

The original documents are located in Box D24, folder “Michigan International Key Club, Grand Rapids, MI, March 16, 1968” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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~~ADDRESS BEFORE A "TELL IT LIKE IT IS" SYMPOSIUM, FRIDAY,
MARCH 1, 1968, SOUTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, MEMPHIS, TENN.~~

Michigan Internat'l Key Club - Sub. Intro.

I AM INTRIGUED BY THE THEME OF THIS SYMPOSIUM--"TELL IT LIKE IT IS." I FIND IT ESPECIALLY INTERESTING BECAUSE OF STATEMENTS MADE A FEW DAYS AGO ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION BY TWO FORMER PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARIES.

ONE WAS PIERRE SALINGER, WHO SERVED BOTH PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON. THE OTHER WAS BILL MOYERS, WHO WAS ASSOCIATED ONLY WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

SALINGER ADMITTED THAT BOTH OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS IN WHICH HE HAD WORKED HAD BEEN LESS THAN CANDID ON VIETNAM, HAD TRIED TO PUT THE BEST POSSIBLE FACE ON ALL OF THEIR ACTIONS WHEN THE FACTS SHOWED OTHERWISE, AND BOTH HAD ISSUED STATEMENTS WHICH LATER PROVED INCORRECT.

MOYERS COMMENTED ON THE OBVIOUS BREAKDOWN IN THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. HE SAID



IT WAS DUE TO "JUDGMENTS THAT TURNED OUT TO BE NOT AS SUCCESSFUL AS IT WAS THOUGHT THEY WOULD BE." HE BLAMED THE PUBLIC'S FEELING OF RESENTMENT REGARDING VIETNAM ON THE FACT THAT "WE BACKED INTO THE WAR, THE FOURTH BLOODIEST IN OUR HISTORY." HE SAID "THE PEOPLE SUDDENLY FELT CHEATED" BECAUSE "WE WERE THERE BEFORE WE KNEW WHERE WE WERE GOING OR WHY."

I CONGRATULATE BOTH MR. SALINGER AND MR. MOYERS FOR THEIR FORTHRIGHTNESS NOW THAT THEY NO LONGER FEEL THE NEED TO BE LESS THAN CANDID.

THE SHARP EDGE OF TRUTH CUTS PARTICULARLY DEEP IN MR. MOYERS' ADMISSION THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOUND THEMSELVES HEAVILY ENMESHED IN VIETNAM BEFORE THEY KNEW WHERE THEY WERE GOING OR WHY.

YOU HAVE HEARD MUCH ABOUT THE CREDIBILITY GAP IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. I ASSURE YOU THE



CREDIBILITY GAP WAS NOT INVENTED BY THE LOYAL OPPOSITION. IT AROSE WITHIN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION DUE TO ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS.

THE WORD, "CREDIBLE," MEANS "CAPABLE OF BEING BELIEVED." IF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY THE HIGH OFFICIALS OF AN ADMINISTRATION REPEATEDLY PROVE TO BE FALSE OR WRONG, THE PEOPLE INEVITABLY LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THE ADMINISTRATION. THEY COME TO FEEL THAT TRUTH IN GOVERNMENT IS LACKING, THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOT TO BE BELIEVED.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE A MORAL PEOPLE. THEY WANT TO BE TOLD HOW IT IS AND WHERE WE GO FROM HERE. THEY BECOME DEEPLY DISTURBED WHEN THE TRUTH IS HIDDEN IN A THICKET OF CONTRADICTIONS AND MISLEADING STATEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN.


THE START OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CREDIBILITY GAP



GOES BACK TO THE VIETNAM WAR.

THE GAP OPENED UP WHEN LYNDON JOHNSON CAMPAIGNED AS A PEACE CANDIDATE IN 1964--ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT THEN READILY VISIBLE. NOW A BOOK HAS BEEN PUBLISHED WHICH DOCUMENTS THE FACT THAT ON NO LESS THAN FIVE OCCASIONS DURING THE 1964 CAMPAIGN PRESIDENT JOHNSON INDICATED HE WOULD NEVER SEND LARGE GROUND FORCES TO VIETNAM.

