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A. Foreign Policy. 1) What has happened in 6 yrs.

2) What we mint do - can't be isolated. 3) max arthur incident.

B. Domestic Policy - Preservation ) "You Enterprise " system (Beck)

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SPEECH BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, JR. for CHRISTIAN LABOR ASSOCIATION,

mise . Speeches

on LABOR DAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1951, at JOHN BALL PARK,

## GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

This is Labor Day throughout America. It is the 70th anniversary of Labor Day. Since 1882 the first Monday in September has been appropriately set aside to permit public tribute to the men and women of our nation who work in American industry. This holiday in these critical times has even greater significance because our citizens, and particularly our young men in the battlefields, are vitally dependent on the skill and effort of those who are employed in the free enterprise system in America. Naturally, I am glad to participate in this program honoring the free workers of our nation. I am confident that in the struggle between Communism and free enterprise the United States and its allies will triumph and a major factor in that victory will be what our working people can do in comparison to the slave labor of those behind the Iron Curtain.

This afternoon I would like to discuss several vital and important issues. First, some observations and comments in reference to foreign policy.

Only a few months ago this nation and our city lost a great statesman. All of us mourned his passing. All of us feel that if the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg had been well and in good health in the months prior to and after the Korean invasion American foreign policy in Asia and the Pacific would have been more successful.

The record shows that S<sub>e</sub>nator Vandenberg never participated in or agreed to the foreign policy which the United States followed in the Pacific and Asiatic areas in the years following World War II. The Senator did believe in a bi-partisan or unpartisan foreign policy but such a policy never existed in reference to China or the Far East. In several speeches in 1949 Senator Vendenberg specifically denied the existence of bi-partisanship on post-World War II China Policy even though he firmly believed unity in foreign policy was desirable for this

nation.

- 2 -

It is unfortunate in this crisis that we cannot have the counsel and guidance of Senator Vandenberg. I think he would urge unity at this crucial hour, just as it appears our citizens want such a program in the struggle against the Godless leaders in the Kremlin.

Yes, the country wants unity, but it does not want unity on a policy which has led to disaster or on the perpetuation in power of those who made that policy and who cannot be expected to make good on any other. In other words, the country does not want unity on defeat, or unity on disaster. Disunity hurts our cause without question but unity on a policy which was wrong could bring even greater disaster.

So the important problem and the great task which the Congress and the President have in Washington today is this: We must develop a policy which is right. I firmly believe that if our foreign policy is going to be right it must represent the best thinking of all of our national leaders, including those who disagree with the President as well as those who agree with him.

- 3 -

In order to determine what our policy should be it is necessary first for us to see where we are. What has happened in the past six years? Six years ago, at the conclusion of the most costly war in this nation's history, we were the most powerful nation on the face of the globe. We had a monopoly on the atomic bomb. We had the strongest army, the strongest navy, the strongest air force in the world. And as far as people in the world were concerned, there were approximately 1,760,000,000 people on our side in the world conflict, and there were only 180,000,000 people on the Communist side.

Six years have passed, six years of conferences, six years of wars like the one in Korea and others of lesser magnitude---and what is the situation today? Today, we no longer are stronger on the ground; we are stronger in strategic air, but not as strong in tactical air. We are stronger above the sea; we are weaker under the sea. As far as the atomic bomb is concerned, we fortunately have more than our potential enemy, but they have the bomb as well as we. And when we analyze the

- 4 -

the breakdown in people, what do we find? We find that today there are only 540,000,000 people on our side—the side of the free nations; there are 800,000,000 on the Communist side; and there are 600,000,000 who will have to be classified as neutral—countries like India and Pakistan. Recent developments, however, indicate that India can hardly be called neutral. In effect Nehru has aligned himself with the Kremlin, tragic as that may be.

In other words, six years ago the ods in people or manpower in the world were nine to one in our favor; and today they are five to three against us.

This tragedy is the result of the policy that we have followed in the past. I, therefore, think that as we look at the result of our past policy, it becomes vitally important that we analyze our present policy to see how we can improve upon it; because unless we do, we are going straight down the road to disaster and national suicide.

