

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION WORKSHOP
WASHINGTON, D. C.
SUNDAY, MARCH 14, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE, ADDRESSING THIS SESSION OF THE AMA WORKSHOP. I HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR THE MEDICAL PROFESSION, THE RECORD OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, AND, IN PARTICULAR, I AM IMPRESSED WITH AMPAC, WHICH IS AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF RESPONSIBLE PRIVATE SECTOR CONCERN AND PARTICIPATION IN CIVIC AFFAIRS.

THIS IS THE LAST SESSION BEFORE YOU HEAD HOMEWARD, SO I KNOW YOU HAVE HAD MORE THAN YOUR FILL OF SPEECHES ON THE VARIOUS HEALTH LEGISLATION PROPOSALS WE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING IN CONGRESS.

WELL, REST ASSURED I AM NOT HERE WITH ANOTHER LECTURE ON THE SUBJECT.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

HOWEVER, I WOULD BRIEFLY LIKE TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF HEALTH CARE REFORM. TO BEGIN WITH, THERE IS NOT MUCH ARGUMENT ON THE FACT OF THE HEALTH CARE CRISIS IN AMERICA TODAY. NEARLY

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EVERYONE HAS COME TO REALIZE THAT DECADES OF FRAGMENTED, UNPLANNED AND INCREASINGLY COMPLEX JUGGLING OF AMERICA'S HEALTH DELIVERY SYSTEMS HAVE BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF DISASTER.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSIONS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND, ABOVE ALL, THE PEOPLE -- WHO NEED AND DESERVE THE BEST HEALTH CARE IN THE WORLD -- RECOGNIZE THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR CHANGE -- FOR REFORM.

NOW, THERE ARE SOME -- MANY OF THEM SENATE DEMOCRATS -- WHO SAY WE SHOULD JUNK THE WHOLE WORKS AND START OVER FROM SCRATCH. THEY WOULD SIMPLY HAVE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PAY THE ENTIRE COST OF MEDICAL CARE IN THIS COUNTRY.

THEY CALL THIS MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR BLUEPRINT FOR AN END TO WHAT WE KNOW AS AMERICAN MEDICINE THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN. I CALL IT THE NATIONAL SOCIALIZED SNAKE-OIL PLAN.

IT IS A QUACK REMEDY. AND IT IS AN IRRESPONSIBLE APPEAL TO THE EXPECTATIONS AND NEEDS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. WE ARE NOT GOING TO SOLVE THIS COUNTRY'S HEALTH CARE PROBLEMS BY

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WHOLESALE DISRUPTION OF OUR PRESENT HEALTH CARE STRUCTURES. WE ARE NOT GOING TO BUILD A SYSTEM FOR THE 1970'S, 1980'S, AND BEYOND BY ABANDONING ALL THAT HAS BEEN CREATED BEFORE.

SUPPORT FOR MEDICREDIT

WE CAN, HOWEVER, TAKE THE STRUCTURES AND SYSTEM WE DO HAVE, CHANGE THE BAD, REPLACE THE OUTMODED, AND STIMULATE THE GOOD. AND THERE IS MUCH THAT IS GOOD IN AMERICA'S HEALTH SYSTEM. PERSONALLY, I SUPPORT MANY OF THE CONCEPTS CONTAINED IN THE MEDICREDIT PROPOSAL INTRODUCED BY SENATOR CLIFFORD HANSEN OF WYOMING. I JOINED IN SPONSORING THAT LEGISLATION BECAUSE IT HOLDS OUT THE PROMISE OF GENUINE REFORM AND REAL PROGRESS.

THE PRESIDENT, TOO, HAS RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR REFORM. AS IN ALL OPERATIONS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, HE HAS PRESENTED A SERIOUS, WELL-RESEARCHED AND RESPONSIBLE APPROACH TO SOLVING THE PROBLEMS IN THIS FIELD. THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS AND THE IDEAS OF MEDICREDIT, BUT THESE ARE DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASIS AND VIEWPOINT, NO WIDE CHASMS OF PHILOSOPHY. BOTH SEE THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT, AND BOTH RECOGNIZE THE NECESSITY OF RETAINING WHAT IS SOUND.