FOR INSTANCE, ON AUGUST 29, 1964, HE TOLD THE NATION: "SOME OTHERS ARE EAGER TO ENLARGE THE CONFLICT. THEY CALL UPON US TO SUPPLY AMERICAN BOYS TO DO THE JOB THAT ASIAN BOYS SHOULD DO. THEY ASK US TO TAKE RECKLESS ACTION WHICH MIGHT RISK THE LIVES OF MILLIONS. WE DON'T WANT OUR AMERICAN BOYS TO DO THE FIGHTING FOR ASIAN BOYS. WE DON'T WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN A NATION WITH 700 MILLION PEOPLE AND GET TIED DOWN IN A LAND WAR IN ASIA."

A circular library stamp is located in the bottom right corner of the page. The text within the stamp is partially legible and appears to read "GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY".

PRESIDENT JOHNSON SPOKE THOSE WORDS A LITTLE MORE THAN THREE YEARS AGO. TODAY WE ARE TIED DOWN IN A LAND WAR IN ASIA. AND THE END IS NOWHERE IN SIGHT.

THE BASIC REASON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DISTRUST THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN MISLED ALMOST EVERY STEP OF THE WAY ON VIETNAM.

WHEN THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION LEFT OFFICE SEVEN YEARS AGO, VIETNAM HAD A RELATIVELY STABLE AND APPARENTLY ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT. THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, WRITING IN 1960 AS A SENATOR, SAID IN HIS BOOK "STRATEGY OF PEACE" THAT U.S. AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM UNDER EISENHOWER HAD PROVED "EFFECTIVE." HE CALLED THE RESULTS "A NEAR MIRACLE."

IN 1960 THERE WERE FEWER THAN 700 U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL STATIONED IN SOUTH VIETNAM, SENT THERE TO TRAIN



SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES IN THE USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT. TODAY MORE THAN 525,000 U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN COMMITTED TO A SEEMINGLY INTERMINABLE LAND WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM--AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON HINTS HE WILL BE SENDING MANY THOUSANDS MORE THAN THAT. WHERE WILL IT ALL END?

IS THE ADMINISTRATION NOW TELLING IT LIKE IT IS IN VIETNAM? IT WAS NOT LONG AFTER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS GAVE HIGHLY OPTIMISTIC ACCOUNTS OF PROGRESS IN VIETNAM AND OF SEEING THE LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL THAT THE VIETCONG LAUNCHED THEIR JAN. 30 OFFENSIVE. SINCE THEN WE HAVE HAD THE PRESIDENT SAY THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AND ARMY MIGHT WELL COME OUT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION STRONGER THAN BEFORE. MEANTIME THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT HAS ARRESTED A NUMBER OF PROMINENT SOUTH VIETNAMESE POLITICAL FIGURES. IS THIS TELLING IT LIKE IT IS?



THERE IS AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM IN SOUTH VIETNAM VIRTUALLY LIES IN RUINS AS A RESULT OF THE TET OFFENSIVE. THE ONLY ADMISSION WE HAVE HAD OF A SETBACK IS VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY'S STATEMENT THAT THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM "DID STOP." IS THIS TELLING IT LIKE IT IS?

WE HAVE HAD A LONG SERIES OF ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS WHICH REPEATEDLY HAVE RAISED FALSE HOPES FOR AN END TO THE VIETNAM WAR.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL CONFUSED AND LET DOWN.

IS THE ADMINISTRATION TELLING IT LIKE IT IS AT HOME?

THE PRESIDENT TALKS IN HIS 1968 ECONOMIC REPORT ABOUT 83 MONTHS OF "UNINTERRUPTED PROSPERITY."

HE MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT THE HIGH LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY FEEDS HEAVILY ON THE VIETNAM WAR.



