

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI  
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A LOOK AT THE '70'S

I AM PLEASED TO BE IN COLUMBIA TONIGHT BECAUSE YOU HAVE ASKED ME TO PEER AHEAD INTO THE REMAINDER OF THIS DECADE AND PROVIDE A FORECAST.

THERE IS ONE WARNING AT THE OUTSET -- I AM NO JEANNE DIXON, NOR A GREAT CRISWELL.

WITH THAT FACT IN MIND, LET US UNDERSTAND THAT ABOUT ALL THAT CAN BE SAID WITH ANY CERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE IS THAT IT LIES AHEAD. THAT, INCIDENTALLY, IS ONE OF THE FEW THINGS BOTH REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS CAN AGREE ON. BUT THE REAL QUESTION, AND THE QUESTION ON WHICH THOSE IN POLITICAL LIFE DIVIDE, IS: WHAT KIND OF FUTURE LIES AHEAD?

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OF COURSE, WE CAN ONLY SURMISE THE ANSWER, AND THE BEST OF SURMISES IS UNAVOIDABLY TEMPERED BY THE HOPES AND FEARS AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANY WOULD-BE PROPHET.

SO BE ADVISED, THIS VIEW OF THE FUTURE WILL BE BASED BOTH ON WHAT I THINK WILL HAPPEN AND WHAT I HOPE WILL HAPPEN. WITH LUCK, THESE HOPES AND THOUGHTS WILL COINCIDE WITH THE ACTUAL EVENTS.

#### NIXON IN '72

PERHAPS I SHOULD START BY PREDICTING THAT RICHARD NIXON WILL BE REELECTED IN 1972, THUS INSURING THAT FOR MORE THAN HALF OF THE 1970'S THERE WILL BE A REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

NOW, WHAT DOES A SECOND TERM FOR PRESIDENT NIXON MEAN? IT MEANS, FIRST OF ALL, A CONTINUED STRONG AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, COMBINED WITH AN HONORABLE END TO OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

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I DO PREDICT THAT DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE 1970'S, WE WILL SEE A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FIGHTING TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. BUT, THIS WITHDRAWAL WILL NOT BE IN THE FORM OF A RETREAT OR A SURRENDER. RATHER, IT WILL BE THE LOGICAL EXTENSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES OF THE LAST TWO YEARS. THESE POLICIES WILL BE BASED ON WHAT WE HAVE COME TO KNOW AS THE NIXON DOCTRINE WHICH, BRIEFLY, IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL PROVIDE A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA FOR ITS ALLIES AND WILL SUPPORT THEM WITH EQUIPMENT AND MATERIEL, BUT THEY WILL PROVIDE THEIR OWN MANPOWER. IN OTHER WORDS, IN THE FUTURE, WE WILL STAND BEHIND OUR ALLIES; WE NO LONGER WILL STAND IN FRONT OF THEM.

THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING IN VIETNAM FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS. WE ARE PREPARING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLE -- WITH OUR HELP. AND THE DAY IS FAST APPROACHING WHEN WE WILL NO LONGER FIGHT THEIR BATTLES FOR THEM.



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NO MAJOR WAR

YOU MAY ASK, THEN, DO I SEE TOTAL PEACE IN INDOCHINA. NO, I DO NOT. SO LONG AS COMMUNISM FLOURISHES, THERE WILL BE GUERRILLA ACTIVITY OF VARYING INTENSITY WHEREVER, AND WHENEVER, THE COMMUNISTS THINK IT PROFITABLE OR SEE A CHANCE TO TAKE OVER AND EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE. THESE CONDITIONS SURELY EXIST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND PARTICULARLY IN INDOCHINA. BUT I BELIEVE THE FORCES OF PROPERLY TRAINED AND SUPPLIED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS CAN MINIMIZE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE AND MAKE IT UNPROFITABLE FOR SMALL COMMUNIST NATIONS, SUCH AS NORTH VIETNAM, TO ATTEMPT CONQUEST BY DIRECT INTERVENTION, IN THE FUTURE.