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AS PRESIDENT NIXON HAS SAID, "AMERICA HAS LONG BEEN THE WEALTHIEST NATION IN THE WORLD. NOW IT IS TIME THAT WE BECOME THE HEALTHIEST NATION IN THE WORLD." THIS GOAL IS ONE ALL OF US IN THIS ROOM SHARE, AND I AM CONFIDENT WE CAN ACHIEVE IT EFFECTIVELY, RESPONSIBLY AND IN A WAY THAT WILL RETAIN THE GREATNESS OF AMERICAN MEDICINE.

WE MUST SEE THAT NO FAMILY IN AMERICA IS DENIED ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE AND HEALTH PROTECTION. WE MUST MODERNIZE AND UPDATE OUR DELIVERY SYSTEMS. AND WE MUST SEE TO IT THAT THE SUPPLY AND TRAINING OF HEALTH MANPOWER MEETS THE NEEDS OF AN EXPANDING POPULATION AND AN IMPROVING TECHNOLOGY.

NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

BUT TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN OUR EFFORTS TO REFORM HEALTH CARE AND IN ALL OTHER AREAS OF CONCERN TO OUR COUNTRY, WE MUST HAVE LEADERSHIP -- SOUND AND INFORMED LEADERSHIP -- AT ALL LEVELS OF OUR SOCIETY. JUST AS WE MUST HAVE LEADERSHIP AT A NATIONAL LEVEL FROM THE PRESIDENT, WE MUST HAVE LEADERSHIP WITHIN OUR COMMUNITIES. AND THIS IS A MESSAGE I WANT TO CARRY TO YOU TODAY.

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FOR EACH OF YOU IS MORE THAN JUST A PHYSICIAN; EACH OF YOU IS ALSO AN OPINION LEADER IN HIS COMMUNITY AND A CONCERNED, PARTICIPATING CITIZEN. TODAY OUR POSITION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER. AS NATIONAL PROBLEMS GROW MORE COMPLEX, THE NEED FOR AN INFORMED AND ACTIVE CITIZENRY GROWS WITH EACH PASSING DAY. AND UNFORTUNATELY, AS NATIONAL ISSUES BECOME MORE PERPLEXING AND MORE COMPLICATED, THE TEMPTATION INCREASES FOR OPPORTUNISTS AND WOULD-BE DEMAGOGUES TO MISLEAD, TO DISTORT, AND TO OVER-SIMPLIFY THE GREAT ISSUES AND QUESTIONS. IN THE FACE OF THESE PRESSURES, EACH OF YOU HAS A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY IN YOUR COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY. EACH OF YOU MUST BE A VOICE FOR RESPONSIBILITY AND DECENCY IN A NATIONAL DIALOGUE THAT IS TOO OFTEN DOMINATED BY IRRESPONSIBLE AND EXTREME EMOTIONALISM.

I DO NOT CARE WHAT POLITICAL PARTY YOU HAPPEN TO BELONG TO. ACTUALLY, I DO CARE, BUT HAVING A PARTY IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHICH PARTY. NATURALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO THINK THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH ITS STRONG RELIANCE ON FREE ENTERPRISE AND ITS

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DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL, HAS A STRONG APPEAL FOR MANY OF YOU. BUT, WHATEVER YOUR PARTY, I URGE YOU TO BECOME ACTIVE AND STAY ACTIVE IN IT. FOR ONLY BY YOUR ACTIVITY AND PARTICIPATION CAN YOU HAVE AN IMPACT AND AN INFLUENCE ON THE DIRECTION YOUR PARTY TAKES IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

CRISIS IN THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

ONE OF THE GREAT TRAGEDIES OF OUR TIMES IS THE WAY A RELATIVELY SMALL AND VOCAL BLOC OF EXTREME PERSUASION HAS COME TO DOMINATE THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS. BY SO DOING, THEY HAVE DEPRIVED MILLIONS OF DECENT AMERICANS OF A VOICE AND A RESPECTABLE POSITION IN THE DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS WHICH SHAPE OUR NATION'S DESTINY.