HE MAKES NO MENTION OF A LABOR DEPARTMENT REPORT FLATLY STATING THAT INFLATION HAS ROBBED THE AMERICAN WORKER OF EVERY SO-CALLED WAGE GAIN HE MADE DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS.

HE OVERLOOKS THE FACT THAT THE DOLLAR THAT WAS WORTH A DOLLAR IN 1960 NOW IS WORTH ONLY 87½ CENTS.

HE MAKES NO NOTE OF THE COST-PRICE SQUEEZE THAT SO GRIPS THE FARMER THAT PARITY--THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WHAT THE FARMER GETS FOR HIS PRODUCT AND WHAT IT COSTS HIM FOR SUPPLIES--HAS FALLEN TO 73, THE LOWEST POINT SINCE THE DEPRESSION YEAR OF 1933.

HE IGNORES THE FACT THAT 1967 WAS A BANNER YEAR FOR STRIKES.

LET'S TELL IT LIKE IT IS.

THE HOUSEWIFE WOULD SAY THAT THE COST OF LIVING HAS



GONE UP NEARLY 15 PER CENT IN THE LAST SEVEN YEARS. IT COSTS HER \$11.43 TO BUY WHAT \$10 WOULD BUY IN 1960.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FIND THEMSELVES PLAGUED WITH COST INFLATION, PRICE INFLATION, MASSIVE FEDERAL DEFICITS PILED ONE ON TOP OF ANOTHER, SOME OF THE HIGHEST INTEREST RATES IN A HUNDRED YEARS, A DANGEROUSLY LOW GOLD SUPPLY, AND REPEATED ATTACKS ON THE DOLLAR.

DEFICIT SPENDING--THE SPENDING OF BORROWED MONEY--HAS ADDED \$70 BILLION TO THE NATIONAL DEBT SINCE 1960, THE LAST YEAR THE FEDERAL BUDGET WAS BALANCED.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS RESPONSIBLE FOR \$60 BILLION OF THOSE ACCUMULATED DEFICITS AND CURRENTLY OFFERS US THE PROSPECT OF \$20 BILLION DEFICITS "BACK TO BACK" UNLESS WE RAISE INCOME TAXES.

THE ECONOMISTS ARE LARGELY AGREED THAT THE ECONOMY



WILL TURN SOFT IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1968 AND THAT A SIZABLE INCREASE IN INCOME TAXES AT THAT TIME MIGHT BE DANGEROUS.

MEANWHILE SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES HAVE BEEN RAISED AND STATE AND LOCAL TAXES ARE RISING STEADILY--SO THAT THE COMBINED FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL TAX BURDEN IS THE GREATEST IN OUR HISTORY.

THE ECONOMY HAS DETERIORATED TO THE POINT THAT THE STEADILY RISING COST OF PRODUCTION--AND NOT EXCESSIVE DEMAND-- IS THE PRIMARY PUSH BEHIND THE STEADY RISE IN THE COST OF LIVING.

THE INFLATION WE NOW ARE EXPERIENCING IS A DIRECT RESULT OF ADMINISTRATION FAILURE TO COOL OFF THE ECONOMY WHEN IT BECAME OVERHEATED IN 1966.

IT IS BECAUSE THE ADMINISTRATION FAILED TO FIGHT INFLATION IN 1966 AND LEFT THAT JOB TO THE FEDERAL RESERVE



BOARD THAT WE NOW ARE PAYING RECORD-HIGH INTEREST RATES ON ALL OF OUR CREDIT AND MORTGAGE PURCHASES.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL TO FIGHT INFLATION WITH AN INCOME TAX INCREASE WAS NOT SENT TO THE CONGRESS UNTIL AUGUST 1967--AFTER INFLATION CAUSED BY EXCESSIVE DEMAND HAD CHANGED TO INFLATION CAUSED BY EXCESSIVE PRODUCTION COSTS. IT WAS TOO LATE THEN AND IT IS TOO LATE NOW, THE WRONG MEDICINE IN POINT OF TIME.

