The original documents are located in Box D24, folder “Model Congress, American International College, Springfield, MA, March 22, 1968” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

"THREE CRISES"

THIS IS A TIME OF GRAVE CRISIS FOR AMERICA. IT IS A TIME WHEN OUR NATION IS BESET WITH AGONIZING PROBLEMS BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, A TIME WHICH DEMANDS THE BEST THAT IS IN ALL AMERICANS.

THE CHALLENGE WHICH CONFRONTS US IS IN REALITY THREE CRISES JOINED IN ONE.

THERE IS THE CRISIS OF VIETNAM AND THE OVERALL ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE NOT ONLY FOR OUR TIME BUT FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

THERE IS THE CRISIS CREATED BY POLARIZATION OF THE RACES INTO TWO WARRING CAMPS, THE THREAT OF A SECOND CIVIL WAR.

THERE IS THE CRISIS THAT UNDERMINES OUR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AS INFLATION WITH ALL ITS INSIDIOUS RAMIFICATIONS ERODES THE VALUE OF THE
DOLLAR AT HOME AND ABROAD.

IF WE ARE TO SEEK THE GREAT NATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF PEACE, JUSTICE, PROSPERITY AND HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL, WE MUST WRESTLE WITH AND SEEK TO DEVELOP SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS GENERATED BY THESE CRISIS.

WE MUST TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT VIETNAM, WHERE WE ARE INVOLVED IN THE THIRD LARGEST FOREIGN WAR IN OUR HISTORY--A MASSIVE LAND WAR TO WHICH OUR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF HAS COMMITTED MORE THAN 525,000 U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL, A CONFLICT WHICH HAS ALREADY TAKEN THE LIVES OF MORE THAN 23,000 AMERICANS DUE TO ENEMY ACTION AND OTHER CAUSES, A WAR WHICH IS DEVOURING AMERICAN WEALTH AT THE RATE OF MORE THAN $30 BILLION A YEAR.

WE MUST EXAMINE OUR POLICIES IN VIETNAM AND ASK OURSELVES WHETHER OUR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF HAS PURSUED THE PROPER COURSE IN THIS WAR. WHAT HAVE THE RESULTS BEEN IN THIS LIMITED WAR
FOR LIMITED OBJECTIVES? WHAT ARE THOSE OBJECTIVES AND WHAT, PROPERLY, SHOULD THEY BE IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICA'S WORLD MISSION? WHAT, INDEED, IS AMERICA'S MISSION IN THE WORLD? HAVING DEFINED HER WORLD ROLE, HOW BEST CAN WE CARRY IT OUT?

AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS WANTED TO LIVE IN PEACE...FROM THE BIRTH OF THIS NATION IN THAT CRADLE OF DEMOCRACY FASHIONED BY THE MEN OF PENNSYLVANIA, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW YORK AND THE OTHER ORIGINAL COLONIES TO THE PRESENT TIME. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS AN ALIEN BREED OF MEN IN THE WORLD TODAY WHO CARE NOTHING ABOUT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND WHO ARE DISTURBED NOT A BIT AT BLOTTING OUT THOUSANDS OF LIVES IF THEY CAN ONLY SEIZE THE REINS OF POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

AMERICANS HAVE LEARNED THAT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN THEY MUST GO TO WAR IF PEACE IS TO
BE WORTH HAVING...THAT THEY MUST GO TO WAR IF FREEDOM IS TO LIVE. AND SO THEY HAVE FOUGHT—
AT CONCORD, AT BUNKER HILL, IN THE FIELDS OF
FRANCE, ON THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY AND THE
ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC, IN KOREA, AND NOW IN
THE RICE PADDIES OF SOUTH VIETNAM.

TODAY WE TALK NOT ONLY OF FREEDOM BUT
THE BALANCE OF POWER IN A WORLD WHERE THE
COMMUNIST NATIONS CONSTANTLY USE WAR OR THREATS
OF WAR TO FURTHER THEIR DESIGNS. IT IS AN
EXCEEDINGLY COMPLEX WORLD, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
IS PERHAPS THE MOST COMPLEX PART OF IT. OUR
TASK IS TO EXAMINE OUR COMMITMENT THERE AND TO
ASSESS OUR OPTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT
DEVELOPMENTS AND OUR PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

OUR ECONOMY IS IN CRISIS. THE
STAGGERING COST OF THE VIETNAM WAR IS ONLY ONE
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THE COST OF LIVING IS MOVING STEADILY
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WORKER FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS BY EATING UP HIS WAGE GAINS AND ERODING HIS SAVINGS.