THIS RECENT DRIFT OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY, I FEEL, HAS WEAKENED THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR FREE AND REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT. BY ATTEMPTING TO UNDERMINE TWO PRESIDENTS' CON-

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DUCT OF A DIFFICULT AND HEART-RENDING CONFLICT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THIS NEW DIRECTION OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY HAS BROUGHT INTO DOUBT OUR NATIONAL RESOLVE AND ABILITY TO FULFILL OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS. BY ADOPTING THE FASHIONABLE CODE OF NEW LEFT, RADICAL EXHIBITIONISM, THE NEW SLANT OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY HAS GIVEN AID AND COMFORT TO ASSAULTS ON THE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESSES OF OUR POLITICAL, JUDICIAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

WHEN ONE DEMOCRAT EQUATES THE BOMBING OF THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL WITH THE BOMBING OF MILITARY OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THAT IS NOT DIALOGUE; THAT IS DEMAGOGUERY. WHEN ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE EXTREME DEMOCRAT WEDGE CASTIGATES THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR BEING A MAN OF VIOLENCE AND THEN MAKES A GREAT PUBLICITY GRAB OVER DEFENDING THOSE WHO ARE ACCUSED OF PLOTTING VIOLENCE, THAT IS NOT HIGH PRINCIPLE -- THAT IS HYPOCRISY.

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IF I COULD WRITE A PRESCRIPTION FOR AMERICAN POLITICS IN 1971, IT WOULD BE FOR A STRONG DOSE OF AWARENESS AND ACTIVISM TO BE ADMINISTERED BY THE PEOPLE -- THE VOTERS -- OF THIS COUNTRY TO THE DEMOCRAT PARTY. I WOULD GIVE AN INJECTION OF AROUSED AND DEDICATED INDIVIDUALS WHO WOULD FLOOD THE ARTERIES OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY AND SUPPLANT THE CLICHES OF GEORGE MC GOVERN WITH THE WISDOM OF WOODROW WILSON, REPLACE THE VACILLATION OF HUBERT HUMPHREY WITH THE FORTITUDE OF HARRY TRUMAN AND FOSTER THE QUIET DIGNITY OF RICHARD RUSSELL INSTEAD OF THE FRANTIC OPPORTUNISM OF EDMUND MUSKIE.

PRIDE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PROUD OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR ITS FAITH IN THE INDIVIDUAL, ITS RELIANCE UPON THE REGULAR PARTY MEMBER AND ITS EMBODIMENT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS OF THE GREAT AMERICAN MAINSTREAM. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S MEMBERSHIP IS BROAD AND IT IS GROWING. IT EMBRACES GREAT NUMBERS AND FROM THEM RECEIVES GREAT STRENGTH AND SOUND DIRECTION.

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SO THERE IS A REAL NEED FOR MILLIONS OF POLITICALLY DISPOSSESSED AMERICANS WHO REMEMBER THE PRINCIPLES AND THE PHILOSOPHY THE DEMOCRAT PARTY ONCE EMBODIED TO COME TO LIFE AND ASSERT THEIR VOICES IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS. FOR ONLY BY BECOMING ACTIVE AND VOCAL, CAN THEY AND EVERY CITIZEN ASSURE THAT POLITICS IN THIS COUNTRY WILL BE THE FORCE FOR PROGRESS AND EXPRESSION OF THE PEOPLES' DREAMS, HOPES AND CONCERNS. THE COMPETITION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS VITAL AND IT MUST BE PRESERVED.

