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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD (R-MICH)

A "Republican team" can win in 1964. The New Frontier is vulnerable; it must be challenged and can be defeated. The Republican Party has an outstanding stable of top grade potential candidates. Among them there may be some, and I emphasize "some," divergence of individual views but the basic philosophy of each falls clearly within the political, economic and foreign policy blueprint of Republicanism which in all instances is in sharp contrast to the radicalism of the New Frontier. Because a Republican team can win in '64, it is vitally important for the future of America that when the "chips are down," each and every potential candidate be available and eager for the fray.

I hope we will have a wide open, unbossed national convention where the will of the majority of the Republican delegates will prevail in order to reflect the true view of rank and file Republicans nationwide. If I am a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1964, I will of course support one candidate over the others, but let me assure you, without hesitation or qualification, if my candidate loses I will wholeheartedly work and vote for the Republican nominee. We as Republicans should not be so committed to a single personality or so limited in our Republican ideals and philosophy that we leave the fray to insure victory for the radicals and big-city politicians who now dominate and control the Democratic Party. Let us never forget that the Republican Party is the only vehicle today by which the best traditions of America can be preserved and expanded.

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Democratic record is vulnerable. In this complicated, controversial and turbulent world, the radical Democratic policies are inadequate at home and abroad. Let me say with emphasis - no Administration promised more and produced less. Furthermore when the President's policies are weak, vacillating and unsound, Republicans have a responsibility to spotlight errors and be critical of failures. In history this Democratic Administration will best be known for its failures rather than its accomplishments. The New Frontier is like touch football. It touches everything and tackles nothing.

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In 1960 during the political campaign the Democrats promised to devise a new national strategy allegedly designed to increase the strength of the non-communist world. Tragically for the United States and our allies, in the past two years and nine months the Democratic Administration has simply resurrected the discredited "wait and see" or "let the dust settle" foreign policy that lost China and eastern

Europe in the 1940s to the Communist dictators in the Kremlin. Despite the campaign promises of new prestige abroad, the Democratic Administration has waited while the Wall was built in Berlin, waited while Soviet troops and arms were shipped into Cuba, dilly-dallied in Laos, let NATO drift into disarray and conflict, removed ballistic missiles from Italy and Turkey, and is "off again, on again" in its policy in Viet Nam.

We must remind our fellow citizens that under 8 years of the Eisenhower-Republican Administration our military strength and strategy successfully met the Communist challenge in Berlin, at Quemoy and Matsu, and in Lebanon in the Middle East. We must remind our fellow citizens that America's prestige and success in the 1950s has deteriorated under the vacillating indecision of the "wait and see" policies of the Democrats in the "60s." We must remind our fellow citizens that this Administration has been strong on fine phrases but woefully weak on decisive action.

While on the subject of foreign policy it is appropriate to speak of the tragedy of Cuba. Under this Democratic Administration it has been one nightmare after another; Bay of Pigs, prisoner ransom, Soviet military build-up, loss of initiative since November 1962. Present Democratic policy, if there is one, is to let the "dust settle" and hope for a break. This didn't work in China in the 1940s. It will be a failure in Cuba. Tragically in the meantime there is increasing Communist infiltration and subversion in all of Latin America which threatens our friends in the Caribbean and South America.

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Domestically the New Frontier policies at home have deviated widely from their campaign promises. This will be the most fiscally irresponsible Administration in the nation's history. In the first 32 months the Whiz Kids in the White House have collected more taxes, spent more federal funds, and accumulated larger federal deficits than any other Administration in PEACE or WAR. This Administration will never balance the federal budget; they plan it that way with ever increasing federal payrolls, mounting federal interest payments.

All the delightful talk about the \$11 billion tax cut producing a balanced budget in 1967 or 1968 is just so much wishful thinking. No New Frontier Treasury official can produce any facts or even come up with an estimate of what federal revenues and expenditures will be in 1967. But we do know this much: in 1962 and 1963 the public debt went up \$17 billion. Another \$18 billion is forecast for this year and next. This adds up to an increase in the debt of \$35 billion in four years of

the Kennedy Administration. An increase of \$35 billion in the public debt means an increase of over \$1.1 billion in annual interest charges for American taxpayers.