THE WHOLE BURDEN OF THE INFLATION PRESSING SO HEAVILY ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--THE DEMAND-PULL KIND IN 1966 AND THE COST-PUSH KIND IN 1967 AND 1968--RESTS ON THE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS FAILURE TO TAKE TIMELY ACTION TO HALT THE PRICE-WAGE SPIRAL AT ITS INCEPTION.

THE BURDEN ALSO RESTS ON THE ADMINISTRATION FOR FOLLOWING A GUNS AND BUTTER POLICY IN TIME OF WAR.



PRESIDENT JOHNSON RECENTLY CITED HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN SOCIAL WELFARE FIELDS. HE MEASURED THOSE ACCOMPLISHMENTS NOT IN TERMS OF CONCRETE RESULTS BUT IN TERMS OF THE BILLIONS OF FEDERAL DOLLARS THROWN AT PROBLEMS WHICH CONTINUE TO CONFOUND FEDERAL PLANNERS.

HE PROUDLY STATES THAT WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION SPENT ONLY \$19 BILLION FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE IN 1960, THIS WAS RAISED TO \$23 BILLION IN 1964 AND BUMPED TO \$47 BILLION THIS YEAR.

HE NOTES THAT FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR THE POOR TOTALLED ONLY \$9 BILLION IN 1960, CLIMBED TO \$12 BILLION IN 1964 AND NOW TOTAL \$28 BILLION.

HE POINTS WITH PRIDE TO THE FACT THAT ADMINISTRATION SPENDING OF \$3 BILLION ON GOVERNMENT TRAINING PROGRAMS IN 1960 ROSE TO \$4 BILLION IN 1964 AND NOW HAS CLIMBED TO \$12 BILLION.



I AM JUST AS EAGER AS PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO LICK THE ANCIENT ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE--POVERTY, HUNGER AND IGNORANCE. BUT HAS MASSIVE FEDERAL SPENDING RESTRUCTURED AMERICAN SOCIETY? WHAT ARE THE RESULTS? WHERE ARE THE BENEFITS?

I WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT ALL OF THESE FEDERAL BILLIONS HAVE REMADE OUR CITIES.

BUT IF WE TELL IT LIKE IT IS WE FIND THAT 76 MAJOR RIOTS HAVE SWEEPED THE NATION SINCE 1965, KILLING MORE THAN 100 PERSONS AND WOUNDING NEARLY 2,500. THESE CIVIL EXPLOSIONS PRODUCED 7,985 CASES OF ARSON, 28,939 ARRESTS, 5,434 CONVICTIONS, \$210 MILLION IN PROPERTY DAMAGE, AND \$504 MILLION IN ESTIMATED ECONOMIC LOSSES.

THIS COUNTRY HAS EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS ON A SCALE UNPRECEDENTED IN HISTORY. THE WIDESPREAD DISREGARD FOR LAW AND ORDER WE HAVE WITNESSED IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS



IS TANTAMOUNT TO A VIRTUAL BREAKDOWN OF THE RULE OF LAW.

NOW THERE IS AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE ON BOTH SIDES AS POLICE PREPARE FOR NEW OUTBREAKS OF RIOTING IN THE SUMMER OF 1968 AND NEGRO MILITANTS PLAN GUERRILLA TERRORIST TACTICS.

THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR THE CONDITIONS WHICH BREED RIOTS, BUT NEITHER IS THERE ANY EXCUSE FOR RIOTS OR THE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY ASSOCIATED WITH THEM.

WHAT PROGRESS HAVE WE MADE IN THE WAR AGAINST CRIME SINCE 1960? IN THE LAST SEVEN YEARS THE NATIONAL CRIME RATE HAS JUMPED 88 PER CENT WHILE THE RESIDENT POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY HAS GONE UP 11 PER CENT. THINK OF IT! THE CRIME RATE HAS INCREASED EIGHT TIMES AS FAST AS THE POPULATION.

