

The original documents are located in Box D25, folder “American Legion Michigan Department Fall Conference Banquet, Ann Arbor, MI, September 28, 1968” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Memo: re: Ann Arbor Speaking Appearance

Ann Arbor News wants copy of the speech. I told them you would give copies to George Harms, and they could get it from him.

--

Here's a gag you may want to use before you get into your speech proper.

--

You may point out that some people are saying 1968 is like 1948 and that Republicans have to guard against over-confidence. That reminds us of how Tom Dewey ~~was~~ was so sure of winning he told his wife she'd be sleeping in the White House in January. WHEN BESS TRUMAN HEARD ABOUT THIS, SHE WAS AWFULLY DAMNED MAD.

2/ Ann Arbor Notes

Another variation of the same gag is...and you may want to use both...

After Tom ~~Dewey~~ Dewey lost, his wife reminded him that he had told her she would wind up sleeping in the White House and said: ~~He told her she would wind up sleeping in the White House~~

"SHOULD I CALL HARRY, ~~HE~~ OR IS HE GOING TO CALL ME?"

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IN BRITAIN IT WAS WINSTON CHURCHILL WHO RAISED THE MOST POIGNANT PROTEST WHEN HE SPOKE TO COMMONS ON OCT. 5 OF WHAT HAD LED TO MUNICH AND WHAT WAS TO COME HE SAID:

"IT IS THE MOST GRIEVOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH WE HAVE YET EXPERIENCED, OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE, AND OF WHAT WE HAVE LEFT UNDONE IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS -- FIVE YEARS OF FUTILE GOOD INTENTIONS, FIVE YEARS OF EAGER

-2-

SEARCH FOR THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE, FIVE YEARS OF UNINTERRUPTED RETREAT OF BRITISH POWER, FIVE YEARS OF NEGLECT OF OUR AIR DEFENSES... WE ARE IN THE PRESENCE OF A DISASTER OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE WHICH HAS BEFALLEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. DO NOT LET US BLIND OURSELVES TO THAT. IT MUST NOW BE ACCEPTED THAT ALL THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE WILL MAKE THE BEST TERMS

THEY CAN WITH THE TRIUMPHANT NAZI POWER. THE SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE UPON WHICH FRANCE HAS RELIED FOR HER SAFETY HAS BEEN SWEEPED AWAY, AND I CAN SEE NO MEANS BY WHICH IT CAN BE RECONSTITUTED. THE ROAD DOWN THE DANUBE VALLEY TO THE BLACK SEA, THE RESOURCES OF CORN AND OIL, THE ROAD WHICH LEADS AS FAR AS TURKEY, HAS BEEN OPENED."



AN ADDRESS AT THE AMERICAN LEGION MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT FALL CONFERENCE BANQUET, 7 P.M.
SATURDAY, SEPT. 28, 1968, AT ANN ARBOR, MICH.

IT IS ONE OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF MAN THAT HE IS ALWAYS DISSATISFIED WITH HIS LOT. HE IS A QUESTING ANIMAL. AS ALEXANDER POPE PUT IT, "HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL IN THE HUMAN BREAST; MAN NEVER IS BUT ALWAYS TO BE BLEST."

AND SO ONE OF MAN'S FAVORITE PASTIMES IS TO LOOK INTO THE FUTURE, TO PEER INTO THE BEYOND AND HOPE FOR SOMETHING BETTER THAN HE HAS KNOWN.

I HAVE LONG FELT THAT WHILE GREAT EXPECTATIONS ARE MOST NORMAL, THE PAST IS OFTEN MORE INSTRUCTIVE THAN THE FUTURE.

AS IT IS WRITTEN ON ONE OF THE GREAT GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN WASHINGTON, "WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE" AND WE CAN LEARN MUCH BY STUDYING IT.



LET ME TAKE YOU BACK TO THE YEAR 1938. WHAT WERE YOU DOING THAT YEAR? I WAS IN LAW SCHOOL AT YALE--AND DOING SOME COACHING TO WORK MY WAY THROUGH SCHOOL. FOUR YEARS LATER I JOINED THE NAVY. I DIDN'T SEE THE WORLD, BUT I SAW A LOT OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN BEFORE THE THIRD AND FIFTH FLEETS LET GO OF ME.

GETTING BACK TO THE YEAR 1938, I DON'T REMEMBER IT AS PARTICULARLY EARTH-SHAKING FOR ME PERSONALLY. BUT IT WAS FRIGHTENINGLY EVENTFUL--FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THAT WAS THE YEAR THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR MOVED TOWARD AN END, WITH THE INSURGENTS BEGINNING THEIR FINAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST BARCELONA.