FEDERAL FINANCES ARE OUT OF CONTROL, THE RESULT OF EXCESSIVE SPENDING AND HUGE DEFICITS OVER A PERIOD OF EIGHT CONSECUTIVE YEARS.

INTEREST RATES HAVE RISEN TO THE HIGHEST POINT IN A HUNDRED YEARS, ADDING HEAVILY TO MORTGAGE AND TIME PURCHASE COSTS AND EVEN PREVENTING SOME AMERICANS FROM BUYING A HOME.


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RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD FALLS ILL BECAUSE
THE MEN WHO MAKE ECONOMIC POLICY IN WASHINGTON
LOSE CONTROL OF FEDERAL SPENDING. THAT WAY
LIES DISASTER.
I URGE, THEN, THAT THE CONGRESS SET FOR ITSELF A RESPONSIBLE AND RESPONSIVE FINANCIAL PLAN AS A GOAL. WE MUST KEEP UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS THAT IF AMERICANS ARE TO ENJOY PERSONAL SECURITY AND AMERICA IS TO MAKE REAL PROGRESS, WE MUST RESTORE STABLE PURCHASING POWER TO THE DOLLAR.

HOW MANY AMERICANS FULLY REALIZE THAT IN A SINGLE YEAR--THE 12-MONTH PERIOD WHICH WILL END THIS JUNE 30--THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE PAID OUT MORE THAN $180 BILLION?

HOW MANY AMERICANS KNOW THAT FEDERAL SPENDING HAS JUMPED MORE THAN $80 BILLION IN JUST THE LAST SEVEN YEARS--A RISE OF MORE THAN 80 PER CENT?

HOW MANY AMERICANS KNOW THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S OUTLAY OF CASH FOR NON-MILITARY FUNCTIONS HAS GONE UP $51 BILLION IN THOSE SEVEN YEARS WHILE DEFENSE SPENDING, INCLUDING THE COST OF THE VIETNAM WAR, ROSE ONLY $30 BILLION?
How many of our people realize that the last time the federal budget was balanced was in 1960—and that there have been only seven balanced budgets in the last 38 years?

When the world looks at the United States it sees a nation with its books constantly out of balance and its accounts with other nations running deeply into deficit year after year after year.

We are overcommitted and overextended throughout the world. We must alter that trend. We must revise our commitments while continuing to fulfill our essential role of world leadership.

Even a nation as rich and powerful as the United States cannot overspend indefinitely without inviting disaster.

In looking at our overseas commitments, we must examine not only our position in Vietnam but all over the globe. Besides the 550,000
U.S. MILITARY PERSONNEL POSITIONED IN THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA BATTLE ZONE, WE HAVE 217,000 MEN ELSEWHERE IN THE FAR EAST, 352,000 IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, 23,000 IN THE CARIBBEAN AND 400,000 ELSEWHERE ABROAD INCLUDING THOSE IN OUR NAVAL FleETS.

WE HAVE BEEN PLAGUED BY CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY AS TO HOW TO USE THE MASSIVE POWER AT OUR DISPOSAL. WE MUST RESOLVE THIS BASIC POLICY QUESTION IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF OUR NATION. AND WE MUST PERSUADE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS, INDEED, A PACIFIC NATION ALTHOUGH ASIA SEEMS VERY REMOTE FROM US. IT IS MUCH THE SAME PROBLEM OUR NATIONAL LEADERS HAD IN THE LATE 1930's. EUROPE, EVEN WITH HITLER'S OUTRAGES, SEEMED BEYOND OUR INTERESTS.