ENDANGERED SECURITY

THIS AFTERNOON I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS ONE OF THE MOST VIRULENT THREATS TO OUR NATION. IT IS PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS BECAUSE ITS EFFECTS ARE NOT JUST LOCAL. THEY ARE TOTAL. AND, ALLOWED TO GO UNCHECKED, THEY CAN BE TERMINAL.

YOU ARE MEN OF MEDICINE. YOU KNOW HOW AN INFECTION, LEFT UNCHECKED, CAN SPREAD. YOU KNOW HOW A NEGLECTED BODY CAN GRADUALLY BE UNDERMINED IF IT IS DENIED MEDICAL ATTENTION,

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OR SUBJECTED TO QUACK REMEDIES. THAT SAME DANGER IS JUST AS REAL FOR THE BODY POLITIC. AND, AS CITIZENS, YOU HAVE THE SAME RESPONSIBILITY TO THE BODY POLITIC, WHICH AS DOCTORS YOU HAVE TOWARD PATIENTS. YOUR AWARENESS AND VIGILANCE IS CRUCIAL.

YOU ARE UNDOUBTEDLY AWARE OF A GROWING ATTACK ON OUR MILITARY PREPAREDNESS BY A NUMBER OF POLITICIANS AND PUNDITS. IT MAY SEEM ONLY THE PUFFING AND HUFFING OF A FEW MISGUIDED IDEALISTS, BUT THERE IS A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN AGAINST AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF NATIONAL DEFENSE WHICH CARRIED TO ITS LOGICAL CONCLUSION COULD BE SUICIDAL. THIS IS NOT AN ISOLATED PHENOMENON OUTSIDE THE BOUNDS OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES, BUT IT IS A STAMPEDE TO IRRESPONSIBILITY AND NONSENSE WITHIN ONE OF OUR TWO GREAT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. AND IT IS TIME FOR SERIOUS CONCERN WHEN MOST OF THE LEADING CONTENDERS FOR THE 1972 DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION ARE FOUND IN THE FRONT LINE OF THAT STAMPEDE. THIS PHENOMENON TAKES ON ADDED TIMELINESS TO OUR DISCUSSION TODAY BECAUSE THE NEXT ROUND OF THE SALT DISARMAMENT TALKS BEGINS TOMORROW.

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JUST THIS PAST WEEK, WE HAD FRESH WARNINGS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND RED CHINA ARE BOTH PRESSING FORWARD WITH THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT. BUT DESPITE THIS ALERT, THE MAJORITY OF THE WOULD-BE, MIGHT-HAVE BEEN, AND WANT-TO-BE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS -- AND THEIR ADMIRERS IN THE PRESS AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA -- JUMP AT ANY BAIT THE SOVIET UNION PUTS UNDER THEIR NOSE, IGNORING THE LONG LINE OF BROKEN PROMISES AND FALSE IMPRESSIONS BACK TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

TO PUT THE PICTURE IN ITS PROPER PERSPECTIVE, LET US MAKE A QUICK REVIEW OF THE SALT TALKS, THEIR BACKGROUND, AND WHERE THEY STAND TODAY.

SINCE COMING INTO OFFICE, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN A REALISTIC LOOK AT SOVIET NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES AND NOTED SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE STRATEGIC MISSILE FIELD. WE HAVE ALSO KEPT TRACK OF WHEN THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN CERTAIN ACTIONS.

IN THE EXERCISE OF CAUTION GAINED OVER 20 YEARS OF DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS NOT BEEN FOOLED

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BY APPARENT MOVES TOWARD RESPONSIBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE AGREEMENTS ON SLOWING THE CONSTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES, WHEN THESE SLOW-DOWNS JUST "HAPPEN" TO OCCUR IMMEDIATELY BEFORE A NEW PHASE OF THE SALT TALKS, OR WHEN CONGRESS IS DISCUSSING A NEW DEFENSE BUDGET.

