

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
KANSAS PRESS ASSOCIATION
6:30 P.M., SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1969
SALINA, KANSAS

- THE FIRST 90 DAYS -

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE THIS EVENING, IN FACT, MORE THAN PLEASED.
miss a
YOUR JOBS AS NEWSMEN AND PUBLIC OFFICIAL THRUST US IN THE MIDST OF
THE RAPID CHANGES TAKING PLACE HERE IN KANSAS, IN THE NATION AND
IN THE WORLD.

I AM AWARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY YOU SHOULDER. YOUR ONE ALLEGIANCE
IS TO THE PUBLIC ... TO PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH A TRUE AND ACCURATE
PICTURE OF DAY TO DAY HAPPENINGS. AND WITH ALL THE CHANGES TAKING
PLACE, YOU HAVE A TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITY.

SINCE I KNOW ALMOST EVERYONE HERE THIS EVENING -- SINCE YOU KNOW
MY PARTY AFFILIATION AND MY RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR PRESIDENT
NIXON, I WANT TO VISIT WITH YOU -- ~~IN~~ IN A RAMBLING WAY --
ABOUT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND SOME OF THE "HARD" DECISIONS
MR. NIXON WILL FACE IN THE DAYS AND MONTHS AHEAD.

has made

Pages 9 thru
13 are missing.

I WILL ATTEMPT TO AVOID ANY PARTISAN REFERENCE AND HOPE THAT EVEN MY DEMOCRAT FRIENDS PRESENT MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN HOW I VIEW THIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE FIRST 90 DAYS.

X BOTH IN STYLE AND SUBSTANCE, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ALREADY MADE A HISTORIC IMPACT ON THE NATION. HE HAS FIRMLY ESTABLISHED HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, AND HE HAS CALMLY RESTORED A SENSE OF PURPOSE AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

NIXON'S OPEN ADMINISTRATION

ONE AREA IN WHICH WE ARE MOST INTERESTED IS THE PRESIDENT AND CREDIBILITY. BY THIS POINT, IT MUST BE OBVIOUS TO MANY OF YOU THAT PRESIDENT NIXON IS REDEEMING HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISE TO MAKE HIS ADMINISTRATION "AN OPEN ADMINISTRATION".

IN THREE MONTHS -- SINCE JANUARY 20, 1969 -- THE PRESIDENT HAS BROKEN THE PATTERN OF SECRETIVENESS IN THE TOP RANKS OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, MAKING GREAT STRIDES TO DISPERSE THE FOG OF PUBLIC SUSPICION AND DISTRUST THAT CLOUDED THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE ~~Johnson~~ ADMINISTRATION.

ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST ACTS WAS TO ESTABLISH AN ASSISTANT
FOR INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ... A NEWSPAPERMAN, HERB KLEIN ...
WHOSE POWERS EXTENDED TO EVERY GOVERNMENT AGENCY IN AN EFFORT TO
COORDINATE AND INCREASE THE FLOW OF INFORMATION FROM THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT. [TOP CABINET OFFICIALS AND WHITE HOUSE AIDES ARE
INSTRUCTED TO MAKE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS, IN THE
CURRENT SLANG, "TELL IT LIKE IT IS", AND TO BE HONEST AND OPEN.

THE AVAILABILITY AND WILLINGNESS OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS TOP
ADVISORS TO BE QUESTIONED ON ISSUES THAT ARE STILL UNDER DEBATE
WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMS CLOSE TO MIRACULOUS TO MANY
MEMBERS OF THE WASHINGTON PRESS CORPS WHO BECAME ACCUSTOMED TO
HEAVY RESTRICTIONS ~~IN THE JOHNSON YEARS.~~ *In Recent*

THIS WAS WELL ILLUSTRATED ~~IN~~ THE DAYS PRECEDING THE PRESIDENT'S
ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS DECISION ON THE ABM. THE PRESIDENT ENCOURAGED
FULL DEBATE IN CONGRESS AND AMONG THE PEOPLE BEFORE ARRIVING AT
HIS DECISION, VERY PROPERLY AND DEMOCRATICALLY MAKING IT POSSIBLE
FOR HIM TO ASSESS PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT BEFORE
COMMITTING THE COUNTRY TO A CERTAIN POSTURE.