IT WAS THE YEAR WHEN HITLER INVADED AUSTRIA AND INITIATED THE DISMEMBERMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

IT WAS THE YEAR WHEN DOUGLAS



"WRONG WAY" CORRIGAN FLEW FROM BROOKLYN, N.Y., TO DUBLIN, IRELAND WITHOUT A PERMIT OR A PASSPORT...AND THAT WAS ABOUT THE ONLY "RIGHT" THING THAT HAPPENED INTERNATIONALLY IN 1938.

THE MOST INFAMOUS EVENT OF 1938 WAS SYMBOLIZED BY A BRITON WITH AN UMBRELLA WHO TWICE FLEW TO MEET ADOLF HITLER AND RETURNED TO ENGLAND DECLARING HE HAD ACHIEVED "PEACE WITH HONOR....PEACE FOR OUR TIME."

IT WILL BE 30 YEARS AGO MONDAY, SEPT. 30, THAT THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER WITH THE WING COLLAR, MOUSTACHE AND UMBRELLA STEPPED OFF A PLANE AT HESTON AIRDROME OUTSIDE LONDON AND WAVED HIS "PEACE FOR OUR TIME" MEMORANDUM SIGNED BY ADOLF HITLER.

CHAMBERLAIN'S "PEACE FOR OUR TIME" LASTED LESS THAN ONE YEAR. IT CULMINATED IN A WAR WHICH ENGULFED THE WORLD AND RESULTED IN 1,078,162 AMERICAN CASUALTIES, WITH 292,131 G.I. COMBAT DEATHS AND 115,185



AMERICAN DEATHS DUE TO OTHER CAUSES.

CHAMBERLAIN WAS WELL-INTENTIONED. HE SINCERELY BELIEVED HE HAD BOUGHT PEACE BY FORCING CZECH LEADERS TO DELIVER THAT PART OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA KNOWN AS THE SUDETENLAND INTO HITLER'S HANDS. THE FRENCH PREMIER, EDOUARD DALADIER, HAD ACUTE MISGIVINGS BUT HE COOPERATED.

DO YOU REMEMBER THE PUBLIC ACCLAIM THAT WAS SHOWERED ON CHAMBERLAIN AND DALADIER? THOUSANDS OF LONDONERS CHEERED CHAMBERLAIN ON HIS RETURN FROM MUNICH WITH HIS SCRAP OF PAPER, AND DALADIER RECEIVED A TUMULTUOUS RECEPTION FROM THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

THERE ARE CURIOUS PARALLELS BETWEEN 1938 AND 1968. *W/ have our WEAK-N/SALL out.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AGAIN HAS BEEN OCCUPIED BY FOREIGN TROOPS...THIS TIME BECAUSE THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT FORCED ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE SOVIET UNION IN 1948

ULTIMATELY PERMITTED THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PEOPLE A DEGREE OF FREEDOM.

THERE ALSO ARE HINTS OF A SOVIET PARTITIONING OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA--JUST AS HAPPENED AT THE HANDS OF HITLER IN 1938.

THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION PROTESTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET-LED OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BUT HAS SINCE LET THE MATTER DROP. THIS IS REMINISCENT OF THE MILD OBJECTIONS RAISED BY THE WESTERN ALLIES WHEN HITLER INVADED AUSTRIA ON MARCH 11, 1938.

ONE PROMINENT UNITED STATES SENATOR EVEN WENT SO FAR AS TO DISMISS THE SOVIET-LED INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE. TO USE THE VERNACULAR OF THE DAY, HE "KISSED IT OFF."

IN MY OPINION, THIS REACTION TO THE SOVIET TAKEOVER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA TRAGICALLY IGNORES THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.



EMBOLDENED BY THE RECENT SILENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION ON ITS OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE SOVIET UNION HAS TALKED OF INVADING AND OCCUPYING WEST GERMANY.

SO LITTLE ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN THIS DEVELOPMENT THAT I DARESAY SOME AMERICANS MAY NOT EVEN BE AWARE OF SOVIET THREATS TO SEND TROOPS INTO WEST GERMANY.

THE RUSSIANS KNOW THAT AMERICANS VIVIDLY RECALL THE HORRORS OF NAZIISM--AND SO THEY TALK OF A NEW RISE OF NAZIISM IN GERMANY AND ASSERT THE SOVIET UNION MUST INTERVENE MILITARILY IN WEST GERMANY TO STAMP IT OUT.

THEY EVEN GO SO FAR AS TO CONTEND THAT TWO CLAUSES IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER GIVE THEM THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN WEST GERMANY.

THIS, OF COURSE, IS COMPLETELY FALSE, AND OUR STATE DEPARTMENT HAS FIRMLY SAID SO.



MOREOVER, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS FORMALLY ASSURED THE GOVERNMENT OF WEST GERMANY THAT ANY SOVIET INTERVENTION IN WEST GERMANY WOULD BRING AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE FROM MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION.

THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN A JOINT AMERICAN-BRITISH-FRENCH RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET CLAIM OF THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN WEST GERMANY. I REGRET TO INFORM YOU THAT BUREAUCRATIC FUMBLING IN WASHINGTON PREVENTED THIS.

THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN A JOINT ALLIED RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET THREAT DIRECTED AT WEST GERMANY, JUST AS THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN A JOINT ALLIED RESPONSE TO COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

THE FACT THAT WE HAVE ACTED UNILATERALLY IN BOTH INSTANCES POINTS TO A SERIOUS FLAW IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

IT IS ALSO A FACT THAT THE SOVIET THREAT TO INVADE WEST GERMANY IS A DIRECT FOLLOWUP TO THE OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND MILD U.S. REACTION TO IT. BELIEVE ME WHEN I SAY THE DANGER FLAGS ARE FLYING IN EUROPE.

I APPLAUD THE FIRM POSITION TAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATION ON THE SOVIET CLAIM TO RIGHT OF INTERVENTION IN WEST GERMANY.

BUT I DISAGREE STRONGLY WITH THE ADMINISTRATION TACK IN DROPPING ITS ATTEMPT TO HAVE THE UNITED NATIONS DENOUNCE THE SOVIET-LED INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

IF WE FAIL TO MARSHAL FORMAL WORLD OPINION AGAINST OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY SOVIET-LED WARSAW PACT NATIONS, WE WILL BE TELLING THE WORLD THAT MIGHT MAKES RIGHT, THAT PRINCIPLES MEAN NOTHING, AND THAT FREEDOM AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY ARE JUST WORDS.

FREEDOM CAN SURVIVE IN THE WORLD

ONLY IF FREE MEN ARE WILLING TO STAND UP FOR IT.

I AM NOT SAYING THE NATO NATIONS SHOULD HAVE ENGAGED IN OR EVEN THREATENED MILITARY ACTION IN RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET-LED INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

BUT I AM SAYING THAT THE SOVIET ACTION WAS WRONG AND WE SHOULD NOT LET THE SOVIET UNION OR THE REST OF THE WORLD FORGET IT. WE SHOULD PRESS FOR FORMAL UN. CONDEMNATION OF THE INVASION.

IF WE DO NOT ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THEY SOON WILL NOT BE WORTH THE PAPER THEY ARE PRINTED ON...ANY MORE THAN ADOLF HITLER'S SIGNATURE ON THE MUNICH AGREEMENT WAS WORTH ANYTHING IN 1938.

NORMALIZATION? THE ONLY TRUE NORMS FOR ALL MEN ARE THE RIGHTS TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.



REVIVAL OF THE COLD WAR? I WOULD BE THE LAST PERSON IN THE WORLD TO ADVOCATE THAT. BUT TO ABANDON ALL PRINCIPLE IN PURSUIT OF PEACE IS TO TAKE THE SUREST ROAD TO ULTIMATE DISASTER.

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD SEEK A DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I STRONGLY BELIEVE IN NEGOTIATION--NEGOTIATION FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH.

BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE WE HAVE TO SCRAP OUR PRINCIPLES TO ACHIEVE A DETENTE.

NOR DO I BELIEVE IT IS HELPFUL TO AMERICA'S QUEST FOR PEACE TO HAVE ITS AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS LEVEL A CRUDE, VICIOUS AND UNJUST ATTACK AGAINST A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES WHILE IN THE PROCESS OF RESIGNING. THIS IS A BLOT NOT ONLY ON THE RECORD OF THE DIPLOMAT INVOLVED BUT ALSO ON THE WORLD IMAGE OF OUR NATION.



THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT EAST-WEST RELATIONS HAVE DETERIORATED--AND I DO NOT BLAME OUR DEPARTING AMBASSADOR TO THE UN. FOR THIS. THE RAPID WORSENING OF THE WORLD SITUATION IS DIRECTLY DUE TO ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE SOVIET UNION IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST AND VIETNAM.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE SOVIET UNION IS CHALLENGING US FOR CONTROL OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DRAWN DOWN OUR STRENGTH IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BECAUSE OF VIETNAM AND HAS NARROWED OUR MARGIN OF MILITARY SUPERIORITY THERE.

THE RUSSIANS HAVE FLOODED THE ARAB NATIONS WITH ARMS AND MILITARY ADVISERS SINCE THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR AND ARE USING THIS AS A LEVER TO GAIN POLITICAL CONTROL OF THAT REGION OF THE WORLD.

IT IS RIDICULOUS TO BELIEVE THAT THE TREMENDOUS GROWTH WE ARE SEEING IN

RUSSIAN NAVAL POWER IS DEFENSIVE.