HUMPHREY'S HASTY PROPOSAL

UNFORTUNATELY, NOT EVERYONE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA BOTHERS TO LOOK BEFORE HE LEAPS. A RECENT EXAMPLE IS PARTICULARLY ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS POINT. IN FEBRUARY, FORMER VICE PRESIDENT AND NOW SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY PRAISED THE RUSSIANS FOR WHAT APPEARS TO BE A SLOWDOWN IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SS-9 MISSILES. IN A RUSH TO MAKE HEADLINES OR DEMONSTRATE SOME UNIQUE PERCEPTION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, HUMPHREY CALLED ON THE U. S. TO "MATCH SOVIET RESTRAINT" BY "SUSPENDING WORK ON THE SAFEGUARD ABM SYSTEM."

WELL, HARDLY HAD THE DUST SETTLED ON HUBERT HUMPHREY'S PROPOSAL TO UNILATERALLY DROP AMERICA'S ONLY SYSTEM FOR PRO-

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TECTION FROM ATTACKING ENEMY MISSILES, WHEN WORD CAME OUT THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE PLANNING AN EVEN MORE POWERFUL MISSILE THAN THE SS-9. AND THEY ARE BUILDING THE NEWER AND BIGGER MISSILE SILOS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR SUCH A SYSTEM.

SO, HERE IS THE COMPARISON: ON ONE HAND WE HAVE A DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL WHIRLING DERVISH WHO JUMPS FOR THE HEADLINES ON THE BASIS OF ONE PIECE OF INTELLIGENCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE PRESIDENT NIXON WHO RESISTED THE TEMPTATION FOR THE QUICK PUBLICITY, HELD BACK ON THE BASIS OF EXPERIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING, AND AVOIDED HAVING AMERICA CAUGHT FLATFOOTED IN A RUSH FOR UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.

THE SOVIET PATTERN

THE SAME PATTERN OF SOVIET DUPLICITY AND AMAZING NAIVETE ON THE PART OF SOME AMERICAN POLITICIANS CAN BE TRACED BACK TO THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SALT TALKS.

IT IS NECESSARY TO NOTE, FIRST OF ALL, THAT THE INITIAL SOVIET DECISION TO ENTER THE TALKS WAS MADE PUBLIC MORE THAN A YEAR BEFORE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN. AND, FURTHERMORE, THE

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ACTUAL SOVIET DECISION CAME A YEAR AND A HALF AFTER THE PROPOSAL WAS MADE BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE OF JANUARY 10, 1967. IN OTHER WORDS, IT TOOK ALMOST THREE YEARS FROM THE TIME OF THE U. S. INITIATIVE TO FINALLY BRING THE RUSSIANS TO THE TABLE.

WHEN THE SOVIET UNION DID ENTER THE NEGOTIATIONS IN 1969, THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF SPECULATION IN THE WEST AS TO WHY THEY CHOSE THAT PARTICULAR TIME TO ACT. IF THE SOVIETS WERE SINCERE IN THEIR DESIRE FOR STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION, WHY DID THEY WAIT SO LONG? AND, EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WHAT WERE THEY UP TO DURING NEARLY THREE YEARS OF STALLING? THE ANSWER IS PAINFULLY CLEAR. THE PERIOD OF STALLING WAS MARKED BY TREMENDOUS ESCALATION OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER AND THE BEST YARDSTICK FOR MEASURING THIS ESCALATION IS A COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN STRENGTHS AT THE BEGINNING AND END OF THIS PERIOD.

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AT THE OUTSET, AMERICA HAD A CLEAR ACROSS-THE-BOARD MARGIN OF SUPERIORITY IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS. WE HAD OVER 1600 STRATEGIC MISSILES -- 1,054 ICBM'S AND 600 SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED MISSILES. THE SOVIETS AT THAT TIME HAD ABOUT 600 STRATEGIC MISSILES, BROKEN DOWN INTO ABOUT 450 ICBM'S AND 150 SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED MISSILES. BY THE TIME THAT THE SALT TALKS WERE READY TO BEGIN, THIS SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN MARGIN HAD BEEN ALMOST ENTIRELY ELIMINATED. THE TWO SUPER-POWERS HAD OBTAINED APPROXIMATELY NUCLEAR PARITY BECAUSE OF RUSSIA'S EXPANDED MILITARY BUILDUP.