I CANNOT SEE A MAJOR WAR ERUPTING ANYWHERE IN THE 1970's. UNFORTUNATELY, THERE IS PROBABLY GOING TO BE UNREST AND TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST THROUGHOUT OUR LIFETIMES, AND THERE ARE LIKELY GOING TO BE REVOLUTIONS, SMALL-SCALE CONFLICTS AND BORDER CLASHES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, ALONG THE RUSSIAN-CHINESE BORDER, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. BUT, SO WHAT ELSE IS NEW? THIS PREDICTION COULD HAVE BEEN

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MADE FOR ALMOST ANY DECADE IN THIS OR NEARLY ANY OTHER CENTURY.  
FOR EXAMPLE, BETWEEN 1961 AND 1970, THERE WERE 79 GOVERNMENTAL  
CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT IN THE WORLD BY MEANS OF REVOLUTION, COUP D'ETAT,  
AND PURGE; AND I BELIEVE THIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE PATTERN FOR THE  
'70's. THESE UPHEAVALS ARE GOING TO GO ON UNTIL 1980 AND BEYOND.  
BUT, MAJOR WARS? NO.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE ONCE SAID SOMETHING TO THE EFFECT THAT --  
"IT IS WELL THAT WAR IS SO TERRIBLE, OTHERWISE WE MIGHT BECOME TOO  
FOND OF IT." WELL, BIG WAR TODAY HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR UNLIMITED  
TERROR AND TOTAL DISASTER, AND IN RECOGNITION OF THIS FACT, MANKIND  
WILL AVOID MAJOR WARS AT ALL COSTS. BUT IF THIS PREDICTION IS WRONG  
AND IF WE DO NOT AVOID TOTAL WAR, I FEAR NONE OF YOU WILL BE AROUND  
TO SAY I WAS WRONG, AND LIKEWISE, I WILL NOT BE AROUND TO ADMIT IT.

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NO WAR, BUT STILL DANGER

THE FACT THAT I PREDICT NO WAR, HOWEVER, DOES NOT MEAN THAT I SEE NO DANGER IN THE ENSUING DECADE. ON THE CONTRARY, THE THREAT FROM SOVIET RUSSIA IS VERY REAL. BUT, IT IS A THREAT NOT SO MUCH OF SOVIET ATTACK, BUT OF SOVIET DOMINATION BASED ON NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY.

THE RUSSIANS ARE CLOSE TO ACHIEVING NUCLEAR PARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES NOW, AND THEY ARE PRODUCING WEAPONS AND WEAPONS SYSTEMS AT A MUCH FASTER RATE THAN IS THE UNITED STATES. INDEED, AS THE SOVIETS MOVE AHEAD, THE UNITED STATES, UNDER UNREALISTIC AND UNREASONABLE PRESSURES FROM <sup>OSTRICH-LIKE</sup> NEO-ISOLATIONISTS AND ~~OSTRICH HEADED LIBERALS~~, HAS BEEN CUTTING BACK ON ITS DEFENSE SPENDING.

IT IS LOGICAL TO ASK WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE RUSSIANS GAIN A CLEAR LEAD IN NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF RUSSIAN ICBM'S COME TO CLEARLY DOMINATE THE NUCLEAR EQUATION? THE ANSWER IS NOT A PRETTY ONE, FOR IF IT SHOULD HAPPEN, AMERICAN WILL -- IN THE MOST LITERAL SENSE -- BE ISOLATED. FOR THOSE WHO DEPEND UPON US FOR



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PROTECTION FROM COMMUNIST PRESSURE AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC AGGRESSION WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO DEPEND UPON US. AND FOR THEIR OWN PRESERVATION, THEY WILL TURN TO THE EAST, LEAVING THE UNITED STATES ISOLATED FROM ITS FRIENDS AND INTIMIDATED BY ITS ENEMIES.

WE OURSELVES WILL BE SUBJECTED AND VULNERABLE TO THE SAME KINDS OF PRESSURES WHICH WOULD SECURE THE CAPITULATION OF OUR FRIENDS. FACE IT, IF THE RUSSIANS GAIN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY, NO FREE NATION WILL EVER AGAIN BE QUITE SO FREE; NO FREE PEOPLE WILL EVER BE QUITE SO SURE OF THEIR FREEDOM, BECAUSE A STRONG AND INDEPENDENT UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE THERE TO FORTIFY THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IN THE WORLD.