PARTICULARLY NOW WHEN OUR OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS ARE A GIANT FACTOR IN OUR CONTINUING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT--A MASSIVELY
LARGER OUTFLOW OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR FROM THIS COUNTRY THAN THE INFLOW—WE MUST PARE OVERSEAS SPENDING TO THE BAREST POSSIBLE MINIMUM. WE MUST INSIST UPON REFORMS IN EXCHANGE FOR OUR FOREIGN AID. AND WE MUST CREATE AND EXPAND AID ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY MANY NATIONS IN A GIVEN REGION POOL THEIR LENDING RESOURCES INSTEAD OF MAKING DEMANDS UPON THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

THE STAKES IN VIETNAM GO FAR BEYOND THAT BATTLE AREA TO EMBRACE THE FUTURE OF MANY OTHER PEOPLES AS WELL—ALL THOSE WHO ARE THREATENED WITH EXTERNALLY-AIDED WARS OF LIBERATION. VIETNAM IS A TEST OF WHETHER WE AS A PEOPLE HAVE THE WISDOM, THE MATURITY AND THE PATIENCE TO PURSUE A FAR-REACHING OBJECTIVE AND TO AVOID OVER-SIMPLIFIED SOLUTIONS.

AMONG OUR FIGHTING MEN IN VIETNAM ARE THOUSANDS OF NEGROES. CASUALTIES AMONG OUR NEGRO GI'S ARE GREATER THAN THE RATIO OF NEGROES TO WHITES IN THE POPULATION OF THIS
IN THE GHETTOES OF OUR GREAT CITIES, UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUNG NEGRO MALES AVERAGES ABOUT 30 PER CENT WHILE THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE NATIONWIDE HOVERS NEAR THE 4 PER CENT MARK.

LAST YEAR LARGE-SCALE RIOTS SCARRED THE FACE OF AMERICA. RACIAL EXPLOSIONS ERUPTED IN SOME 120 CITIES. JUST LAST WEEK, RIOTING BROKE OUT IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE. WE HAVE WITNESSED GROWING HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE RACES, AND A BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER WHICH HAS MADE NEARLY EVERY MAJOR AMERICAN CITY THE SEEDBED FOR RACIAL RIOT AND A POTENTIAL WAR BETWEEN THE RACES.

IT DOESN'T HELP TO SAY THAT RIOTS ARE UNAVOIDABLE IN THE SUMMER OF 1968. IT DOESN'T HELP FOR NEGROES AND WHITES ALIKE TO BUY GUNS BECAUSE "THEY MIGHT COME IN HERE." DOES THIS SOLVE ANYTHING?

THE PROBLEM IS MOST COMPLEX. BASICALLY
IT IS ONE OF FOOLISH HOSTILITY AND OF MISERABLE LIVING CONDITIONS FOR WHICH THERE IS REALLY NO EXCUSE.

AS FOR THE HOSTILITY, I KNOW THIS. THERE IS NO HOSTILITY BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE CHILDREN UNTIL IT IS TAUGHT TO THEM BY THEIR PARENTS OR FRIENDS.

WHITE RACISTS AND THOSE WHO HAVE PLUNDERED AND LITERALLY STOLEN FROM NEGRO POOR HAVE PLANTED THE SEEDS OF BITTERNESS.

I AM SURE, TOO, THAT MUCH OF THE PRESENT HOSTILITY HAS BEEN STIMULATED BY BLACK MILITANTS WHO HAVE BEEN PREACHING VIOLENCE, SEPARATISM, AND BLOODY REVOLUTION. THIS, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, HAS DAMAGED THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

WITHOUT REGARD FOR THE BLACK MILITANTS AND/OR THE WHITE RACISTS AND SIMPLY FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATION, WE MUST GET ABOUT A TASK TOO LONG NEGLECTED--THE REBUILDING OF OUR
CITIES.

TO REBUILD OUR CITIES, WE MUST BUILD THE PEOPLE OF OUR CENTRAL CITIES BY HELPING THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES AND TO LIVE BETTER LIVES FROM A SENSE OF PERSONAL PRIDE.

THE AREAS OF NEED ARE WELL KNOWN. WE MUST MOVE VIGOROUSLY TO FILL THE DEEP GAPS IN EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING AND EDUCATION THAT MAKE DISADVANTAGED AREAS OF OUR CENTRAL CITIES. THE FIRST PRIORITY IS JOBS.