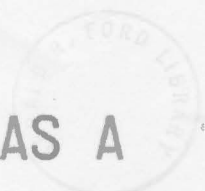
THE TRUTH IS THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE CHALLENGING OUR NAVAL SUPERIORITY EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

AND THE TRUTH ALSO IS THAT TO SURVIVE WE MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE WORLD'S GREATEST SEA POWER.

THIS IS NOT "HARDLINER" TALK. THIS IS HONESTY. THIS IS REALISM IN THE GAME OF INTERNATIONAL BIG POWER POLITICS, WHICH WE ARE FORCED TO PLAY WHETHER WE WANT TO OR NOT.

WHAT ABOUT VIETNAM? I WILL SAY NOTHING THAT MIGHT INJURE THE PEACE TALKS IN PARIS. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THIS. MY INFORMATION IS THAT THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS GOING MUCH BETTER FOR US THAN MOST PRESS REPORTS INDICATE.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SINGLE DEVELOPMENT IN RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE SOUTHVIETNAMESE ARMY AS A



FIGHTING UNIT. I WHOLEHEARTEDLY APPLAUD THIS DEVELOPMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT NEARLY ALL THE SOUTHVIETNAMESE INFANTRYMEN NOW HAVE THE M-16 RIFLE. THIS GIVES THEM FIREPOWER AT LEAST EQUAL TO THAT OF THE ENEMY, WHICH HAS ALWAYS HAD THE EXTREMELY GOOD RUSSIAN AK-47.

IF YOU ARE WONDERING WHY IT TOOK SO LONG TO EQUIP THE SOUTHVIETNAMESE ARMY WITH THE M-16, YOU WILL HAVE TO ASK THE ADMINISTRATION. I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW.

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ALLIED TROOPS IN VIETNAM, INCLUDING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARAMILITARY FORCES, IS NOW ABOUT FIVE TIMES THAT OF THE COMMUNIST REGULAR AND IRREGULAR FORCES.

THE NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE REGULARS HAS INCREASED TO ROUGHLY ONE-THIRD OF ALL COMMUNIST FORCES IN THE SOUTH, BUT NORTHVIETNAM HAS DEFINITELY ENCOUNTERED



MANPOWER REPLACEMENT PROBLEMS SINCE THE TET OFFENSIVE LAST JANUARY. NEW RECRUITS ARE BEING THROWN INTO BATTLE WITH LITTLE TRAINING.

BUT THE NORTHVIETNAMESE HAVE NO SUPPLY PROBLEMS--AND THEY ARE TRYING TO OFFSET THEIR MANPOWER DIFFICULTIES WITH A STEPUP IN HEAVY ARTILLERY AND ROCKETRY.

THE VIRTUALLY UNIMPEDED FLOW OF SUPPLIES TO THE ENEMY THROUGH THE PORT OF HAIPHONG IS ONE OF THE TRAGEDIES OF THE VIETNAM WAR.

Spirit of man -

AMERICANS MAY DISAGREE--AND--DO ABOUT OUR ORIGINAL INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE WAR HAS BEEN FOUGHT IN THE WRONG WAY.

I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT IF WE HAD FOUGHT THE VIETNAM WAR IN LINE WITH SOUND MILITARY STRATEGY, THE WAR WOULD HAVE ENDED BEFORE THIS TIME OR WOULD HAVE BEEN GREATLY SHORTENED.



NOW WE HEAR DEMANDS FOR AN UNCONDITIONAL HALT TO ALL BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM. HIGHLY VOCAL DEMONSTRATORS CRY, "STOP THE WAR."

IT WOULD BE WONDERFUL IF WE COULD JUST "STOP THE WAR," WOULDN'T IT? BUT IT JUST IS NOT THAT SIMPLE. *Buchanan*

PEACE IS POPULAR. WE ALL LOVE PEACE. BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN MEN MUST FIGHT.

THE GREAT BRITISH PHILOSOPHER JOHN STUART MILL ONCE SAID: "WAR IS AN UGLY THING, BUT NOT THE UGLIEST OF THINGS; THE DECAYED AND DEGRADED STATE OF MORAL AND PATRIOTIC FEELING WHICH THINKS NOTHING WORTH A WAR IS WORSE."

IT WAS ANOTHER GREAT BRITISHER, WINSTON CHURCHILL, WHO ROSE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS WHILE THE ENGLISH WERE CHEERING NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN 30 YEARS AGO FOR ACHIEVING




WHAT CHAMBERLAIN CALLED "PEACE FOR OUR TIME"
AND DECLARED:

"IT IS THE MOST GRIEVOUS
CONSEQUENCES WHICH WE HAVE YET EXPERIENCED,
OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE, AND OF WHAT WE HAVE
LEFT UNDONE IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS--FIVE
YEARS OF FUTILE GOOD INTENTIONS, FIVE YEARS
OF EAGER SEARCH FOR THE LINE OF LEAST
RESISTANCE"...