FORTUNATELY FOR US, OUR PRESIDENT KNOWS THESE THINGS AND IS NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT SUCH A FUTURE FOR THIS COUNTRY AND ITS ALLIES. HE IS NOT NEARLY SO ISOLATED FROM REALITY AS SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE; AND I AM CONVINCED THAT HE WILL NOT ALLOW SUCH A TRAGIC

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SCENARIO TO BE WRITTEN IN THE PAGES OF HISTORY.

THEREFORE, I PREDICT ONE OF TWO THINGS WILL HAPPEN IN THE '70'S. EITHER WE WILL REACH AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA AT THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS -- AND HOPEFULLY THIS WILL BE THE CASE -- OR WE WILL <sup>BE FORCED TO</sup> INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF MONEY WE SPEND ON ARMS RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION. THERE IS REALLY NO ALTERNATIVE, FOR EITHER THROUGH NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT OR PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF OUR TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITIES, THE STRENGTH AND SECURITY OF OUR NATION MUST BE MAINTAINED.

AGAIN, LET ME EMPHASIZE MY SINCERE HOPE THAT THE FIRST ROUTE, THE SALT TALKS, WILL BE SUCCESSFUL, BECAUSE THERE IS MUCH WORK TO BE DONE WITHIN AMERICA, AND THE NEED FOR MONEY TO DO THAT WORK IS CRITICAL. BUT IF WE ARE TO HAVE A BETTER AMERICA -- CLEANER, MORE FULL OF ADVANTAGE AND OPPORTUNITY, BETTER EQUIPPED TO MEET THE HUMAN NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE -- WE MUST FIRST AND FOREMOST HAVE A STRONG AMERICA.



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IN ALL HONESTY, I BELIEVE ONE THING IS CERTAIN ABOUT THE MAN WHO IS PRESIDENT AFTER 1972, WHETHER HE IS RICHARD NIXON OR SOMEONE ELSE; HE WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE THAN TO CONTINUE ON THIS COURSE. NEITHER THIS PRESIDENT NOR ANY OTHER PRESIDENT WANTS TO PRESIDE OVER THE DEMISE OF THE UNITED STATES. AND FOR THAT REASON, NATIONAL SECURITY WILL BE MAINTAINED AT THE STRONGEST NECESSARY LEVEL.

#### DOMESTIC OUTLOOK

ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE, IT IS HARD TO KNOW WHAT TO PREDICT FOR THE '70'S -- A SMOGLESS AUTOMOBILE ENGINE, AN ECOLOGICALLY HARMLESS SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT, AN END TO WATER POLLUTION, BREAKTHROUGHS IN WELFARE, RACE RELATIONS AND EDUCATION, OR FULL EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT INFLATION.

ALL OF THESE THINGS ARE POSSIBLE. THERE IS NO DOUBT IN ANYONE'S MIND THAT WE CAN BUILD A SMOGLESS AUTO. IN FACT, I AM SURPRISED THAT SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO VOTED TO ABANDON THE SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IT WILL HARM THE ATMOSPHERE, CLAIM AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE HAVE THE TECHNOLOGY TO DO SOME OF THESE OTHER THINGS.

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SURELY, IF WE CAN BUILD A SMOG-FREE CAR AS THEY INSIST, WE CAN BUILD AN SST THAT DOES NOT CHANGE THE CLIMATE -- EVEN THOUGH THEY DENY IT -- AND WE CAN FORGE STRONGER BONDS BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE AND IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN LIFE -- FROM THE WATER WE DRINK TO THE HEALTH CARE WE RECEIVE.

I WOULD PREFER NOT TO PREDICT SPECIFIC HAPPENINGS IN LIMITED FIELDS DURING GIVEN TIME PERIODS; IT LEAVES THE PROPHET A BIT TOO VULNERABLE AND LIMITS HIS OPTIONS FOR HEDGING HIS BETS. THE ORACLE AT DELPHI PROBABLY TOOK THE BEST APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM BY MAKING PREDICTIONS WHICH WERE SO VAGUE AND CONFUSING THAT NO ONE COULD REALLY UNDERSTAND THEM WHEN GIVEN -- AND WERE CAPABLE OF FITTING ALMOST ANY TURN OF EVENTS THEREAFTER.