MANY PEOPLE IN THE WEST FELT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ACHIEVE A FEELING OF SECURITY FROM THIS CONDITION OF EQUALITY, AND DURING THIS PERIOD, THE UNITED STATES DISPLAYED ENORMOUS RESTRAINT BY NOT EXPANDING OUR OWN OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC WEAPONS. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THE U. S. LEVEL IN OFFENSIVE STRATEGIC MISSILES HAS REMAINED UNCHANGED SINCE THE START OF THE SALT TALKS. PRESIDENT NIXON WAS HONEST AND DIRECT ON FEBRUARY 25 WHEN HE POINTED OUT THAT WE HAVE HAD 1,054 ICBM'S AND 656 SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES

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AS A POSITIVE CONSTANT THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE PERIOD.

BUT DID THIS STOP THE RUSSIANS FROM CONTINUING TO PILE UP A NUCLEAR WEAPONS SUPERIORITY? ON THE CONTRARY. THEY IMMEDIATELY ASSIGNED THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO BUILDING MORE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NATURALLY, THEY DID NOT REFER TO THIS BUILDUP IN THEIR DIPLOMATIC NOTES AND PROPAGANDA STATEMENTS. WISHFUL THINKERS WHO WOULD ONLY SEE WHAT THEY WANTED TO SEE IGNORED THE RUSSIAN BUILDUP, BUT THEY CONTINUED TO CRITICIZE EVERY EFFORT BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION TO PROTECT THE UNITED STATES FROM GROWING RUSSIAN NUCLEAR STRENGTH.

IS THIS THE "SOVIET RESTRAINT" THAT HUBERT HUMPHREY HAS SUCH PRAISE FOR?

OTHER RUSSIAN ADVANCES DURING THE SAME PERIOD INCLUDE, AS PRESIDENT NIXON ANNOUNCED IN HIS REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD, "NEW AND IMPROVED VERSIONS OF THEIR MINUTEMAN-SIZE SS-11 MISSILE, CONTINUED TESTING OF MULTIPLE WARHEADS, RESEARCH AND TESTING OF ABM COMPONENTS, AND IMPROVED AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS."

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LET US JUST LOOK AT THE RECORD. BETWEEN THE END OF 1969 AND THE END OF 1970, THE YEAR OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS INCREASED ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR CAPACITY BY ABOUT 30 PERCENT, AN ALL-TIME RECORD FOR WEAPONS PRODUCTION BY ANY COUNTRY. CONSIDERING THAT THE SALT TALKS HAVE HAD TWO SESSIONS IN HELSINKI AND ONE IN VIENNA, THIS AVERAGES OUT TO ABOUT A 10 PERCENT JUMP IN RUSSIAN NUCLEAR BUILDUP WITH EACH SESSION OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS. HUBERT HUMPHREY MAY CALL THAT "RESTRAINT", BUT WHERE I COME FROM, THERE'S ANOTHER WORD FOR IT.

I CANNOT HELP BUT QUESTION THE WISDOM OF ANOTHER UNANNOUNCED CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT WHO HAS TRAVELED TO MOSCOW -- WHERE THE REAL ARMS RACE HAS BEEN FUELED -- WHERE HE TOLD PREMIER KOSYGIN AND THE OTHER BOSSES IN THE KREMLIN THAT WE AMERICANS ARE WORRIED ABOUT OUR "RESOURCES BEING DIVERTED TO ARMAMENTS."

