

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

GOP FUNDRAISING EVENT  
SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI  
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1971

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE ALONG WITH THE REST OF YOU ON BEHALF OF THE PARTY AND OF AN OLD AND VALUED COLLEAGUE, "DOC" HALL. WITH AN ELECTION YEAR APPROACHING, THE NEED FOR MEN OF "DOC'S" CHARACTER AND ABILITY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS GREATER THAN EVER. THEIR JUDGMENT, LEADERSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITY SERVE AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE IRRESPONSIBLE ANTICS OF THOSE POLITICIANS WHO ARE SEEKING THE PRESIDENCY AT ANY PRICE -- NO MATTER WHAT ITS IMPACT ON THE NATION AND THE PEOPLE. SOMETIMES THIS TAKES THE FORM OF OBSTRUCTIVE ACTION -- AT OTHERS, IT TAKES THE FORM OF LETHARGIC INACTION. EITHER WAY, THE NATIONAL INTEREST IS HURT.

NATIONWIDE DOCK STRIKES

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF THE EFFECTS DEMOCRAT OBSTRUCTIONISM HAS HAD ON THIS NATION.

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YESTERDAY, NOT A SINGLE SHIPMENT OF GOODS ENTERED OR LEFT A UNITED STATES SEAPORT ON THE WEST COAST, ON THE EAST COAST, OR ON THE GULF OF MEXICO. EVERY PORT FROM MAINE TO TEXAS WAS CLOSED, JOINING THOSE FROM SEATTLE TO SAN DIEGO, WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN SHUT DOWN FOR 93 DAYS. THE EFFECTS OF THESE STRIKES ARE SEVERE AND ARE EXTREMELY HARMFUL TO THE DIFFICULT JOB OF STRENGTHENING OUR NATION'S ECONOMY.

THE IMPACT OF THE DOCK STRIKES

BECAUSE OF WIDE NATIONAL PRESS COVERAGE, MANY PEOPLE ARE AWARE OF THE DAMAGE BEING DONE BY THESE STRIKES AND THE THREAT OF THEM TO MANUFACTURERS, SHIPPERS AND THE WORKERS EMPLOYED IN DIRECTLY-RELATED INDUSTRIES. BUT FEW SEEM TO BE AWARE OF THE SERIOUS IMPACT THE STRIKE IS HAVING IN ONE OF THE MOST VULNERABLE SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY, AMERICA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS.

THEY DO NOT KNOW THAT:

-- FARMERS WHO PRODUCE PERISHABLE FOODS FOR EXPORT TO THE FAR EAST AND HAWAII HAVE SEEN THEIR CROPS ROT FOR LACK OF TRANSPORTATION.

-- OREGON AND WASHINGTON FARMERS ARE FINDING IT DIFFICULT TO FIND ANY CASH MARKETS FOR THEIR GRAIN, AND MUCH OF THEIR HARVEST IS STILL PILED ON THE GROUND.



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-- WEST COAST BANKERS ARE HESITANT TO EXTEND FARMERS FINANCING THAT WOULD DEPEND ON GRAIN EXPORTS FOR REPAYMENT OUT OF FEAR THAT THE GRAIN WILL NOT MOVE INTO EXPORT EVEN AFTER A STRIKE SETTLEMENT.

-- KANSAS FARMERS HAVE SEEN THEIR WHEAT EXPORT MARKETS APPROPRIATED BY CANADA AND AUSTRALIA, DUE TO THE WEST COAST STRIKE AND THE ADDITIONAL THREAT OF A GULF COAST STRIKE.

-- MISSOURI FARMERS HAVE SEEN CORN PRICES DROP 50 CENTS SINCE THE THREAT OF A GULF PORT DOCK STRIKE AROSE.

-- JAPAN, OUR BEST CUSTOMER FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, HAS TURNED TO CANADA AND AUSTRALIA FOR ITS GRAIN. OTHER NATIONS HAVE FOLLOWED THIS TREND, AND MORE ARE TURNING TO OTHER SUPPLIERS WHO CAN ASSURE DEPENDABLE DELIVERY.

IT WILL TAKE YEARS TO REGAIN WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN LOST IN EXPORT MARKETS -- IF WE CAN DO SO AT ALL.

#### EFFECTS ON WHEAT GROWERS

HERE IN THE MIDWEST, FAR FROM EITHER COAST, THE EFFECTS ARE SEVERE. AND EVERY DAY THE THREAT OF ONE STRIKE LINGERED AND ANOTHER CONTINUED, THE COSTS TO OUR FARMERS HAVE GROWN.