I URGE THAT THE CONGRESS CONSIDER THE WISDOM OF PROVIDING INDUSTRY WITH TAX CREDITS TO STIMULATE A NATIONWIDE PROGRAM OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING FOR GHETTO YOUTHS AND TO GET INDUSTRY TO BUILD INDUSTRIAL PLANTS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES. COUPLED WITH THIS I SEE A PLAN TO ENGAGE INDUSTRY IN A MASSIVE, GOVERNMENT-UNDERWRITTEN PROGRAM TO PROVIDE PRIVATE HOUSING FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND GIVE THEM THE TREMENDOUS PERSONAL PRIDE THAT GOES WITH HOME.
OWNERSHIP. THIS WOULD HELP TO KEEP FAMILIES TOGETHER AND THUS STRENGTHEN THE ENTIRE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY.

WE NEED NOT ONLY A NEW SET OF NATIONAL SPENDING PRIORITIES BUT AN ENTIRELY NEW APPROACH TO AMERICA'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS--AN APPROACH WHICH DEPARTS FROM TOTAL GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS 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 OUR PEOPLE--THE FULL REALIZATION THAT, AS ONE OF OUR GREATEST PRESIDENTS EXPRESSED IT, A NATION DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND.

THE WAY FOR AMERICA TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS IS TO GET ALL AMERICANS INVOLVED IN SOLVING THEM, TO TAP THE GREAT WELL OF COMMITMENT AND IDEALISM THAT IS JUST WAITING TO BE DRAWN UPON.
Winston Churchill once said, "Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."
We have the tools to do the job—you and other Americans who are willing and eager to get involved.

You have the talent. You have the brains. Give of yourself to America.

With young people like you, we cannot fail.

-End-
ADDRESS BEFORE THE MODEL CONGRESS SPONSORED
BY AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE, SPRINGFIELD,

An Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

"THREE CRISSES"

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THIS MODEL
CONGRESS:

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THIS MODEL CONGRESS--ANY CONGRESS WHICH PURPORTS TO SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE AND TO SEEK THE GREAT NATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF PEACE, JUSTICE, PROSPERITY AND HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL--WE MUST WRESTLE WITH AND SEEK TO DEVELOP SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS GENERATED BY THESE CRISIS.

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TODAY WE TALK NOT ONLY OF FREEDOM BUT OF THE BALANCE OF POWER IN A WORLD WHERE THE COMMUNIST NATIONS CONSTANTLY USE WAR OR THREATS OF WAR TO FURTHER THEIR DESIGNS. IT IS AN EXCEEDINGLY COMPLEX WORLD, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA IS PERHAPS THE MOST COMPLEX PART OF IT. OUR TASK IS TO EXAMINE OUR COMMITMENT THERE AND TO ASSESS OUR OPTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS AND OUR PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

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THE COST OF LIVING IS MOVING STEADILY UPWARD, DESTROYING THE HOPES OF THE AMERICAN WORKER FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS BY EATING UP HIS WAGE GAINS AND ERODING HIS SAVINGS.

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WE CANNOT NOW SUDDENLY ERASE THE TREMENDOUS SPURT IN FEDERAL SPENDING WHICH HAS FUELED THE ENGINE OF INFLATION FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS AND EVEN NOW PROPELS OUR ECONOMY DOWN THE ROAD TOWARD DESTRUCTION. WE CAN AND MUST APPLY THE BRAKES. A NATION, LIKE A FAMILY, MUST LIVE CLOSE TO ITS MEANS. WE MUST BEGIN MOVING TOWARD A BALANCED BUDGET.

WE MUST MOVE THIS NATION AHEAD TOWARD DESIRABLE SOCIAL GOALS--BUT WE MUST BE EVER MINDFUL THAT ATTEMPTS AT TOTAL GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS HAVE FAILED DESPITE THE HUge SUMS OF TAXPAYER DOLLARS TOSSED AT OUR PROBLEMS.

IT IS NOT PROGRESS WHEN THE ECONOMY OF THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD FALLS ILL BECAUSE THE MEN WHO MAKE ECONOMIC POLICY IN WASHINGTON LOSE CONTROL OF FEDERAL SPENDING. THAT WAY LIES DISASTER.
I urge, then, that this Congress set for itself a BALANCED BUDGET as a LONG-TERM GOAL.

We must keep uppermost in our minds that if Americans are to enjoy personal security and America is to make real progress, we must restore stable purchasing power to the dollar.

How many Americans fully realize that in a single year--the 12-month period which will end this June 30--the Federal Government will have paid out more than $180 billion?