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AND RECENTLY WE HAVE BEEN HEARING MORE FROM ANOTHER LEFT-LEANING LIBERAL, FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL RAMSEY CLARK. JUST LAST WEEK I REFERRED TO HIM AS A MARSHMALLOW BECAUSE I COULDN'T THINK OF ANYTHING SOFTER.

SINCE THEN, SOME OF HIS FAR OUT FRIENDS HAVE TRIED TO ROAST ME, BUT THE FACT IS THE EVIDENCE SHOWS I WAS TOO EASY ON MR. CLARK.

LET'S LOOK FOR A MOMENT AT SOME OF MR. CLARK'S IRRESPONSIBLE MOUTHINGS, ALL AIMED AT POLARIZING OUR NATION AND DESTROYING THE ABILITY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO GOVERN.

LISTEN TO WHAT HE SAID LESS THAN A MONTH AGO, ON FEBRUARY 18. "WE HAVE A VIOLENT MAN IN OFFICE," HE SAID, REFERRING TO PRESIDENT NIXON. HE SAID NIXON HAS A "HIT 'EM, BOMB 'EM, KILL 'EM" APPROACH TO MEETING THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.

AND THIS IS NOT ALL.

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ON OCTOBER 20 OF LAST YEAR, MR. CLARK ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF USING "TRIGGER WORDS AND MISSTATEMENTS ON THE CRIME ISSUE." THREE DAYS EARLIER, HE CHARGED THAT THE PRESIDENT "APPEALS TO FEAR AND HATRED AND EMOTIONALISM."

EARLIER IN THE YEAR, HE CALLED THE PRESIDENT'S HANDLING OF A VIOLENCE-LIKELY MORATORIUM MARCH "A FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP" THAT WAS AT WORST "CALCULATED" TO MISLEAD THE PUBLIC AND "TO STIFLE DISSENT AND TO DENY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS."

NOW THESE ARE THE WORDS OF AN IRRESPONSIBLE MAN. AND I APOLOGIZE FOR HAVING CALLED HIM A MARSHMALLOW. THE WORD DOES NOT REALLY DESCRIBE THE DAMAGE THIS MAN HAS SET OUT TO DO TO OUR NATION.

HE IS A MAN FOR THE NATION TO BE WARNED OF AND TO BE WARY OF.

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DO THEY SEE THE FACTS?

DO THESE PEOPLE NOT REALIZE WHO THE REAL VILLAIN IN THE ARMS RACE IS? CAN THEY NOT GRASP THE FACTS? OR, HAVE THEY NOT BOTHERED TO CHECK THE FACTS?

THE TRAGEDY OF ALL THIS IS THAT THE IDEAL OF A LASTING PEACE -- THE TIMELESS QUEST FOR A WORLD FREE OF WAR -- IS A NOBLE ONE. IT IS A GOAL THAT ALL OF US SHARE AND THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS STATED REPEATEDLY. AS PHYSICIANS, YOU KNOW THIS. YOUR ENTIRE CAREERS ARE BASED ON A REVERENCE FOR HUMAN LIFE -- ON A DAY-TO-DAY BATTLE AGAINST THE FORCES OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION. BUT ALL OF US HERE REALIZE SOMETHING SOME POLITICIANS HAVE OVERLOOKED. AND THAT IS THAT YOU DO NOT GET PEACE OR UNDERSTANDING FROM A HARDNOSED ADVERSARY LIKE THE SOVIET UNION -- MUCH LESS RED CHINA -- BY CAVING IN AND INVITING PROVOCATION.

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THE LESSON OF HISTORY

I SUGGEST THAT HISTORY HAS PROVEN THAT THIS KIND OF CARELESSNESS IS THE BEST WAY TO DESTROY THE REAL CHANCES FOR A LASTING PEACE.

MY CONCERN -- AND THE CONCERN OF MANY OTHER RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS OF BOTH PARTIES -- IS THAT IN THEIR HASTE TO ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT, SOME PEOPLE ARE FORGETTING THAT DISARMAMENT IS A TWO-WAY STREET. A FUTURE WITH A DISARMED AMERICA FACING A HOSTILE, ALIEN NUCLEAR SUPERPOWER WILL NOT BE A FUTURE THAT PROMISES MUCH FOR FREEDOM OR FOR PEACE.