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SINCE THE UNITED STATES EXPORTS ABOUT HALF THE WHEAT IT PRODUCES, LET'S LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN KANSAS, THE NATION'S LARGEST WHEAT-PRODUCING STATE. THIS SUMMER, KANSANS HARVESTED A RECORD-BREAKING 313 MILLION BUSHELS, UP 14 MILLION BUSHELS FROM LAST YEAR. THIS INCREASED HARVEST RESULTED IN A DROP IN WHEAT PRICES FROM \$1.33 IN MAY TO \$1.28 IN AUGUST -- AFTER THE HARVEST WAS COMPLETED.

THIS WAS A NORMAL TREND, BUT WITH THE EXPORT DEMAND OF THE PAST YEAR, THE GRAIN TRADE WAS CONFIDENT IT COULD ABSORB THE ADDITIONAL PRODUCTION AND BRING THE PRICE BACK UP. THEIR CONFIDENCE WAS BORN OUT OF THE FACT THAT LAST YEAR WHEAT PRICES IN SEPTEMBER INCREASED 13 CENTS OVER AUGUST LEVELS. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, THE IMPACT OF THE WEST COAST STRIKE AND THE THREAT OF THE GULF COAST STRIKE RESULTED IN AN ADDITIONAL DROP IN PRICE TO \$1.26.

SO, INSTEAD OF GAINING BACK THE SUMMER'S LOSSES THROUGH EXPORT SALES, WHEAT GROWERS LOST AN ADDITIONAL 2 CENTS A BUSHEL IN SEPTEMBER.



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TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE LOSSES MEAN THESE REAL AND THREATENED DOCK STRIKES HAVE COST KANSAS WHEAT PRODUCERS A DIFFERENTIAL OF 15 CENTS A BUSHEL -- OR \$45 MILLION.

CORN PRICES AFFECTED

BUT WHEAT GROWERS ARE NOT THE ONLY MIDWESTERNERS AFFECTED BY THESE LABOR DISPUTES. ONLY ABOUT 15 PERCENT OF THE NATION'S CORN PRODUCTION IS EXPORTED. HOWEVER, A GOOD PORTION OF THOSE EXPORTS COME FROM HERE IN MISSOURI, IOWA AND ILLINOIS. AND THEY MOVE INTO EXPORT CHANNELS THROUGH GULF PORTS. BECAUSE OF THE THREAT OF THE GULF COAST DOCK STRIKE, CORN PRICES HAVE DROPPED 50 CENTS PER BUSHEL IN THIS AREA IN RECENT WEEKS. THIS MEANS OUR FARMERS HAVE LOST MORE THAN \$2.5 BILLION, BASED ON A PROJECTED PRODUCTION OF OVER 5 BILLION BUSHELS OF CORN.

OF COURSE, PRODUCTION WAS UP THIS YEAR DUE TO ANTICIPATED CORN BLIGHT DAMAGE. FAILURE OF THAT BLIGHT TO MATERIALIZE, COUPLED WITH EXCELLENT GROWING CONDITIONS, BROUGHT ABOUT A HUGE CROP. I CONTEND, HOWEVER, THAT WITH THE REAL STRIDES THAT WERE MADE IN EXPORTS LAST YEAR AND WITH THE LOW CARRYOVER FIGURE RESULTING FROM LAST YEAR'S LOW PRODUCTION, WE WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WORK OUR WAY OUT OF THIS EXCESSIVE SURPLUS POSITION AND STABILIZE PRICES.

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BUT INSTEAD OF HAVING AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK THEIR WAY OUT OF A SURPLUS SITUATION, THROUGH INCREASED EXPORT SALES, CORN PRODUCERS -- JUST LIKE WHEAT GROWERS AND COUNTLESS OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS -- FOUND THEMSELVES PARALYZED BY ONE STRIKE ON THE WEST COAST AND THE THREAT OF ANOTHER ON THE GULF.

NOT THE FIRST TIME

NOW, THIS WOULD BE A BAD ENOUGH SITUATION IF THIS WERE THE FIRST TIME SOMETHING LIKE THIS HAD HAPPENED. BUT THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME.

IN 1969, A DOCK STRIKE COST OUR NATION'S FARMERS A LOSS OF EXPORTS WORTH MORE THAN HALF A BILLION DOLLARS. NO ONE KNOWS HOW MUCH IT COSTS IN TERMS OF PRICE DECLINES DUE TO THE RESULTING DOMESTIC OVERSUPPLY.