How many Americans know that Federal spending has jumped more than $80 billion in just the last seven years--a rise of more than 80 per cent?

How many Americans know that the Federal Government's outlay of cash for non-military functions has gone up $51 billion in those seven years while defense spending, including the cost of the Vietnam War, rose only $30 billion?
HOW MANY OF OUR PEOPLE REALIZE THAT THE LAST TIME THE FEDERAL BUDGET WAS BALANCED WAS IN 1960--AND THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ONLY SEVEN BALANCED BUDGETS IN THE LAST 38 YEARS?

WHEN THE WORLD LOOKS AT THE UNITED STATES IT SEES A NATION WITH ITS BOOKS CONSTANTLY OUT OF BALANCE AND ITS ACCOUNTS WITH OTHER NATIONS RUNNING DEEPLY INTO DEFICIT YEAR AFTER YEAR AFTER YEAR.

WE ARE OVERCOMMITTED AND OVEREXTENDED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WE MUST ALTER THAT TREND. WE MUST REVISE OUR COMMITMENTS WHILE CONTINUING TO FULFILL OUR ESSENTIAL ROLE OF WORLD LEADERSHIP.

EVEN A NATION AS RICH AND POWERFUL AS THE UNITED STATES CANNOT OVERSPEND INDEFINITELY WITHOUT INVITING DISASTER.

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As much the same problem our national leaders had in the late 1930s, Europe, even with Hitler's advent seemed logical particularly now when our overseas commitments are a giant factor in our continuing balance of payments deficit—a massively larger outflow of dollars each year from this country than the inflow—we must pare overseas spending to the barest possible minimum. WE
MUST INSIST UPON REFORMS IN EXCHANGE FOR OUR FOREIGN AID. AND WE MUST CREATE AND EXPAND AID ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY MANY NATIONS IN A GIVEN REGION POOL THEIR LENDING RESOURCES INSTEAD OF MAKING DEMANDS UPON THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

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I ASK THIS MODEL CONGRESS TO CONSIDER THE WISDOM OF PROVIDING INDUSTRY WITH TAX
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REALIZATION THAT, AS ONE OF OUR GREATEST PRESIDENTS EXPRESSED IT, A NATION DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND.

SOME OF YOU MAY HAVE FOUND MY COMMENTS TODAY RATHER HEAVY GOING. I COULD HAVE TALKED WITH YOU ABOUT SCHOOL, THE PROBLEMS OF DATING AND EARLY MARRIAGE, CAREERS AND JOB PROSPECTS. BUT I HAVE FOUND THAT THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF AMERICA WANT TO THINK---AND THEY WANT TO THINK FOR THEMSELVES. IN FACT, THEY FEEL THAT THE ADULT INFLUENCE IS DAMAGING TO TEENAGERS.

I DON'T BELIEVE ADULTS INTERFERE WITH THE ABILITY OF TEENAGERS TO THINK FOR THEMSELVES. YOU DO PLENTY OF THAT, FROM MY OBSERVATIONS, AND THAT IS WHY I HAVE NOT HESITATED TO TALK WITH YOU ABOUT VIETNAM, INFLATION, THE GOLD DRAIN, AMERICAN COMMITMENTS ABROAD, RACE RELATIONS AND THE BROADER PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES. YOU ARE FULLY COMPETENT TO EXAMINE THESE AND OTHER PROBLEMS THAT FACE AMERICA IN 1968. YOU WOULD NOT BE PRESENT HERE, AND YOU CAN HELP TO CURE
THE SICKNESS THAT INFECTS AMERICA TODAY IF YOU WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT EVERY OTHER AMERICAN WANTS TO BE LOVED AND RESPECTED.

I COULD LIST MANY MORE PROBLEMS FOR YOUR STUDY THAN I ALREADY HAVE BUT YOU KNOW WHAT THEY ARE--AIR AND WATER POLLUTION, CRIME THAT HAS GONE UP 83 PER CENT IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE SUBURBS, DISHONESTY IN HIGH PLACES, DRUG ADDICTION, FAMILY BREAKDOWN, PERSONAL IRRESPONSIBILITY IN ALL ITS FORMS.

YOU KNOW THE PROBLEMS, NOW BRING YOUR THINK-POWER TO BEAR ON THEM.

