE AT THE CAUSES OF UNREST. FEDERAL PROGRAMS WHICH
DEMONSTRATE THEY CAN ROOT OUT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
CAUSES CAN BE OF HELP, ESPECIALLY THOSE STRESSING
EDUCATION.

GOVERNMENT AID CAN SUPPORT; IT CAN HELP. BUT
IT CANNOT DO THE JOB ALONE; NEITHER SHOULD WE WANT IT TO.

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THE BASIC PROBLEM OF THE ESSENTIAL RACE PROBLEM
DEMANDS THE THOUGHT, THE ENERGY OF GOVERNMENT AT ALL
LEVELS...OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY...OF GROUPS LIKE
THE ONES REPRESENTED HERE TODAY...AND OF INDIVIDUALS.
WE MUST THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW -- TOGETHER.

-end-