LAST YEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON SENT CONGRESS A LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE BILL BUT DID NOTHING TO PUSH A HOUSE-APPROVED LAW ENFORCEMENT AID BILL THROUGH THE SENATE. HE

VETOED A DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ANTI-CRIME BILL AND OPPOSED A HOUSE REPUBLICAN ANTI-RIOT BILL LAST YEAR. THIS YEAR HE HAS SIGNED A D.C. ANTI-CRIME BILL AND HAS SENT CONGRESS HIS OWN ANTI-RIOT BILL.

IF WE TELL IT LIKE IT IS IN AMERICA IN THIS YEAR 1968 WE SEE MANY PROBLEMS--PROBLEMS THAT THREATEN TO TEAR US APART AS A PEOPLE, PROBLEMS THAT Demean US IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD, PROBLEMS THAT THREATEN US WITH COLLAPSE AS A NATION.

THIS IS A TIME OF CRISIS. THAT IS WHY WE NEED MORE THAN EVER BEFORE TO TELL IT LIKE IT IS--TO FACE UP TO THE FACT THAT THE PATH WE HAVE FOLLOWED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS PRODUCED THE THREAT OF A WAR BETWEEN THE RACES AT HOME, STALEMATE IN VIETNAM, HUMILIATION AT THE HANDS OF NORTH KOREA, THE DISTRUST OF THE ISRAELIS AND THE ARABS DUE TO OUR NON-POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, A SUNDERING OF THE ONCE-STRONG TIES

THAT BOUND NATO TOGETHER, DANGER THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL UPSET THE BALANCE OF POWER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND SURPASS US IN NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, A WEAKENING OF THE DOLLAR BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

THE TIMES DEMAND REALISM, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT THE TRUTH. WHEN THEY GET THE TRUTH, THEY ARE ALWAYS EQUAL TO THE CHALLENGE. I FEEL SURE THIS WILL BE NO LESS TRUE IN THIS MOMENT OF TRIAL.

THANK YOU.

-END-



A Speech by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Republican Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, at a dinner meeting of the Michigan International Key Club, Saturday evening, March 16, 1968, at the Pantlind Hotel, Grand Rapids, Mich.

For Release on Delivery

One of the most attractive attributes in our young people today is their uncompromising desire for the truth.

Despite all the attention focused on the hippies and the other alienated ones, we know that most of our young people are searching for what I call the eternal verities. They are looking for answers--and they are especially impatient with ~~anyone who~~ fudges the facts and glosses over the problems.

I like this. This is good. The only way to solve a problem is to look at it honestly and tell it like it is.

Since I became Republican Leader of the House of Representatives I have traveled all over the country, speaking to various groups. Everywhere I go, whether the audience is student or adult, I find the same atmosphere--a consuming thirst for the facts, a feeling that America is gripped by crisis and a hunger to be a part of the solution to that crisis.

Americans don't want their government leaders to put on rose-colored glasses and tell them they never had it so good. They want them to tell it like it is.

I find this especially interesting because of comments made a few days ago on educational television by two former Presidential press secretaries.



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MORE



One was Pierre Salinger, who served both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The other was Bill Moyers, who was associated only with President Johnson.

Salinger admitted that both of the administrations in which he had worked had been less than candid on Vietnam, had tried to put the best possible face on all of their actions when the facts showed otherwise, and both had issued statements which later proved incorrect.

Moyers commented on the obvious breakdown in the public's confidence in the present Administration. He said it was due to "judgments that turned out to be not as successful as it was thought they would be." He blamed the public's feeling of resentment regarding Vietnam on the fact that "we backed into the war, the fourth bloodiest in our history." He said "the people suddenly felt cheated" because "We were there before we knew where we were going or why."

I congratulate both Mr. Salinger and Mr. Moyers for their forthrightness now that they no longer feel the need to be less than candid.

The sharp edge of truth cuts particularly deep in Mr. Moyers' admission that the American people found themselves heavily enmeshed in Vietnam before they knew where they were going or why.

You have heard much about the Credibility Gap in connection with the present Administration. I assure you the Credibility Gap was not invented by the Loyal Opposition. It arose within the present Administration due to Administration actions and statements.