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

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

YOU HAVE THE TOOLS TO DO THE JOB--YOU
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YOU HAVE THE TALENT. YOU HAVE THE BRAINS. GIVE OF YOURSELF TO AMERICA.

WITH YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU, WE CANNOT FAIL.

- end -
Mr. Chairman and members of this Model Congress:

We are met in a time of grave crisis for America. We are met at a time when our Nation is beset with agonizing problems both at home and abroad. We are met at a time which demands the best that is in all Americans.

The challenge which confronts us is in reality three crises joined in one.

There is the crisis of Vietnam and the overall issue of war and peace not only for our time but for generations to come.

There is the crisis created by polarization of the races into two warring camps, the threat of a second civil war.

There is the crisis that undermines our economic well-being as inflation erodes the value of the dollar at home and abroad.

This Model Congress—any Congress which purports to speak for the people and to seek the great national objectives of peace, justice, prosperity and human dignity for all—must wrestle with and seek to develop solutions to the problems generated by these crises.

We must take a fresh look at Vietnam, where we are involved in the third largest foreign war in our history—a massive land war to which our commander-in-chief has committed more than 525,000 U.S. military personnel, a conflict which has already taken the lives of more than 23,000 Americans due to enemy action and other causes, a war which is devouring American wealth at a rate of more than $32 billion a year.

Examine our policies in Vietnam. Ask yourselves whether our commander-in-chief has pursued the proper course in this war. What have the results been in this limited war for limited objectives? What are those objectives and what, properly, should they be in the light of America's world mission? What, indeed, is America's mission in the world? Having defined her world role, how best can we carry it out?

Americans have always wanted to live in peace...from the birth of this Nation in that cradle of democracy fashioned by the men of Massachusetts and
New York and the other original colonies to the present time.

Unfortunately, there is an alien breed of men in the world today who care nothing about individual human rights and who are disturbed not a bit at blotting out thousands of lives if they can only seize the reins of power in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world.

Americans have learned that there are times when they must make war if peace is to be worth having...that they must make war if freedom is to live. And so they have fought--at Concord, at Bunker Hill, in the fields of France, on the beaches of Normandy and the islands in the Pacific, and now in the rice paddies of South Vietnam.

Today we talk not only of freedom but of the balance of power in a world where the communist nations constantly use war or threats of war to further their designs. It is an exceedingly complex world, and Southeast Asia is perhaps the most complex part of it. Your task is to examine our commitment there and to assess our options in the light of current developments and our prospects for the future.

Our economy is in crisis. The staggering cost of the Vietnam War is only one of the factors.

The cost of living is moving steadily upward, destroying the hopes of the American worker for economic progress by eating up his wage gains and eroding his savings.

Federal finances are out of control, the result of excessive spending and huge deficits over a period of eight consecutive years.

Interest rates have risen to the highest point in a hundred years, adding heavily to mortgage and time purchase costs and even preventing some Americans from buying a home.

The value of the dollar in terms of purchasing power has dropped to 87 cents since 1960.

Foreigners have lost confidence in the dollar--preferring gold--and have drained the United States of more than $2.2 billion worth of gold since last November to bring our overall gold stocks down to a low of $10.4 billion.

This Nation has removed all gold backing from our currency--to meet the demands of foreign governments preferring gold to dollars--so that now we truly do have paper money.

We cannot now suddenly erase the tremendous spurt in federal spending which has fueled the engine of inflation for the last several years and even now (more)
propels our economy down the road toward destruction. But we can and must apply the brakes. A nation, like a family, must live close to its means. We must begin moving toward a balanced budget.

We must move this Nation ahead toward desirable social goals—but we must be ever mindful that attempts at total government solutions have failed despite the huge sums of taxpayer dollars tossed at our problems. It is not progress when the economy of the richest nation in the world falls ill because the men who make economic policy in Washington lose control of federal spending. That way lies disaster.

I urge, then, that this Congress set for itself a balanced budget as a long-term goal. We must keep uppermost in our minds that if Americans are to enjoy personal security and America is to make real progress, we must restore stable purchasing power to the dollar.

How many Americans fully realize that in a single year—the 12-month period which will end this June 30—the Federal Government will have paid out more than $180 billion?

How many Americans know that the Federal Government's outlay of cash for non-military functions has gone up $51 billion in those seven years while defense spending, including the cost of the Vietnam War, rose only $30 billion?