WE LATTER-DAY FORECASTERS, LIKE THE WEATHER BUREAU, HOWEVER, MUST MAKE OUR PREDICTIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE BEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE AND HOPE FOR THE RIGHT DEVELOPMENTS. SO IN THAT SPIRIT, LET US LOOK AHEAD IN THE DOMESTIC ARENA.

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REFORM IS THE THEME

AS YOU KNOW, THE MAJOR DOMESTIC THEME OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN REFORM. IN THE 1968 CAMPAIGN AND THROUGHOUT HIS TERM OF OFFICE, THE PRESIDENT HAS STRESSED THE NEED FOR MAKING GOVERNMENT -- NOT ONLY IN WASHINGTON, BUT AT STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS AS WELL -- MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE AND MORE RESPONSIBLE IN THE CONDUCT OF ITS BUSINESS. SO FAR, WE HAVE SEEN THIS SPIRIT OF REFORM IMPLEMENTED AT MANY LEVELS AND IN A VARIETY OF WAYS.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE OUTMODED AND INEFFICIENT FEDERAL BUREAU OF THE BUDGET WAS REPLACED BY THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET. THIS NEW ARM OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH NOT ONLY HAS BUDGETARY POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, BUT IT ALSO IS CHARGED WITH MORE EFFICIENTLY COORDINATING AND DIRECTING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY.



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IN ANOTHER MAJOR MOVE, THE DIVERSE, CONFUSING AND GENERALLY INEFFECTUAL AUTHORITY FOR PRESERVING AND RESTORING OUR ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES WAS CONSOLIDATED IN A NEW AND POWERFUL ORGANIZATION, THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY. TAKING OVER FROM SUCH SCATTERED SOURCES AS THE DEPARTMENTS OF INTERIOR, AGRICULTURE, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, AND THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, THIS NEW AGENCY WILL ASSUME GENERAL DIRECTION AND CONTROL OF FEDERAL EFFORTS TOWARD SAFEGUARDING AND IMPROVING OUR AIR, WATER, AND MINERAL RESOURCES.

SOME OF THE MOST PUBLICIZED OF RECENT REFORMS HAVE BEEN THOSE TO LIBERALIZE AND HUMANIZE THE LIFE OF ENLISTED MEN IN THE NAVY AND THE ARMY. THESE REFORMS HAVE INVOLVED ELIMINATING MEANINGLESS, ANNOYING AND PETTY REGULATIONS AND PRACTICES, SUCH AS REVEILLE, OFF-DUTY DRESS REQUIREMENTS AND ENDLESS WAITING IN LINE, WHICH SERVED NO WORTHWHILE MILITARY FUNCTION AND MERELY LOWERED THE

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MORALE OF THE MEN WHO ARE THE BACKBONE OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM.

WITH THESE EXAMPLES OF REFORM IN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN MIND, I PREDICT THE '70'S WILL HOLD MUCH MORE IN THE WAY OF CONTINUING REFORM AND POSITIVE CHANGE IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

REVENUE SHARING

PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL AND PROGRESSIVE INNOVATIONS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN HIS REVENUE SHARING PLAN. OVER THE YEARS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S TAX-GATHERING ABILITIES HAVE INCREASED BY SUCH DRAMATIC PROPORTIONS <sup>THAT</sup> OTHER GOVERNMENTS, STATES, CITIES, AND SPECIAL UNITS SUCH AS SCHOOL AND PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICTS HAVE FOUND THEMSELVES SEVERELY LIMITED BOTH IN THE SOURCES OF FUNDS AVAILABLE TO THEM AND IN THE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE SOURCES CAN BE TAPPED. EVERY YEAR WE HEAR THE CRIES

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OF GOVERNORS, MAYORS, AND SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS OVER THE CRIP-  
PLING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION THEY FACE IN TRYING TO  
PROVIDE STATE AND LOCAL SERVICES ON EVEN TIGHTER AND MORE INADE-  
QUATE BUDGETS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN THE GIANT SLICE  
OUT OF THE TAX-REVENUE PIE, AND THE CRUMBS THAT ARE LEFT OVER  
JUST CANNOT SUPPORT THE RESPONSIVE CONDUCT OF VITAL LOCAL GOVERN-  
MENTAL FUNCTIONS.