*Wied
"Learner"*

PRESIDENT NIXON IS DEMONSTRATING THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH THAT A POORLY INFORMED CITIZENRY LEADS ONLY TO A DETERIORATING DEMOCRACY AND A DANGEROUS GROWTH AND UNRESPONSIVENESS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. HIS POLICY OF CANDOR AND RESPONSIBILITY CAN ONLY PAY DIVIDENDS FOR AMERICA IN THE YEARS AHEAD, BY RE-ESTABLISHING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT.

COURAGE AND THE PRESIDENT

IN ADDITION TO THE CANDOR AND THE OPENNESS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, A SECOND HALLMARK OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S FIRST 90 DAYS IN OFFICE HAS BEEN HIS POLITICAL COURAGE.

DEFEATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY BY THE CLOSEST MARGIN IN HISTORY IN 1960 AND THEN DEFEATED FOR GOVERNOR IN HIS NATIVE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, HE NONETHELESS PERSEVERED. THIS IS THE KIND OF COURAGE AND DETERMINATION WHICH CANNOT BE MANUFACTURED -- IT EITHER IS A PART OF A MAN'S FABRIC AND SOUL, OR IT ISN'T. IT IS SYMBOLIC OF THE COURAGE THAT IS AT THE CORE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT'S PRIORITIES

FOR EXAMPLE, THE COURAGE REFLECTED IN HIS DECISION TO EXTEND THE UNPOPULAR AND CONTROVERSIAL INCOME TAX SURCHARGE AND IN HIS BUDGET MESSAGE SENT TO CONGRESS JUST THIS WEEK.

THE 1970 BUDGET SHOWS PRESIDENT NIXON MADE THE HARD, NOT THE EASY, CHOICE. HE CONCLUDED THAT AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD BOTH GUNS AND BUTTER. THE FIRST PRIORITY, HE SAID, HAS TO BE EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE. ECONOMY, HE SAID, RANKS NUMBER TWO. MOST OTHER MATTERS WILL HAVE TO WAIT IN THE WINGS.

CALLING THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET "A PROMISING BEGINNING", THE WASHINGTON POST SAID, "THE PRESIDENT SEEMS TO HAVE GOT HIS PRIORITIES RIGHT. THE FACT IS VIETNAM OUGHT TO HAVE FIRST PRIORITY AND VERY LITTLE ELSE IS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE WAR IS WOUND DOWN. A MAJOR PORTION OF LYNDON JOHNSON'S TROUBLE WAS HIS POLICY OF ABUNDANCE OF BOTH GUNS AND BUTTER; IT DIDN'T WORK, EITHER ECONOMICALLY OR PSYCHOLOGICALLY, AND MR. NIXON IS WISE NOT TO REPEAT THE ERROR".

THE PRESIDENT FEELS QUITE STRONGLY, HOWEVER, THAT THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION HAS BEEN NEGLECTED FAR TOO LONG. HE IS CONVINCED THAT WE MUST ACT DECISIVELY TO RESTRAIN THESE PERSISTENT INCREASES AND TO REDIRECT FEDERAL PROGRAMS TOWARD THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. BY REDUCING OUTLAYS FOR LOWER PRIORITY PROGRAMS, THERE WILL BE ROOM IN THE FUTURE FOR MAJOR INNOVATIONS PLEDGED LAST YEAR.

THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES OUTLAY REDUCTIONS OF \$4.0 BILLION. HE ALSO PROPOSES CUTS TOTALING \$5.5 BILLION IN BUDGET AUTHORITY -- LARGELY IN APPROPRIATIONS REQUESTED FROM CONGRESS.

I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO INDISCRIMINATE ACROSS THE BOARD CUTS. PROPOSED OUTLAYS FOR SOME OF THE ONGOING PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN REDUCED, WHILE OTHERS HAVE BEEN INCREASED. CERTAIN NEW PROGRAMS AND BENEFITS ARE ALSO INCLUDED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT IS SEEKING A SEVEN PERCENT COST OF LIVING INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS. THROUGH REDIRECTION OF EXISTING RESOURCES, A NEW "JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR" WILL BE ESTABLISHED TO PARALLEL THE EFFORTS OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY'S JOBS PROGRAM, AND MORE FUNDS ARE PROVIDED FOR CRIME REDUCTION PROGRAMS.

THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT IS, PRESENT CONDITIONS HAVE MADE FISCAL RESTRAINT IMPERATIVE. RESTRAINT IN BUDGET TOTALS CAN ONLY OCCUR IF INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS ARE REDUCED. UNHAPPILY WE CANNOT ALL AGREE ON WHICH PROGRAMS SHOULD BE CUT....BUT WE CAN AGREE THAT CUTS MUST BE MADE.