DOES ANY AMERICAN TODAY REALLY
BELIEVE THAT THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE
IS THE PATH TO LASTING PEACE?

I DON'T WANT A PEACE THAT WILL MAKE
A MOCKERY OF THE PRICE PAID BY THE MORE THAN
200,000 AMERICANS ON THE VIETNAM CASUALTY
LIST. I DON'T WANT A PEACE THAT WILL
DESECRATE THE MEMORIES OF THE MORE THAN
28,000 AMERICANS WHO HAVE DIED IN COMBAT IN
VIETNAM. I DON'T WANT A PEACE THAT WILL
INEVITABLY LEAD TO A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF



SOUTH VIETNAM.

LET'S STAND FIRM--AND HOLD OUT FOR THE WINSTON CHURCHILL KIND OF PEACE. A NEGOTIATED PEACE? YES, BUT A PEACE BASED ON PRINCIPLES, A PEACE THAT STICKS, A PEACE THAT WILL ENDURE.

THIS IS THE KIND OF PEACE I WANT IN VIETNAM. I PERSONALLY WOULD SETTLE FOR NO LESS.

- END -



AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, at the AMERICAN LEGION MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT FALL CONFERENCE BANQUET, 7 p.m. SATURDAY, SEPT. 28, 1968, at ANN ARBOR, MICH.

It is one of the attributes of man that he is always dissatisfied with his lot. He is a questing animal. As Alexander Pope put it, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast; man never is but always to be blest."

And so one of man's favorite pastimes is to look into the future, to peer into the beyond and hope for something better than he has known.

I have long felt that while great expectations are most normal, the past is often more instructive than the future.

As it is written on one of the great government buildings in Washington, "What's past is prologue" and we can learn much by studying it.

Let me take you back to the year 1938. What were you doing that year? I was in Law School at Yale--and doing some coaching to work my way through school. Four years later I joined the Navy. I didn't see the world, but I saw a lot of the Pacific Ocean before the Third and Fifth Fleets let go of me.

Getting back to the year 1938, I don't remember it as particularly earth-shaking for me personally. But it was frighteningly eventful--for the entire world.

That was the year the Spanish civil war moved toward an end, with the insurgents beginning their final campaign against Barcelona.

It was the year when Hitler invaded Austria and initiated the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

It was the year when Douglas "Wrong Way" Corrigan flew from Brooklyn, N.Y., to Dublin, Ireland without a permit or a passport...and that was about the only "right" thing that happened internationally in 1938.

The most infamous event of 1938 was symbolized by a Briton with an umbrella who twice flew to meet Adolf Hitler and returned to England declaring he had achieved "peace with honor...peace for our time."

It will be 30 years ago Monday, Sept. 30, that the British prime minister with the wing collar, moustache and umbrella stepped off a plane at Heston Airdrome outside London and waved his "peace for our time" memorandum signed by Adolf Hitler.

Chamberlain's "peace for our time" lasted less than one year. It culminated in a war which engulfed the world and resulted in 1,078,162 American casualties, with 292,131 G.I. combat deaths and 115,185 American deaths due to other causes.

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Chamberlain was well-intentioned. He sincerely believed he had bought peace by forcing Czech leaders to deliver that part of Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland into Hitler's hands. The French premier, Edouard Daladier, had acute misgivings but he cooperated.

Do you remember the public acclaim that was showered on Chamberlain and Daladier? Thousands of Londoners cheered Chamberlain on his return from Munich with his scrap of paper, and Daladier received a tumultuous reception from the French people.

There are curious parallels between 1938 and 1968.

Czechoslovakia again has been occupied by foreign troops...this time because the Communist government forced on Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in 1948 ultimately permitted the Czechoslovakian people a degree of freedom.

There also are hints of a Soviet partitioning of Czechoslovakia--just as happened at the hands of Hitler in 1938.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration protested in the United Nations against the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia but has since let the matter drop. This is reminiscent of the mild objections raised by the Western allies when Hitler invaded Austria on March 11, 1938.

One prominent United States senator even went so far as to dismiss the Soviet-led invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia as of little consequence. To use the vernacular of the day, he "kissed it off."

In my opinion, this reaction to the Soviet takeover in Czechoslovakia tragically ignores the lessons of history.

Emboldened by the recent silence of the Administration on its occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union has talked of invading and occupying West Germany.

So little attention has been given this development that I daresay some Americans may not even be aware of Soviet threats to send troops into West Germany.

The Russians know that Americans vividly recall the horrors of Naziism--and so they talk of a new rise of Naziism in Germany and assert the Soviet Union must intervene in West Germany.

This, of course, is completely false, and our State Department has firmly said so.