The word, "credible," means "capable of being believed." If the statements made by the high officials of an Administration repeatedly prove to be false or wrong, the people inevitably lose confidence in the Administration. They come to feel that truth in government is lacking, that the Administration is not to be believed.

The American people are a moral people. They want to be told how it is and where we go from here. They become deeply disturbed when the truth is hidden in a thicket of contradictions and misleading statements by Government spokesmen.

The start of the Administration's Credibility Gap goes back to the Vietnam War.

The gap opened up when Lyndon Johnson campaigned as a peace candidate in 1964-- although it was not then readily visible. Now a book has been published which documents the fact that on no less than five occasions during the 1964 campaign President Johnson indicated he would never send large ground forces to Vietnam.

For instance, on August 29, 1964, he told the Nation: "Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless action which might risk the lives of millions. We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get involved in a nation with 700 million people and get tied down in a land war in Asia."

President Johnson spoke those words a little more than three years ago. Today we are tied down in a land war in Asia. And the end is nowhere in sight.

The basic reason the American people distrust the present Administration is that they have been misled almost every step of the way on Vietnam.

When the Eisenhower Administration left office seven years ago, Vietnam had a relatively stable and apparently established government. The late President John F. Kennedy, writing in 1960 as a senator, said in his book "Strategy Of Peace" that U.S. aid to South Vietnam under Eisenhower had proved "effective." He called the results "a near miracle."

In 1960 there were fewer than 700 U.S. military personnel stationed in South Vietnam, sent there to train South Vietnamese forces in the use of American weapons and equipment. Today more than 525,000 U.S. military personnel have been committed to a seemingly interminable land war in South Vietnam--and President Johnson hints he will be sending many thousands more than that. Where will it all end?

Is the Administration now telling it like it is in Vietnam? It was not long after Administration officials gave highly optimistic accounts of progress in Vietnam and of seeing the light at the end of the tunnel that the Vietcong launched their Jan. 30 offensive. Since then we have had the President say that the South Vietnamese government and Army might well come out of the current situation stronger than before. Meantime the Saigon government has arrested a number of prominent South Vietnamese political figures. Is this telling it like it is?

There is ample evidence that the pacification program in South Vietnam virtually lies in ruins as a result of the Tet offensive. The only admission we have had of a setback is Vice-President Humphrey's statement that the

pacification program "did stop." Is this telling it like it is?

We have had a long series of Administration statements which repeatedly have raised false hopes for an end to the Vietnam War. The American people feel confused and let down.

Is the Administration telling it like it is at home?

The President talks in his 1968 Economic Report about 83 months of "uninterrupted prosperity."

He makes no reference to the fact that the high level of economic activity feeds heavily on the Vietnam War.

He makes no mention of a Labor Department report flatly stating that inflation has robbed the American worker of every so-called wage gain he made during the past two years.

He overlooks the fact that the dollar that was worth a dollar in 1960 now is worth only 87½ cents.

He makes no note of the cost-price squeeze that so grips the farmer that parity--the relationship between what the farmer gets for his product and what it costs him for supplies--has fallen to 73, the lowest point since the depression year of 1933.

He ignores the fact that 1967 was a banner year for strikes.

Let's tell it like it is.

The housewife would say that the cost of living has gone up nearly 15 per cent in the last seven years. It costs her \$11.43 to buy what \$10 would buy in 1960.

The American people find themselves plagued with cost inflation, price inflation, massive federal deficits piled one on top of another, some of the highest interest rates in a hundred years, a dangerously low gold supply, and repeated attacks on the dollar.

Deficit spending--the spending of borrowed money--has added \$70 billion to the national debt since 1960, the last year the federal budget was balanced.

The present Administration is responsible for \$60 billion of those accumulated deficits and currently offers us the prospect of \$20 billion deficits "back to back" unless we raise income taxes.

The economists are largely agreed that the economy will turn soft in the second half of 1968 and that a sizable increase in income taxes at that time might be dangerous.