ANOTHER ACT OF POLITICAL COURAGE WAS MR. NIXON'S EARLY DECISION
MENTS
TO REMOVE POSTAL APPOINT/ FROM POLITICS. I KEEP TRYING TO CONVINCE
MYSELF -- AS A REPUBLICAN WITH REPUBLICAN FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES WHO
HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO RECOMMEND POSTMASTERS AND
RURAL CARRIERS THAT THERE IS NO LOGIC IN EMPLOYING POSTAL WORKERS
ON A PARTISAN BASIS. ADMITTEDLY, THERE HAS BEEN SOME GNASHING OF
TEETH, BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SEE THE
WISDOM OF THE NIXON DECISION EVEN THOUGH FRANKLY IT WILL OPERATE
FOR SOME TIME TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE DEMOCRATS.

ON MEETING HUMAN NEEDS

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN EVIDENT NOT
ONLY IN MATTERS OF BROAD NATIONAL POLICY, BUT ALSO IN MATTERS
AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL HUMAN NEEDS.

MOVED BY THE MINE DISASTERS IN WEST VIRGINIA LAST YEAR, THE
PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED SOME OF THE TOUGHEST MINE SAFETY LEGISLATION
EVER SENT TO CONGRESS, INCLUDING STRONG PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST
THE KILLER DISEASE OF MINERS, "BLACK LUNG".

Handwritten signature/initials in blue ink.

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NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE ABM SYSTEM

THE LAST ISSUE I WILL TOUCH ON TONIGHT IS THE CONTROVERSIAL ABM SYSTEM. NOW I PERSONALLY MAKE NO CLAIM TO BE A SCIENTIFIC EXPERT IN THE FIELD OF MISSILE DEFENSE. BUT OVER THE YEARS, I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE HOW PEOPLE REACT WHEN CONFRONTED WITH A DIFFICULT DECISION AND HOW THEY APPROACH THE ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE DECISIONS.

IT IS IN THIS SENSE OF A CHALLENGE AND HOW IT IS ANSWERED THAT I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU ABOUT ONE OF THE GREATEST CHALLENGES FACING ANY PRESIDENT IN RECENT HISTORY AND HOW THIS CHALLENGE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLY MET. I REFER TO THE ISSUE OF WHETHER THE UNITED STATES SHOULD PROCEED WITH THE "SAFEGUARD" ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM.

FIRST, LET ME SAY THAT I KNOW THIS IS OF SOME INTEREST TO YOU AND ALSO KNOW THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AMONG YOU. IT NOT ONLY INVOLVES A LOT OF YOUR MONEY AS A TAXPAYER, BUT IT INVOLVES

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INFINITELY MORE. ~ PRESIDENT NIXON'S DECISION WITH RESPECT TO THE
SAFEGUARD ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM DIRECTLY AFFECTS -----
THE SECURITY AND SURVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES;
THE LIFE OF EVERY U. S. CITIZEN; AND
THE SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM.

THESE ARE THE INESCAPABLE INGREDIENTS OF THE TOUGH DECISION
FACED BY PRESIDENT NIXON ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH
THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY.)

THE PRESIDENT STATED THE ISSUE AND HIS RESPONSIBILITY WELL IN
HIS STATEMENT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM, AND
I QUOTE:

"THE GRAVEST RESPONSIBILITY WHICH I BEAR AS PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES IS FOR THE SECURITY OF THE NATION. OUR NUCLEAR FORCES
DEFEND NOT ONLY OURSELVES BUT OUR ALLIES AS WELL. THE IMPERATIVE
THAT OUR NUCLEAR DETERRENT REMAIN SECURE BEYOND ANY POSSIBLE DOUBT
REQUIRES THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST TAKE STEPS NOW TO INSURE THAT
OUR STRATEGIC RETALIATORY FORCES WILL NOT BECOME VULNERABLE TO A
SOVIET ATTACK."

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THE PRESIDENT, IN ADDITION TO SETTING FORTH THE ISSUES AND ACCEPTING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESOLVING THEM, WAS ECHOING WHAT A PREVIOUS PRESIDENT SUCCINTLY STATED ABOUT THE JOB OF BEING PRESIDENT. I REFER TO FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S REMARK, WHEN HE REPORTEDLY POINTED TO HIS DESK AND STATED, "THE BUCK STOPS HERE."