AND HERE WE ARE AGAIN IN 1971 FACING NOT ONE, BUT TWO DOCK STRIKES. AND ONCE AGAIN, THE AMERICAN FARMER IS CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE. AND HE IS HOLDING THE BAG -- THE BAG FULL OF HIS PRODUCTS -- WHILE HIS OVERSEAS MARKETS ARE LOST AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMY AND OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IS DIMINISHED.



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PRESIDENT NIXON RECENTLY URGED THE PARTIES TO THE STRIKE TO REACH A SPEEDY SETTLEMENT OF THIS DISPUTE. ON WEDNESDAY, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE HARDIN CALLED THE NATION'S ATTENTION TO THE EFFECTS OF THE DOCK STRIKE ON FARM PRICES. ON TUESDAY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE CLARENCE PALMBY MADE A DETAILED STATEMENT TO A SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THIS PROBLEM.

BLAME ON DEMOCRAT CONGRESS

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH BLAME HEAPED ON EVERYONE FOR THIS SITUATION. SOME HAVE BLAMED THE PRESIDENT. SOME HAVE BLAMED THE SHIPPERS. OTHERS HAVE BLAMED THE LONGSHOREMEN.

BUT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WILL TELL YOU WHERE THE REAL BLAME LIES. IT IS CERTAINLY NOT WITH THE PRESIDENT. NO, THE REAL BLAME RESTS SQUARELY ON A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS THAT HAS FAILED, NOT FOR ONE YEAR, BUT FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS, TO ENACT LEGISLATION PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO DEAL WITH LABOR-MANAGEMENT DISPUTES IN THE TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRIES.

THIS LEGISLATION WOULD COVER THE WHOLE TRANSPORTATION FIELD, NOT ONLY OCEAN SHIPPERS. IT WOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE COSTLY WEST COAST DOCK STRIKE. IT WOULD HAVE ELIMINATED THE THREAT -- AND THE REALITY -- OF THE

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GULF STRIKE. IT WOULD HAVE FORESTALLED A LONG SERIES OF CRISES IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY.

IN FACT, IT WAS INTRODUCED IN THE LAST CONGRESS WHEN A RAILROAD STRIKE THREATENED TO CRIPPLE THE NATION. IT WAS INTRODUCED AGAIN IN THIS CONGRESS BY SENATOR GRIFFIN OF MICHIGAN AND MYSELF.

BUT IT HAS FARED POORLY AT THE HANDS OF A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS THAT IS MORE CONCERNED WITH CURRYING FAVOR FROM SPECIAL INTERESTS THAN IN SERVING THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

THIS BILL DOES NOT FAVOR OR DISCRIMINATE AGAINST ANY GROUP OR INTEREST. BUT IT WOULD BRING A RESPONSIBLE MEASURE OF STABILITY TO BEAR IN LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS IN THE TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRY, AND PROVIDE BENEFITS OF NATIONAL SCOPE FOR VIRTUALLY EVERY SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY. A STABLE AND RELIABLE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROSPERITY AND GROWTH OF LABOR AND MANAGEMENT, MANUFACTURERS, PROCESSORS -- ALMOST ANYONE IN ANY PART OF AMERICA. BUT IT WOULD BE OF PARTICULAR VALUE TO AMERICA'S FARMERS WHO ARE SO VITALLY DEPENDENT ON A RELIABLE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM.



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IF 93 DAYS OF THE WEST COAST STRIKE HAD NOT BEEN REASON ENOUGH TO MOVE AHEAD ON THIS LEGISLATION, THEN THE THREAT OF ANOTHER STRIKE -- WITH RESULTING TOTAL NATIONAL PARALYSIS -- SHOULD HAVE BEEN. BUT, NO. THE DEMOCRAT CONGRESS HAS STALLED AND BLOCKED THIS LEGISLATION THROUGH TWO CONGRESSES AND TWO YEARS. AND AS A RESULT, WE HAD 93 DAYS OF STRIKE IN WEST COAST PORTS -- AND NEXT WE HAD A TOTAL NATIONWIDE CLOSING OF OUR MARITIME FACILITIES.

ADMINISTRATION IS RESPONDING

HOWEVER, I CAN REPORT THAT IN THE FACE OF DEMOCRAT DELAY AND OBSTRUCTION, THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION IS DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO END THE STRIKES AND HELP AMERICA'S FARMERS MINIMIZE THE DAMAGE THEY ARE INFLECTING ON THEM.

PRESIDENT NIXON MET LAST SATURDAY WITH THE PARTIES TO THE STRIKE AND EXPRESSED HIS FIRM BELIEF THAT, "WE CANNOT TOLERATE A CONTINUATION OF THIS PATTERN OF DELAY AND SLOW PROGRESS TOWARD AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST LONGSHOREMEN'S STRIKE."