Meanwhile Social Security taxes have been raised and State and local taxes are rising steadily--so that the combined federal, state and local tax burden

is the greatest in our history.

The economy has deteriorated to the point that the steadily rising cost of production--and not excessive demand--is the primary push behind the steady rise in the cost of living.

The inflation we now are experiencing is a direct result of Administration failure to cool off the economy when it became overheated in 1966.

It is because the Administration failed to fight inflation in 1966 and left that job to the Federal Reserve Board that we now are paying record-high interest rates on all of our credit and mortgage purchases.

The Administration's proposal to fight inflation with an income tax increase was not sent to the Congress until August 1967--after inflation caused by excessive demand had changed to inflation caused by excessive production costs. It was too late then and it is too late now, the wrong medicine in point of time.

The whole burden of the inflation pressing so heavily on the American people--the demand-pull kind in 1966 and the cost-push kind in 1967 and 1968--rests on the Administration and its failure to take timely action to halt the price-wage spiral at its inception.

The burden also rests on the Administration for following a guns and butter policy in time of war.

President Johnson recently cited his accomplishments in social welfare fields. He measured those accomplishments not in terms of concrete results but in terms of the billions of federal dollars thrown at problems which continue to confound federal planners.

He proudly states that while the Administration spent only \$19 billion for health, education and welfare in 1960, this was raised to \$23 billion in 1964 and bumped to \$47 billion this year.

He notes that federal programs for the poor totalled only \$9 billion in 1960, climbed to \$12 billion in 1964 and now total \$28 billion.

He points with pride to the fact that Administration spending of \$3 billion on government training programs in 1960 rose to \$4 billion in 1964 and now has climbed to \$12 billion.

I am just as eager as President Johnson to lick the ancient enemies of the people--poverty, hunger and ignorance. But has massive federal spending restructured American society? What are the results? Where are the benefits?

I would like to be able to say that all of these federal billions have remade our cities.



But if we tell it like it is we find that 76 major riots have swept the Nation since 1965, killing more than 100 persons and wounding nearly 2,500. These civil explosions produced 7,985 cases of arson, 28,939 arrests, 5,434 convictions, \$210 million in property damage, and \$504 million in estimated economic losses.

This country has experienced violence and lawlessness on a scale unprecedented in history. The widespread disregard for law and order we have witnessed in the last several years is tantamount to a virtual breakdown of the rule of law.

Now there is an escalating arms race on both sides as police prepare for new outbreaks of rioting in the summer of 1968 and Negro militants plan guerrilla terrorist tactics.

There is no excuse for the conditions which breed riots, but neither is there any excuse for riots or the criminal activity associated with them.

What progress have we made in the war against crime since 1960? In the last seven years the national crime rate has jumped 88 per cent while the resident population of this country has gone up 11 per cent. Think of it! The crime rate has increased eight times as fast as the population.

Last year President Johnson sent Congress a law enforcement assistance bill but did nothing to push a House-approved law enforcement aid bill through the Senate. He vetoed a District of Columbia anti-crime bill and opposed a House Republican anti-riot bill last year. This year he has signed a D.C. anti-crime bill and has sent Congress his own anti-riot bill.

If we tell it like it is in America in this year 1968 we see many problems-- problems that threaten to tear us apart as a people, problems that demean us in the eyes of the world, problems that threaten us with collapse as a nation.

This is a time of crisis. That is why we need more than ever before to tell it like it is--to face up to the fact that the path we have followed in the last few years has produced the threat of a war between the races at home, stalemate in Vietnam, humiliation at the hands of North Korea, the distrust of the Israelis and the Arabs due to our non-policy in the Middle East, a sundering of the once-strong ties that bount NATO together, danger that the Soviet Union will upset the balance of power throughout the world and surpass us in nuclear capability, a weakening of the dollar both at home and abroad.

The times demand realism, and the American people want the truth. When they get the truth, they are always equal to the challenge. I feel sure this will be no less true in this moment of trial.

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