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It is essential that we recognize at the outset that our great potential enemy and the only threat to the peace of the world is the international Communist conspiracy with its power center in the Soviet Union. We must also bear in mind that the Communists have gained and the free nations have lost 600,000,000 people in the past six years, without a single Russian soldier being killed in combat. It is thus apparent that new tactics, new strategy, new concepts have been developed by the Soviet leaders; consequently, we in the United States must develop strategy, tactics and concepts to meet those of the Communists.

The great lesson which we must bear in mind is this: The men in the Kremlin are the most realistic men who have ever lived. They are men who will never take a chance. As long as they are convinced because of the strength on their side, that if they begin a war any place in the world they might lose it, they will not begin it. But once they are convinced because of their strength as against our weakness, that if they begin a war they might win it, then war will come. And so under

the circumstances, the first precept in our policy must be: Keep

- 6 -

stronger than the Communist nations, stronger militarily. How can we do this?

First, we must recognize that the United States cannot do the job alone. We do not have the people; we do not have the resources, great as our resources are. That means we need allies. We need them in Europe, and we need them in Asia.

As far as Europe is concerned, we find that during the past five years, our Government's so-called bi-partisan foreign policy, was based upon the assumption that it was important to deny Europe to the Communists. Why? Because as long as Europe was kept out of Communist hands, they would lack the skilled manpower and the productive power which is essential if they are to commence a war which they could win. And so we adopted the Greek-Turkish loan program, the Marshall Plan, the Arms Aid programprograms which had the effect of keeping Europe from falling under Communist domination. That is what we did on one side of the world.

What was happening on the other side of the world? In Asia, we adopted an altogether different policy, because our policymakers made a basic error. The error was in misjudging the character of the Communist movement in China. Communists in China were allegedly different-they were agrarian reformers; they were liberals. It did not make any difference whether China went Communist or not because there would be a good chance that in the end China might be oriented toward the West rather than toward the East-away from Stalin; that some sort of Titoism might be set up.

The result was that at Yalta we made concessions to Russia which paved the way for Communist domination of China. We withdrew our aid from the only non-Communist forces in China. We withdrew it incidentally for a very interesting reason: Because we said the Chinese Nationalist Government was corrupt, the Chinese Nationalist Government was unstable. But we look at Europe, and what was the situation there? There was no more corrupt or unstable government in the world than the government of Greece, but we recognized that it was not a question of the Greek government or something better, but a question of the Greek government or something worse, and we gave the Greek government the assistance which

- 8 -

enabled them to defeat the Communists.

But in China we followed a different course. And what were the results? First, 400,000,000 people went under the domination of the Communists, and the Russians did not lose a man in the process.

And the second result was the Korean War. Now, you may say. "Well, that's a very arbitrary conclusion. Can it be substantiated?" I think it can. Whether we are military men or not, we will recognize that the Korean War would not have happened unless China had gone Communist, because the North Koreans would never have dared move south unless they had a friendly government on their northern border; otherwise they would have been confronted with a two-front war which they could not have risked. Once China went Communist, the North Koreans could move south with safety. And so that basic error, the great mistake, the mistake of misjudging the character of the Chinese Communist movement --we are paying for today, we are paying for it with the blood, the sweat and the tears of the Korean battlefront.

- 9 -

Having in mind this background, what can the United States expect from the attempts at a "cease-fire" and a "negotiated peace" in the Pacific area? The "sease-fire" negotiations again prove conclusively the treacherous methods of the Communists. The turn of events in Korea illustrate the villainy of the Reds for they have talked "cease-fire" but built up their military forces for a big push against our G.I.'s. What has happened to date indicates America must remain strong militarily, for the minute Uncle Sam drops his guard, be it in Korea or elsewhere, the Kremlin will throw an attempted knock-out blow.

Let's turn for a few minutes to the domestic problems of our great land. I am concerned just as you are about the corruption of American morals. All of us are particularly shocked and dismayed at what has happened to moral standards and ethics in high places in government. Fresh in the minds of our citizens are the stories from Washington of gifts of pastel mink coats and deep freezers and there is the case of an Army general in Detroit who accepted gifts from those who sought and obtained huge government defense contracts. Unfortunately,

- 10 -

the list does not stop with a few and no one knows how many more have . not been exposed.

What has happened to American morals, particularly the morals of those in our government? What has become of the rugged honesty which was the pride of our founding fathers? Fortunately, there is a grass-roots movement for a rebirth of public and personal morality which is spreading throughout the length and breadth of America. I hope it reaches and seizes Washington before irreparable damage has been done.