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Our fellow citizens should ask: what is Republican policy on federal fiscal matters? Let me summarize this complicated problem as Republicans see it in the House of Representatives. To have a tax cut unmatched by an expenditure cut is to endanger the economy, not improve it. We don't get stronger by depleting the Treasury. If budget deficits were the way out, we should now be enjoying economic paradise, since we have had sizable deficits in 25 of the last 31 years. But we know from history what happens to nations that persist in living beyond their means.

Spending more than we take in does put more dollars into the economy. But that is not the equivalent of more purchasing power, or more purchases. A deep-rooted anxiety, reaching out to the entire Western World, is not about the quantity of our dollars, but their quality. Quantity without quality places in jeopardy the savings bonds, life insurance policies, bank balances, and pension benefits of our own people. Adding deficit on deficit may get the country moving again -- but in the wrong direction. Under the Kennedy policy of borrowing money for a tax reduction America will go down not up to a higher economic plateau. The road to tax reduction is in expenditure reduction. Expenditure reduction requires determination and forthrightness by each of us. Lip service and pious resolutions won't do it. We must stop calling for, or condoning, the spending of money we don't have.

We must realize that today's promises become tomorrow's taxes. We must therefore turn a deaf ear to rosy pictures of lavish and extravagant programs, and other spending that we just can't afford. If we diligently follow these principles as Republican policy, America can have federal tax reduction, a balanced budget, economic prosperity for the future, and sound economic growth.

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This Democratic Administration's record on Agriculture is even worse. If one takes a careful look at the budgets for the Department of Agriculture for the past 2½ years there is no doubt that Secretary Freeman is the most expensive commodity ever produced by the Department. His policies have been no help to the consumer, disastrous to the taxpayer, and ruinous to the farmer. I think it significant when the farmers of America had the choice they voted for FREEDOM and against FREEMAN.

A few suggestions for the months ahead:

Tell the Truth - Tell it Often - Tell it with Conviction

It is beginning to get through to the American people that there is very little substance to the fog of publicity put out by the mimeograph machines in the White House. Folks at home are beginning to realize that an Administration can manage the news just so long. The American people are catching on. By the time of the 1964 election, if we do our job, all Americans will know there is a shaky, shifty foundation under the House that Jack built.

Point out basic differences between Democrats and Republicans

While today's Democratic Party is dominated by radicalism and "big-city politicians," the G.O.P. continues to represent modern, progressive, common sense conservatism with party control resting in the rank and file membership.

The Democratic Party today is the party of "big government" demanding more and more government power over every citizen. As Republicans we defend and insist upon individual initiative, free enterprise, and limited government.

Our Republican Party is a unified, national party with achievable goals. Our opponents form a peculiar coalition with no unity in purpose and little mutual respect.

What Republicans must do to win

We Republicans must start walking across America block by block, stopping at every home and farm and factory and dockside along the way, pointing out the failure of the Democrats and selling these basic Republican principles I have been talking about.

If we do this, we will get rid of the Galbraiths, the Rostows, the Hellers, the Schlessingers, the Adlai Stevensons, the Soapy Williams, the F.D.R. Jrs. and the Chester Bowles.

If we do this, we will retire the Kennedys from the White House to Glen Ora, or Newport, or Hyannis Port, or Palm Beach, Rattlesnake Mountain, or wherever else they may have homes by that time.

The people who are going to put the wheels under the Kennedy rocking chair and push him out of the White House are right here in this group. You have an important state. You have the enthusiasm and the desire. You can get the money. You have the independent spirit of the Abe Lincolns and Teddy Roosevelts and Dwight Eisenhowers and other greats of our Republican Party. You have all the ingredients so that you can bring victory to us and to the nation in 1964. The question is -- will you accept the challenge??

Indiana Republican Editorial Association
September 22, 1963

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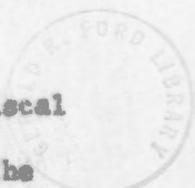
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