THUS, I PREDICT THAT A FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING SYSTEM WILL  
BE ADOPTED IN THIS COUNTRY WITHIN THE NEXT DECADE. ALTHOUGH THE  
PRESENT CONGRESS HAS NOT ACTED ON THIS PROPOSAL, IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH  
A PLAN IS A TOP ADMINISTRATION DOMESTIC GOAL FOR THE NEW CONGRESS  
WHICH CONVENES IN JANUARY. AS A MEANS OF MAKING FEDERALISM ONCE  
AGAIN THE HALLMARK OF OUR GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM, THE PRESIDENT RECOG-  
NIZES THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON MUST TURN BACK MONEY FROM  
ITS SOURCES TO ENABLE STATES AND CITIES AND OTHER UNITS TO EFFEC-  
TIVELY TAKE UP THEIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN. THE ONLY ALTERNATIVES  
TO SUCH STRENGTHENING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ARE FURTHER EXPANSION



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AND INEFFICIENCY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT,  
OR TOTAL COLLAPSE AND STAGNATION OF THE SMALLER GOVERNMENTAL UNITS.

HUMAN NEEDS

AS THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES HAS INCREASED IN  
SIZE, THE COMPLEXITY OF SEEING TO THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF OUR  
PEOPLE HAS ALSO INCREASED. HOWEVER, THE COMPLEXITY OF THIS PROB-  
LEM HAS BEEN ~~OUTSTRIPPED OF~~ AT LEAST MATCHED BY THE CAPACITY OF  
OUR SYSTEM TO DEAL WITH IT. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS CAPACITY HAS NOT  
BEEN EFFICIENTLY OR EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED. THE WELFARE SYSTEM,  
CONCEIVED WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS, HAS NOT ONLY FAILED TO BRING  
THE RELIEF FROM DIFFICULTY IT WAS DESIGNED FOR, BUT IT HAS INTEN-  
SIFIED AND INCREASED THE MISERY OF ITS BENEFICIARIES. THE WELFARE  
SYSTEM OF TODAY IS A TOTAL DISASTER. IT IS COSTING TAXPAYERS IN

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EVERY STATE COUNTLESS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR, AND IT IS DEMEANING AND ERODING THE SELF-RESPECT OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO SEEK NOTHING MORE THAN A WAY OUT OF THE POVERTY, ILLNESS AND SQUALOR IN WHICH THEY FIND THEMSELVES.

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH TALK OVER THE COUNTRY IN RECENT YEARS OF THE NEED TO CHANGE OUR WELFARE SYSTEM, OF THE NEED TO ELIMINATE THE INEQUITIES IN IT, OF THE NEED TO REMEDY THE SHORTCOMINGS. WELL, FINALLY SOMEONE TOOK A GOOD HARD LOOK AT THE PROBLEM AND PUT FORTH A PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD BRING REAL AND MEANINGFUL REFORM TO WELFARE AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. THAT SOMEONE WAS PRESIDENT NIXON, AND THAT PROPOSAL WAS THE FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN. IT WOULD REMOVE THE SELF-PERPETUATING SPIRAL INTO SQUALOR AND DESPAIR FROM THE PRESENT WELFARE PLAN, AND IN ITS PLACE ESTABLISH A WORK-RELATED, SELF-IMPROVEMENT - FOCUSED, ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED PROGRAM. THIS PROGRAM WOULD REACH OUT

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TO THE REAL NEEDS OF PEOPLE CAUGHT IN THE POVERTY CYCLE AND PROVIDE THEM TRAINING, EDUCATION AND REAL ASSISTANCE IN IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THEIR LIVES AND THEIR FAMILIES' FUTURES.

CONGRESS HAS NOT ACTED, AND MAY NOT ACT, ON THE FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN THIS YEAR, BUT I PREDICT THAT THE DECADE OF THE '70'S WILL SEE A THOROUGHGOING CHANGE IN WELFARE ASSISTANCE -- AND SUBSTANTIALLY ALONG THE LINES OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLAN.