PERHAPS ONE WAY TO APPROACH THIS PROBLEM OF THE SAFEGUARD ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE AND TO UNDERSTAND WHAT REALLY WAS INVOLVED IN THE PROBLEM AND ITS RESOLUTION IS TO THEORETICALLY PLACE OURSELVES IN THE DECISION-MAKING POSITIONS OF THE PRESIDENT.

THIS IS HOW IT WOULD SHAPE UP:

A DECISION HAS TO BE MADE AND NO ONE BUT YOU, AS PRESIDENT, CAN MAKE IT. YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LIFE AND WELL-BEING OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL IN THE COUNTRY AND FOR THE SECURITY AND SURVIVAL OF OUR NATION.

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SOVIET UNION AND THE ABM SYSTEM

YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALREADY DEPLOYED AN ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM IN A WIDE AREA CENTERED AROUND MOSCOW. EVEN IF THE UNITED STATES STARTED IMMEDIATELY, WE WOULD NOT HAVE A COMPARABLE CAPABILITY FOR OVER 4 YEARS.

THE SOVIET UNION IS CONTINUING THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF A LARGE INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE KNOWN AS THE SS-9. AS PRESIDENT YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT THE SS-9 IS CAPABLE OF DELIVERING A 25 MEGATON WARHEAD.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED THE SIZE OF ITS SUBMARINE LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILE FORCES. THESE SUBMARINES ARE SIMILAR TO THE U. S. POLARIS TYPE VESSELS.

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE CAPABILITY TO LAUNCH A LIMITED NUCLEAR ATTACK IN THE 1970'S.

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OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, TWO ADDITIONAL NATIONS HAVE DEVELOPED NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. WITH THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ACCIDENTAL ATTACK FROM ANY SOURCE HAS INCREASED.

FINALLY, ONE OTHER OFTEN FORGOTTEN FACTOR MUST BE ADDED TO YOUR EVALUATION, AS PRESIDENT, OF THE CORRECT COURSE OF ACTION TO FOLLOW. BECAUSE OF THE NATURE OF OUR COUNTRY'S GOVERNMENT AND OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE HAVE CONCEDED TO ANY POTENTIAL ENEMY THE ABILITY TO LAUNCH THE FIRST ATTACK. [VERY SIMPLY STATED, THIS IS WHAT THE TERM SECOND STRIKE CAPABILITY MEANS.] AMERICA HAS NO INTENTION OF LAUNCHING AN AGGRESSIVE ATTACK ON ANY NATION IN THE WORLD.

THIS MEANS OUR OPPONENT HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF A SURPRISE ATTACK. THE ONLY WAY THAT THE DELICATE EQUILIBRIUM OF WORLD PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED IS THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD MUST REALIZE THAT IF ATTACKED WE WILL BE ABLE TO STRIKE BACK WITH OVERPOWERING FORCE.

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THESE ARE THE BASIC FACTS THAT YOU AS PRESIDENT MUST CONSIDER. ON YOUR DECISION RESTS THE LIFE OF EVERY HUMAN IN THIS COUNTRY. YOU DO NOT HAVE THE FREEDOM TO MAKE A PARTISAN POLITICAL ISSUE OUT OF SUCH A MATTER. NOR CAN YOU ALLOW YOURSELF THE LUXURY OF AN EMOTIONAL RESPONSE, FOR YOU HAVE THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY. UNDER THOSE CONDITIONS, I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE VERY FEW PEOPLE IN THIS ROOM THAT WOULD NOT HAVE MADE THE SAME DECISION AS PRESIDENT NIXON.

AT THIS POINT, I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE SEVERAL OTHER ITEMS FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION:

THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION IN THE CASE OF THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM REFLECTS A SERIOUS AND CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT ATTEMPT TO DO WHAT REASONABLY CAN BE DONE FOR THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES, EVEN THOUGH

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IT IS ONLY A PARTIAL SOLUTION TO A SERIOUS LONG RANGE PROBLEM.

IT IS ANOTHER STEP IN OUR COUNTRY'S CONTINUING EFFORTS TO
ACHIEVE A WORLD WHERE FREE MEN CAN LIVE WITHOUT FEAR. THIS EFFORT
HAS GONE ON SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II UNDER BOTH DEMOCRATIC
AND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS. NO SINGLE STEP OR DECISION IN THE
PAST 25 YEARS HAS CONTAINED A COMPLETE SOLUTION TO THE BASIC
PROBLEM.