Moreover, the United States Government has formally assured the government of West Germany that any Soviet intervention in West Germany would bring an

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immediate response from members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

There should have been a joint American-British-French response to the Soviet claim of the right to intervene in West Germany. I regret to inform you that bureaucratic fumbling in Washington prevented this.

There should have been a joint allied response to the Soviet threat directed at West Germany, just as there should have been a joint allied response to Communist aggression in South Vietnam.

The fact that we have acted unilaterally in both instances points to a serious flaw in our foreign policy.

It is also a fact that the Soviet threat to invade West Germany is a direct followup to the occupation of Czechoslovakia and mild U.S. reaction to it. Believe me when I say the danger flags are flying in Europe.

I applaud the firm position taken by the Administration on the Soviet claim to right of intervention in West Germany.

But I disagree strongly with the Administration tack in dropping its attempt to have the United Nations denounce the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

If we fail to marshal formal world opinion against occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet-led Warsaw Pact nations, we will be telling the world that might makes right, that principles mean nothing, and that freedom and national sovereignty are just words.

Freedom can survive in the world only if free men are willing to stand up for it.

I am not saying the NATO nations should have engaged in or even threatened military action in response to the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

But I am saying that the Soviet action was wrong and we should not let the Soviet Union or the rest of the world forget it. We should press for formal UN condemnation of the invasion.

If we do not adhere to the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, they soon will not be worth the paper they are printed on...any more than Adolf Hitler's signature on the Munich Agreement was worth anything in 1938.

Normalization? The only true norms for all men are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Revival of the Cold War? I would be the last person in the world to advocate that. But to abandon all principle in pursuit of peace is to take the surest road to ultimate disaster.

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I believe we should seek a detente with the Soviet Union. I strongly believe in negotiation--negotiation from a position of strength.

But I do not believe we have to scrap our principles to achieve a detente.

Nor do I believe it is helpful to America's quest for peace to have its ambassador to the United Nations level a crude, vicious and unjust attack against a candidate for the Presidency of the United States while in the process of resigning. This is a blot not only on the record of the diplomat involved but also on the world image of our Nation.

There is no question that East-West relations have deteriorated--and I do not blame our departing ambassador to the UN for this. The rapid worsening of the world situation is directly due to actions taken by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Vietnam.

In the Middle East the Soviet Union is challenging us for control of the Mediterranean Sea. The Administration has drawn down our strength in the Mediterranean because of Vietnam and has narrowed our margin of military superiority there.

The Russians have flooded the Arab nations with arms and military advisers since the Arab-Israeli War and are using this as a lever to gain political control of that region of the world.

It is ridiculous to believe that the tremendous growth we are seeing in Russian naval power is defensive.

The truth is that the Russians are challenging our naval superiority everywhere in the world.

And the truth also is that to survive we must continue to be the world's greatest sea power.

This is not "hardliner" talk. This is honesty. This is realism in the game of international big power politics, which we are forced to play whether we want to or not.

What about Vietnam? I will say nothing that might injure the peace talks in Paris. But I would like to say this. My information is that the war in Vietnam is going much better for us than most press reports indicate.

The most significant single development in recent months has been an improvement in the Southvietnamese Army as a fighting unit. I wholeheartedly applaud this development. In this connection, it should be noted that nearly all the Southvietnamese infantrymen now have the M-16 rifle. This gives them firepower at least equal to that of the enemy, which has always had the extremely good Russian AK-47.

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If you are wondering why it took so long to equip the Southvietnamese Army with the M-16, you will have to ask the Administration. I simply don't know.

The total number of allied troops in Vietnam, including the South Vietnamese paramilitary forces, is now about five times that of the Communist regular and irregular forces.

The number of North Vietnamese regulars has increased to roughly one-third of all Communist forces in the South, but Northvietnam has definitely encountered manpower replacement problems since the Tet offensive last January. New recruits are being thrown into battle with little training.

But the Northvietnamese have no supply problems--and they are trying to offset their manpower difficulties with a stepup in heavy artillery and rocketry.

The virtually unimpeded flow of supplies to the enemy through the port of Haiphong is one of the tragedies of the Vietnam War.

Americans may disagree--and do--about our original involvement in Vietnam, but it seems clear that the war has been fought in the wrong way.

I personally believe that if we had fought the Vietnam War in line with sound military strategy, the war would have ended before this time or would have been greatly shortened.

Now we hear demands for an unconditional halt to all bombing of North Vietnam. Highly vocal demonstrators cry, "Stop the war."

It would be wonderful if we could just "stop the war," wouldn't it? But it just is not that simple.

Peace is popular. We all love peace. But there are times when men must fight.

The great British philosopher John Stuart Mill once said: "War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things; the decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing worth a war is worse."