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SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE HARDIN ASKED THE LONGSHOREMEN TO "LISTEN TO THE APPEALS OF THEIR FELLOW AMERICANS TO MOVE FOOD AND FARM PRODUCTS AT THIS CRITICAL TIME."

MEANWHILE, SECRETARY HARDIN HAS ANNOUNCED A RESEAL OF 1969, 1970 AND 1971 CROP CORN. THIS ACTION WILL ISOLATE THIS SUPPLY FROM OUR ALREADY DEPRESSED MARKETS AND PAY THE FARMERS TO STORE IT. THE NEW FEED GRAIN PROGRAM WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND I AM CONFIDENT THE SECRETARY WILL TAKE STEPS TO PRODUCE A MAXIMUM EFFECT IN HOLDING DOWN PRODUCTION WITHOUT PENALIZING THE PRODUCER. WE NEED TO RESTRICT FEED GRAIN PRODUCTION SO IN AN ORDERLY FASHION WE CAN WORK OFF THE LARGE CROP THAT IS NOW BEING HARVESTED.

EXPAND P. L. 480

WE NEED TO EXAMINE NEW MEANS TO RECOVER OUR EXPORT MARKETS WHEN THE DOCK STRIKES ARE SETTLED. I WOULD HOPE THAT THE P. L. 480, THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM -- STARTED DURING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S ADMINISTRATION -- CAN BE EXPANDED THROUGH NEW INNOVATIONS IN THE USE OF OUR GRAINS TO HELP OTHER NATIONS TOWARD PEACE.



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LONG TERM SOLUTION NEEDED

BUT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADMINISTRATION CAN ONLY TAKE STOPGAP MEASURES IN THE FACE OF A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS' FAILURE TO PROVIDE THE LEGISLATION NEEDED FOR LONG TERM SOLUTIONS.

SO, LET ME REMIND YOU ONCE AGAIN THAT WE ARE AGAIN SEEING THE RESULT OF DEMOCRAT OBSTRUCTION AND DELAY WHICH IS DAMAGING THE ENTIRE NATION. BUT IT IS HURTING AMERICA'S FARMERS MOST OF ALL.

DEMOS ACTIVE

BUT THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN TOTALLY INACTIVE. WE HAVE SEEN THEM IN ACTION ACROSS THE COUNTRY FOR MONTHS NOW, AND AS NOVEMBER OF '72 GROWS NEARER, THEIR ACTIVITIES GROW MORE FRANTIC AND MORE FEVERED. THEY VOTE TO UNDERMINE AMERICAN MILITARY STRENGTH; THEIR DISSIDENCE MAKES THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE AS A PEACEMAKER DOUBLY HARD; IN THEIR EFFORTS TO CURRY FAVOR WITH A HANDFUL OF BIG UNION BOSSES, THEY SEEK TO OBSTRUCT PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROGRAMS FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND A NEW PROSPERITY. IN SHORT, THEY ARE POLITICIANS FIRST. FOR TOO MANY OF THEM, RESPONSIBILITY HAS TAKEN A BACK SEAT TO PERSONAL AMBITION, AND OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORSE FOR IT.

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DEMOCRATS SEEK TO CONFUSE THE RECORD

YES, AS THE ELECTION GROWS NEARER, THESE DEMOCRATS BEGIN TO FEEL THE WEIGHT OF THEIR WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BEAR HEAVIER AND HEAVIER ON THEIR CHANCES FOR HIGH OFFICE. AND AS THIS WEIGHT GROWS -- AS PRESIDENT NIXON GETS CLOSER TO HIS GOAL OF ENDING THEIR WAR -- THEIR SCHEMES AND SMOKESCREENS TO BLUR THEIR RECORD IN THE PUBLIC'S MIND GROW MORE INTENSE.

A PRIME EXAMPLE OF THEIR TACTICS WAS TO BE SEEN YESTERDAY IN THE U. S. SENATE WHEN LEADING DEMOCRATS, PARTICULARLY THEIR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, IN THE SENATE LINED UP TO TRY AND WASH THE STAIN OF VIETNAM FROM THEIR RECORD. THEY SOUGHT TO DO THIS BY VOTING FOR AN AMENDMENT TO SET A CERTAIN DATE FOR UNITED STATES WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM.

THEY MADE SPEECHES ABOUT HOW THEY WANTED PEACE AND HOW THEY WANTED TO END THE WAR -- BUT SOUGHT TO OBSCURE THEIR ROLES IN SETTING THAT WAR IN MOTION.