THAT IS WHY I HAVE BEEN SPEAKING AROUND THE COUNTRY, URGING AMERICANS OF ALL POLITICAL PERSUASIONS TO LINE UP BEHIND THE PRESIDENT ON THIS SINGLE GREAT NATIONAL ISSUE. IT IS NOT A MATTER OF PRO- OR ANTI-MILITARY. IT IS FAR MORE BASIC THAN THAT. WHEN YOU GET RIGHT DOWN TO IT, IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN NATIONAL SURVIVAL THAT IS AT STAKE.

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A MESSAGE TO CARRY

SO I URGE EACH OF YOU, AS YOU RETURN TO YOUR HOMES ACROSS AMERICA, TO TAKE THIS MESSAGE WITH YOU. REMEMBER, NONE OF US CAN ENJOY BETTER HEALTH, EDUCATION OR WELFARE UNLESS AMERICA KEEPS THE STRENGTH TO SURVIVE AS A FREE NATION.

AND REMEMBER TO RECOGNIZE THE POLITICAL BOMBAST AND THE REPORTORIAL BIAS ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION FOLLOWING THE SAME OLD POLICIES AND THE SAME OLD ILLUSIONS.

TO THOSE WHO SAY, "WHY DO WE CONTINUE A POLICY THAT HAS FAILED FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS?", POINT OUT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON'S POLICY IS NOT TEN YEARS OLD. IT IS BARELY TWO YEARS OLD, AND IT IS SUCCEEDING. AMERICA NO LONGER BLINDLY FOLLOWS THE STRATEGY OF THE '60'S, USING AMERICAN MANPOWER TO FIGHT OUR ALLIES' WAR FOR THEM. RATHER, WE ARE FOLLOWING A STRATEGY FOR THE '70'S WHICH WILL ENABLE OUR ALLIES AROUND THE WORLD TO STAND ON THEIR OWN STRENGTHS AND DEFEND THEIR OWN FREEDOMS.

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OUR OBJECTIVE IS PEACE

OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND IN EVERY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD IS A LASTING PEACE. WE DO NOT SEEK PEACE BASED ON DICTATED OR IMPOSED CONDITIONS, FOR SUCH A PEACE CAN BE NEITHER JUST NOR LASTING. WE SEEK INSTEAD PEACE WHICH EVERY NATION HAS A REAL AND WORTHWHILE INTEREST IN MAINTAINING.

TRULY, OUR NATION IS FOLLOWING A FUNDAMENTALLY NEW FOREIGN POLICY. YET, THESE NEW DIRECTIONS AND NEW FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN STRANGELY IGNORED BY MANY WHO PROFESS AN EXPERTISE IN FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS INFLEXIBLE, NEGATIVE ATTITUDE EXTENDS TO THE MAJORITY OF AVERAGE CITIZENS. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN A RECENT INTERVIEW, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN USUALLY BE COUNTED ON TO DO THE DECENT THING -- THE JUST THING -- WHEN THE FACTS ARE PLACED BEFORE THEM FAIRLY.

I HOPE THAT YOU, AS RESPECTED MEMBERS OF YOUR COMMUNITIES, WILL HELP TO SPREAD AND EXPLAIN THESE FACTS.

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THE UNTOLD SUCCESS STORY IN VIETNAM, AND THE LARGER
ISSUE OF AMERICA'S LONG-TERM SECURITY, ARE BOTH VITAL TO
OUR FUTURE AS A NATION. YOU CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART
IN SEEING THAT THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND UNDERSTANDING OF
THESE ISSUES IS BALANCED, AND THAT THE TRUTH PREVAILS IN A
LAND THAT HAS ALWAYS PRIDED ITSELF ON ITS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.