It was another great Britisher, Winston Churchill, who rose in the House of Commons while the English were cheering Neville Chamberlain 30 years ago for achieving what Chamberlain called "peace for our time" and declared:

"It is the most grievous consequences which we have yet experienced, of what we have done, and of what we have left undone in the last five years--five years of futile good intentions, five years of eager search for the line of least resistance"...

Does any American today really believe that the line of least resistance is the path to lasting peace?

I don't want a peace that will make a mockery of the price paid by the

(more)

more than 200,000 Americans on the Vietnam casualty list. I don't want a peace that will desecrate the memories of the more than 28,000 Americans who have died in combat in Vietnam. I don't want a peace that will inevitably lead to a Communist takeover of South Vietnam.

Let's stand firm--and hold out for the Winston Churchill kind of peace. A negotiated peace? Yes, but a peace based on principles, a peace that sticks, a peace that will endure.

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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., MINORITY LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, at the AMERICAN LEGION MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT FALL CONFERENCE BANQUET, 7 p.m. SATURDAY, SEPT. 28, 1968, at ANN ARBOR, MICH.

It is one of the attributes of man that he is always dissatisfied with his lot. He is a questing animal. As Alexander Pope put it, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast; man never is but always to be blest."

And so one of man's favorite pastimes is to look into the future, to peer into the beyond and hope for something better than he has known.

I have long felt that while great expectations are most normal, the past is often more instructive than the future.

As it is written on one of the great government buildings in Washington, "What's past is prologue" and we can learn much by studying it.

Let me take you back to the year 1938. What were you doing that year? I was in Law School at Yale--and doing some coaching to work my way through school. Four years later I joined the Navy. I didn't see the world, but I saw a lot of the Pacific Ocean before the Third and Fifth Fleets let go of me.

Getting back to the year 1938, I don't remember it as particularly earth-shaking for me personally. But it was frighteningly eventful--for the entire world.

That was the year the Spanish civil war moved toward an end, with the insurgents beginning their final campaign against Barcelona.

It was the year when Hitler invaded Austria and initiated the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

It was the year when Douglas "Wrong Way" Corrigan flew from Brooklyn, N.Y., to Dublin, Ireland without a permit or a passport...and that was about the only "right" thing that happened internationally in 1938.

The most infamous event of 1938 was symbolized by a Briton with an umbrella who twice flew to meet Adolf Hitler and returned to England declaring he had achieved "peace with honor...peace for our time."

It will be 30 years ago Monday, Sept. 30, that the British prime minister with the wing collar, moustache and umbrella stepped off a plane at Heston Airdrome outside London and waved his "peace for our time" memorandum signed by Adolf Hitler.

Chamberlain's "peace for our time" lasted less than one year. It culminated in a war which engulfed the world and resulted in 1,078,162 American casualties, with 292,131 G.I. combat deaths and 115,185 American deaths due to other causes.

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Chamberlain was well-intentioned. He sincerely believed he had bought peace by forcing Czech leaders to deliver that part of Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland into Hitler's hands. The French premier, Edouard Daladier, had acute misgivings but he cooperated.

Do you remember the public acclaim that was showered on Chamberlain and Daladier? Thousands of Londoners cheered Chamberlain on his return from Munich with his scrap of paper, and Daladier received a tumultuous reception from the French people.

There are curious parallels between 1938 and 1968.

Czechoslovakia again has been occupied by foreign troops...this time because the Communist government forced on Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in 1948 ultimately permitted the Czechoslovakian people a degree of freedom.

There also are hints of a Soviet partitioning of Czechoslovakia--just as happened at the hands of Hitler in 1938.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration protested in the United Nations against the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia but has since let the matter drop. This is reminiscent of the mild objections raised by the Western allies when Hitler invaded Austria on March 11, 1938.

One prominent United States senator even went so far as to dismiss the Soviet-led invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia as of little consequence. To use the vernacular of the day, he "kissed it off."

In my opinion, this reaction to the Soviet takeover in Czechoslovakia tragically ignores the lessons of history.

Emboldened by the recent silence of the Administration on its occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union has talked of invading and occupying West Germany.

So little attention has been given this development that I daresay some Americans may not even be aware of Soviet threats to send troops into West Germany.

The Russians know that Americans vividly recall the horrors of Naziism--and so they talk of a new rise of Naziism in Germany and assert the Soviet Union must intervene in West Germany.

This, of course, is completely false, and our State Department has firmly said so.

Moreover, the United States Government has formally assured the government of West Germany that any Soviet intervention in West Germany would bring an

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immediate response from members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

There should have been a joint American-British-French response to the Soviet claim of the right to intervene in West Germany. I regret to inform you that bureaucratic fumbling in Washington prevented this.

There should have been a joint allied response to the Soviet threat directed at West Germany, just as there should have been a joint allied response to Communist aggression in South Vietnam.