#### THE DRAFT

OF COURSE, WE HAVE ALREADY TOUCHED ON REFORMS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN REGULATIONS AFFECTING SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN SMALL BUT IMPORTANT MATTERS OF DAILY LIFE, BUT I PREDICT THAT THE ENTIRE STRUCTURE OF MILITARY LIFE AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT FOR THE PAST 30 YEARS WILL BE PROFOUNDLY CHANGED IN THE 1970'S. WE HAVE ALREADY HAD THE DRAFT SYSTEM SHIFTED FROM AN INEQUITABLE, INCONSISTENT AND UNPREDICTABLE DEFERMENT SYSTEM, ADMINISTERED BY AUTONOMOUS AND AUTOCRATIC LOCAL BOARDS, TO A STANDARD, SIMPLE AND FAIR NATIONWIDE LOTTERY.



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YOUNG MEN ARE NOW GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CONCRETE PLANS ABOUT THEIR FUTURE WITH RESPECT TO THEIR MILITARY OBLIGATIONS. AND WHILE THIS NEW DRAFT PROGRAM IS A MARKED IMPROVEMENT, IT IS ONLY A STEP TOWARD A TOTALLY NEW MILITARY MANPOWER POLICY.

I PREDICT -- ASSUMING MY FORECAST OF NO MAJOR WAR IS ACCURATE -- THAT THE DRAFT WILL BE ENTIRELY ELIMINATED IN THE 1970'S; AND FURTHER THAT THE COORDINATE UPGRADING IN SALARY, WORKING CONDITIONS AND CAREER OPPORTUNITIES WILL SEE A NEW INFUX OF HIGHLY-MOTIVATED, COMPETENT AND EFFECTIVE PEOPLE INTO OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. MANY MORE CAREER-CALIBER PEOPLE, BOTH ENLISTED MEN AND OFFICERS, WILL SEEK OUT THE ARMED SERVICES FOR EMPLOYMENT IN THE FIRST PLACE AND WILL REMAIN IN UNIFORM FOR LONG-TERM EMPLOYMENT, JUST AS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

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UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON'S DIRECTION, THE GATES COMMISSION IN ITS STUDY OF THE DRAFT RECOMMENDS STEPS TO IMPROVE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF MILITARY SERVICE, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS PLEDGED HIMSELF TO ACHIEVING THAT GOAL.

THE SPIRIT OF '76

ALL OF THESE ARE OPTIMISTIC PREDICTIONS, I KNOW. BUT I COME FROM THIS HEARTLAND OF AMERICA, AND I HAVE A GREAT FAITH IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I THINK WE CAN DO ALL THESE THINGS, IF WE WILL. AND THIS BRINGS ME TO THE ONE CLEAR VIEW I SEE OF THE '70'S.

I PREDICT THAT THE '70'S WILL BRING ABOUT A RENEWAL OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT, THE SPIRIT OF '76, IF YOU WILL. IT HAS SUSTAINED AMERICA FOR NEARLY TWO HUNDRED YEARS AS WE FOUGHT THE BRITISH, FOUGHT OURSELVES, FOUGHT THE GERMANS AND THE JAPANESE. IT CARRIED US THROUGH THE WILDERNESS AND ACROSS A CONTINENT. IT SUSTAINED US DURING WAR, DURING DEPRESSION AND DURING NATURAL DISASTER. ONLY

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IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS IT BEGUN TO FLAG. AND THAT, I BELIEVE, HAS BEEN ONLY A TEMPORARY THING; BROUGHT ABOUT BY A GOVERNMENT THAT EXPECTED TO DO TOO MUCH FOR ITS PEOPLE AND DID NOT EXPECT ENOUGH FROM THEM; BROUGHT ABOUT BY A TECHNOLOGICAL EXPLOSION THAT BROUGHT US TOO MUCH TOO FAST AND AN ACCOMPANYING INFORMATION DISSEMINATION REVOLUTION THAT LEFT US SEEING THE WORLD MORE STARKLY AND IN MORE DETAIL THAN EVER BEFORE.