One of the basic difficulties lies in the fact that there is in Washington too much power, too much spending and too much bureaucracy. America in recent years has seen many of the functions and prerogatives of local government usurped by the selfish, power-seeking bureaucrats in the nation's capital.

It might be well for us to analyze some comparative facts and figures to see whether or not you get more for your tax dollar in Washington or in Grand Rapids. When I am through decide for yourself where and by whom you want your taxes spent. You pay \$28,26 per capita in local taxes in Grand Rapids. For this you get fine schools, good roads, excellent police and fire protection, and dozens of other services. In contrast, you pay \$340 per capita in Federal taxes. As yourself: What do I get for it? Does the Federal government give as good a return as your local government on your tax investment? The answer is No simply because the federal government is too far removed from the folks at home.

Do you know that the Federal government's "tax take" from Grand Rapids last year was approximately \$59,719,980? If government economy made possible a Federal tax cut of 10 per cent, the citizens of our community would save \$5,971,998. Remember this, there is no tax relief in sight when the President's budget calls for expenditures totalling over 90 billion dollars annually.

Let's make another comparison. The bonded indebtedness of Grand Rapids today is \$2,465,000. That debt made possible the construction of many public facilities in our community. Grand Rapids' share of the

- 12 -

Federal government's bonded debt is \$298,599,900. Do we as citizens have as much to show for the federal burden as we have for the local indebtedness? It goes without saying there is a better return on your local tax dollar. As a result I strongly urge the retention of all possible governmental power and prerogatives on the local level.

Last year an average family paid \$1290 in Federal taxes. This amount would cover the down payment on a home, would be helpful in the education of your children, or would be equal to \$25 a week, which each family could put into their savings accounts. Bear these facts in mind when someone urges you to ask Congress for more funds for a pet program or project. Every time Congress appropriates money please remember the appropriations come out of your Federal taxes or from the federal taxes to be paid in the future by our children.

Do you realize the entire assessed valuation of Grand Rapids is \$315,820,740? At the same time, Grand Rapids' share of the federal government's debt is \$298,599,900. Developments in recent years indicate we are rapidly approaching the day when the Federal debt will exceed the

- 13 -

assessed valuation of all property throughout the United States. In fact, in many communities the total per capita share already does so. In Grand Rapids that is almost the situation today. Obviously, such a condition is not a healthy one and it will not be corrected if the federal government and its functions continue to expand.

Last year our Community Chest raised approximately \$788,000. You all know the tremendous effort and the unselfish giving that is required to raise this money. We are proud of our record in this regard but each year the people of Grand Rapids pay \$59,719,980 in Federal Taxes: Just think of how much good could be accomplished in our community with some of the money that is being siphoned away from us by Washington. If just a part of these funds went into the Community Chest instead of to the free spenders in the nation's capital our local needs would be better handled.

Facts and figures oftentimes are dull and uninteresting but at this crucial hour in our nation's history it is important for all of us to take the time to learn what is going on in our government. I repeat, the best government is the government that is close to home, where you can keep an eye on what's being done or what is being neglected. If you don't like the way our community is being operated you can go to the mayor and City Commission. From a practical point of view that isn't possible on the federal level and as a result your federal government is not operated economically or efficiently. As a consequence I strongly urge that we keep away from further centralization in Washington and in fact build up and expand local responsibility.

In closing, let me summarize and re-emphasize several points:

1. America and our allies cannot trust the Godless tyrants in the Kremlin and as a result the United States must remain alert and strong militarily during the perilous days ahead.

2. This nation, and particularly those in positions of responsibility in government must set and maintain high standards of morality as examples for our allies and our fellow citizens. America must not sacrifice principle for expediency and corruption in high places in Washington and elsewhere must be eradicated promptly before our government deteriorates from within.

3. Last but not least, keep your government at home where there can be and must be a close check on what is happening to the taxes you pay.

Our nation, our people, have the necessary fundamentals to achieve peace and prosperity. The opportunity to win these endsperhaps our last-must not slip from our grasp even at this late hour. Your peace and security and the peace and security of your children depend on your present and future efforts. May God give us the courage and vision to lead us from chaos and uncertainty to everlasting peace, security and righteousness. EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, JR. ON LABOR DAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1951, AT GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

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