The fact that we have acted unilaterally in both instances points to a serious flaw in our foreign policy.

It is also a fact that the Soviet threat to invade West Germany is a direct followup to the occupation of Czechoslovakia and mild U.S. reaction to it. Believe me when I say the danger flags are flying in Europe.

I applaud the firm position taken by the Administration on the Soviet claim to right of intervention in West Germany.

But I disagree strongly with the Administration tack in dropping its attempt to have the United Nations denounce the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

If we fail to marshal formal world opinion against occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet-led Warsaw Pact nations, we will be telling the world that might makes right, that principles mean nothing, and that freedom and national sovereignty are just words.

Freedom can survive in the world only if free men are willing to stand up for it.

I am not saying the NATO nations should have engaged in or even threatened military action in response to the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

But I am saying that the Soviet action was wrong and we should not let the Soviet Union or the rest of the world forget it. We should press for formal UN condemnation of the invasion.

If we do not adhere to the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, they soon will not be worth the paper they are printed on...any more than Adolf Hitler's signature on the Munich Agreement was worth anything in 1938.

Normalization? The only true norms for all men are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Revival of the Cold War? I would be the last person in the world to advocate that. But to abandon all principle in pursuit of peace is to take the surest road to ultimate disaster.

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I believe we should seek a detente with the Soviet Union. I strongly believe in negotiation--negotiation from a position of strength.

But I do not believe we have to scrap our principles to achieve a detente.

Nor do I believe it is helpful to America's quest for peace to have its ambassador to the United Nations level a crude, vicious and unjust attack against a candidate for the Presidency of the United States while in the process of resigning. This is a blot not only on the record of the diplomat involved but also on the world image of our Nation.

There is no question that East-West relations have deteriorated--and I do not blame our departing ambassador to the UN for this. The rapid worsening of the world situation is directly due to actions taken by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Vietnam.

In the Middle East the Soviet Union is challenging us for control of the Mediterranean Sea. The Administration has drawn down our strength in the Mediterranean because of Vietnam and has narrowed our margin of military superiority there.

The Russians have flooded the Arab nations with arms and military advisers since the Arab-Israeli War and are using this as a lever to gain political control of that region of the world.

It is ridiculous to believe that the tremendous growth we are seeing in Russian naval power is defensive.

The truth is that the Russians are challenging our naval superiority everywhere in the world.

And the truth also is that to survive we must continue to be the world's greatest sea power.

This is not "hardliner" talk. This is honesty. This is realism in the game of international big power politics, which we are forced to play whether we want to or not.

What about Vietnam? I will say nothing that might injure the peace talks in Paris. But I would like to say this. My information is that the war in Vietnam is going much better for us than most press reports indicate.

The most significant single development in recent months has been an improvement in the Southvietnamese Army as a fighting unit. I wholeheartedly applaud this development. In this connection, it should be noted that nearly all the Southvietnamese infantrymen now have the M-16 rifle. This gives them firepower at least equal to that of the enemy, which has always had the extremely good Russian AK-47.

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If you are wondering why it took so long to equip the Southvietnamese Army with the M-16, you will have to ask the Administration. I simply don't know.

The total number of allied troops in Vietnam, including the South Vietnamese paramilitary forces, is now about five times that of the Communist regular and irregular forces.

The number of North Vietnamese regulars has increased to roughly one-third of all Communist forces in the South, but Northvietnam has definitely encountered manpower replacement problems since the Tet offensive last January. New recruits are being thrown into battle with little training.

But the Northvietnamese have no supply problems--and they are trying to offset their manpower difficulties with a stepup in heavy artillery and rocketry.

The virtually unimpeded flow of supplies to the enemy through the port of Haiphong is one of the tragedies of the Vietnam War.

Americans may disagree--and do--about our original involvement in Vietnam, but it seems clear that the war has been fought in the wrong way.

I personally believe that if we had fought the Vietnam War in line with sound military strategy, the war would have ended before this time or would have been greatly shortened.

Now we hear demands for an unconditional halt to all bombing of North Vietnam. Highly vocal demonstrators cry, "Stop the war."

It would be wonderful if we could just "stop the war," wouldn't it? But it just is not that simple.

Peace is popular. We all love peace. But there are times when men must fight.

The great British philosopher John Stuart Mill once said: "War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things; the decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing worth a war is worse."

It was another great Britisher, Winston Churchill, who rose in the House of Commons while the English were cheering Neville Chamberlain 30 years ago for achieving what Chamberlain called "peace for our time" and declared:

"It is the most grievous consequences which we have yet experienced, of what we have done, and of what we have left undone in the last five years--five years of futile good intentions, five years of eager search for the line of least resistance"...

Does any American today really believe that the line of least resistance is the path to lasting peace?

I don't want a peace that will make a mockery of the price paid by the

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