BUT NOW I THINK THERE IS THE BEGINNING OF A REVIVAL OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND A DECLINE IN THE MINDLESS, MEANINGLESS, ANSWERLESS REVOLT WE HAVE BEEN SEEING AGAINST OUR SOCIETY AND ITS TIMELESS VALUES.

I DO NOT MEAN THAT THE KIDS ARE CUTTING THEIR HAIR SHORT AGAIN OR THAT THE HARD HATS ARE LETTING THEIRS GROW. BUT I DO THINK THAT, PERHAPS SUBCONSCIOUSLY, ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY HAVE BEGUN TO BE AFFECTED BY THE STRONG, CALM, UNWAVERING LEADERSHIP THE NATION HAS BEEN GETTING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.



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HAVE YOU NOTICED? THE CITIES WERE CALMER LAST SUMMER. THE CAMPUSES ARE QUIETER THIS FALL. THE STOCK MARKET IS REFLECTING A GROWING OPTIMISM. THERE IS NOT SO MUCH EXPRESSION OF THE FEELING "WHAT'S THE USE" AND "NOTHING IS BETTER THAN WHAT WE'VE GOT" ANY MORE. THERE IS A GROWING REVULSION AGAINST VIOLENCE FOR VIOLENCE'S SAKE OR AS A SIGN OF REBELLION AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT.

THERE IS MORE THE SPIRIT OF "LET'S MOVE AHEAD. LET'S MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK, AND LET'S MAKE PROGRESS UNDER THE SYSTEM."

OF COURSE, YOUTH WANTS CHANGE TODAY, AND IT IS IMPATIENT FOR IT. BUT THAT IS NOT NEW. THE HISTORY OF AMERICA HAS BEEN A HISTORY OF CHANGE. THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA HAS BEEN THE SPIRIT OF CHANGE. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN SATISFIED WITH THE STATUS QUO. WE HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT IMPROVEMENT AND BETTERMENT FOR OURSELVES, OUR CHILDREN, OUR COUNTRY.

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THIS IS THE KIND OF SPIRIT WE ARE GETTING FROM MORE AND MORE OF OUR LEADERS TODAY, AND CERTAINLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

A DECADE OF PROGRESS

BECAUSE I THINK I SEE THIS RENEWAL OF THIS SPIRIT, I PREDICT HERE TONIGHT A DECADE OF PROGRESS FOR AMERICA IN THE '70'S -- A DECADE IN WHICH WE MAKE GREAT STRIDES IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS WE HAVE DISCUSSED HERE TONIGHT -- AND A DECADE WHICH BRINGS THE FIRST YEARS OF WHAT HAS BECOME PRESIDENT NIXON'S DREAM, A GENERATION OF PEACE.

PERHAPS YOU THINK WHAT I HAVE SAID HERE TODAY IS NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM WHAT YOU WOULD HAVE HEARD IF YOU HAD MOST ANY OTHER PUBLIC FIGURE LOOKING AT THE '70'S, AND MAYBE IT IS NOT. FOR NEARLY EVERYONE HAS THE SAME DESIRE FOR PROGRESS, FOR PEACE AT HOME AND ABROAD, AND FOR EVERYONE'S UNINTERRUPTED RIGHT TO PURSUE HIS OWN

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VISION OF HAPPINESS.

BUT I THINK WE NEED A STRONG NATION AS WELL AS A FORWARD  
LOOKING, PROGRESSIVE AND UNPOLLUTED NATION. I BELIEVE THAT THE  
ENEMIES ON THE OUTSIDE ARE AS REAL AS THOSE ON THE INSIDE. I BE-  
LIEVE THAT TO STAY FREE WE MUST STAY STRONG, AND TO STAY PROSPER-  
OUS WE MUST STAY SOLVENT, AND TO HAVE INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY WE MUST  
ACCEPT INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD BUILD ON THE PAST IF WE ARE TO HAVE  
A SECURE FUTURE.

I BELIEVE IN THE GREATNESS OF YESTERDAY'S AMERICA, AND OF  
TODAY'S AMERICA.

I BELIEVE, AND CONFIDENTLY PREDICT, THAT THE AMERICA OF  
THE '70'S -- IF WE WORK AT THAT TASK AS A UNITED PEOPLE -- CAN BE  
THE BEST AMERICA IN OUR HISTORY.