How many of our people realize that the last time the Federal budget was balanced was in 1960—and that there have been only seven balanced budgets in the last 38 years?

When the world looks at the United States it sees a nation with its books constantly out of balance and its accounts with other nations running deeply into deficit year after year after year.

We are overcommitted and overextended at home and throughout the world. We must reverse the trend. We must revise our commitments while continuing to fulfill our essential role of world leadership.

Even a nation as rich and powerful as the United States cannot overspend indefinitely without inviting disaster.

In looking at our overseas commitments, we must examine not only our position in Vietnam but all over the globe. Besides the 550,000 U.S. military personnel positioned in the Southeast Asia battle zone, we have 217,000 men elsewhere in the Far East, 352,000 in Europe and the Mediterranean, 23,000 in the Caribbean and 400,000 elsewhere abroad including those in our naval fleets.

We have been plagued by continuing uncertainty as to how to use the massive (more)
power at our disposal. We must resolve this basic policy question in the best interests of our Nation. And we must persuade the American people that the United States is, indeed, a Pacific nation although Asia seems very remote from us.

Particularly now when our overseas commitments are a giant factor in our continuing balance of payments deficit--a massively larger outflow of dollars each year from this country than the inflow--we must pare overseas spending to the barest possible minimum. We must insist upon reforms in exchange for our foreign aid, and we must create and expand aid arrangements whereby many nations in a given region pool their lending resources instead of making demands upon the United States alone.

The stakes in Vietnam go far beyond that battle area to embrace the future of many other peoples as well--all those who are threatened with externally-aided wars of liberation. Vietnam is a test of whether we as a people have the wisdom, the maturity and the patience to pursue a far-reaching objective and to avoid over-simplified solutions.

Among our fighting men in Vietnam are thousands of Negroes. Casualties among our Negro GI's are greater than their ratio in the population of this country.

In the ghettos of our great cities, unemployment among young Negro males averages about 30 per cent while the unemployment rate nationwide hovers near the 4 per cent mark.

Last year large-scale riots scarred the face of America. Racial explosions erupted in some 120 cities. We have witnessed growing hostility between the races, and a breakdown of law and order which has made nearly every major American city the seedbed for racial riot and a potential war between the races.

It doesn't help to say that riots are unavoidable in the summer of 1968. It doesn't help for Negroes and whites alike to buy guns because "THEY might come in here." Does this solve anything?

The problem is most complex. Basically it is one of foolish hostility and of miserable living conditions for which there is really no excuse.

As for the hostility, I know this. There is no hostility between black and white children until it is taught to them by their parents or friends.

I am sure, too, that much of the present hostility has been stimulated by black militants who have been preaching violence, separatism, and bloody revolution. This, I believe, has damaged the cause of civil rights.

Without regard for the black militants and simply for the good of the Nation,
we must get about a task too long neglected--the rebuilding of our cities.

To rebuild our cities, we must **build the people** of our central cities by helping them to help themselves and to live better lives from a sense of personal pride.

The areas of need are well known. We must move vigorously to fill the deep gaps in employment, housing and education that make disadvantaged areas of our central cities. The first priority is jobs.

I ask this Model Congress to consider the wisdom of providing industry with tax credits to stimulate a nationwide program of on-the-job training for ghetto youths and to get industry to build industrial plants in the central cities. Coupled with this I see a plan to engage industry in a massive, government-underwritten program to provide private housing for low-income families and give them the tremendous personal pride that goes with home ownership. This would help to keep families together and thus strengthen the entire fabric of our society.

We need not only a new set of national spending priorities but an entirely new approach to America's social problems--an approach which departs from total government solutions 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 our people--the full realization that, as one of our greatest Presidents expressed it, a Nation divided against itself cannot stand.

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I don't believe adults interfere with the ability of teenagers to think for themselves. You do **plenty** of that, from my observations. And that is why I have not hesitated to talk with you about Vietnam, inflation, the gold drain, American commitments abroad, race relations and the broader problems of the cities.

You are fully competent to examine these and other problems that face America in 1968 or you would not be present here today. And you can help to cure the sickness that infects America today if you will always remember that every other American wants to be loved and respected.

I could list many more problems for your study than I already have but you (more)
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