THERE WERE BAYH AND FULBRIGHT AND HARTKE, HUMPHREY AND MC GOVERN AND PROXMIRE, AND MUSKIE, TOO. ALL OF THEM VOTED FOR THE VIRTUAL DECLARATION OF WAR IN VIETNAM -- THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION IN 1964. ALL



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OF THEM BACKED A DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION AS IT LED OUR COUNTRY INTO AN EVER MORE DEADLY AND MORE COSTLY WAR.

AND THERE THEY WERE, 7 YEARS AFTER VOTING FOR A VIRTUAL DECLARATION OF WAR, VOTING FOR "PEACE" AND SEEKING TO TIE RICHARD NIXON TO AN UNWISE AND UNNECESSARY DATE FOR FINAL WITHDRAWAL FROM THEIR WAR AND THEIR PARTY'S WAR.

THEY ARE TRYING TO GET OUT -- TRYING TO AVOID THEIR RESPONSIBILITY AND TRYING TO CONFUSE THE PUBLIC ON THEIR RECORD.

A FEW DAYS AGO, WE SAW THE LATEST -- AND PERHAPS THE WORST -- EXAMPLE OF THIS WHEN ONE OF THE MAJOR UNANNOUNCED DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES CYNICALLY ATTEMPTED TO PLAY POLITICS WITH THE PRISONER OF WAR ISSUE.

KENNEDY HITS NEW LOW

IN WHAT SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER HAS JUSTLY DESCRIBED AS "A NEW LOW IN THE POLITICS OF OPPORTUNISM," THIS MAN -- WHO, WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY, SHARED IN MANY OF THE DECISIONS THAT LED TO MASSIVE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM -- TRIED TO EXPLOIT THE HOPES AND FEARS OF

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THE FAMILIES OF AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN HELD PRISONER OR MISSING IN ACTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. SPEAKING TO A WASHINGTON MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF FAMILIES OF AMERICAN PRISONERS AND MISSING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY ACCUSED PRESIDENT NIXON OF LEAVING AMERICAN POW'S "ROTTING" IN ORDER TO PROLONG THE WAR. IN ALL THE ANNALS OF AMERICAN POLITICS, I THINK IT WOULD BE HARD TO FIND LOWER BLOW THAN THIS. BUT SENATOR KENNEDY DID NOT STOP THERE. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT IF HE WERE RUNNING THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS, HE WOULD WILLINGLY HAVE "CRAWLED INTO THE ROOM" TO GAIN ENEMY CONCESSIONS.

I THINK THIS REMARK IS EVEN WORSE THAN THE FIRST. THE FIRST WAS AN INSULT; THE SECOND IS A SHOCKING INSIGHT INTO SENATOR KENNEDY'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF HIGH OFFICE.

ANYONE WHO WOULD SUGGEST FOR ONE MOMENT THAT COMMUNIST COOPERATION IS TO BE GAINED BY "CRAWLING" BEFORE AN ENEMY -- BY HUMILIATING THE UNITED STATES AND BY BEGGING FOR CLEMENCY -- IS GUILTY OF MORE THAN INSINCERITY. ANYONE WHO WOULD DO SO IS GUILTY OF STAGGERING OPPORTUNISM AND A TOTAL LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF HOW TO DEAL WITH A RUTHLESS, CYNICAL ENEMY.



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ANYONE WITH SUCH A PENCHANT FOR OPPORTUNISM, COUPLED WITH SO PROFOUND A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF A MATTER SO VITAL TO OUR SURVIVAL AS A FREE PEOPLE, SHOULD NOT LEAD OUR NATION. AND I BELIEVE THAT A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WILL JUDGE SENATOR KENNEDY ACCORDINGLY.

NIXON ADDRESSES POW FAMILIES

LATER THAT DAY, PRESIDENT NIXON ADDRESSED THE SAME GROUP. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN HIS REMARKS AND THOSE OF SENATOR KENNEDY WAS VIVID. WHERE SENATOR KENNEDY HAD USED THE MEETING AS A POLITICAL PLATFORM, RICHARD NIXON SPOKE WITH FEELING, SINCERITY AND COMPASSION. HE TOLD THESE SERVICE WIVES AND PARENTS OF HIS CONTINUOUS EFFORTS TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF ALL AMERICAN PRISONERS; OF HIS DEEP PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO THIS GOAL; AND OF HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE SACRIFICE AND COURAGE OF THE SERVICE FAMILIES WHO BORE THE BRUNT OF THIS TRAGIC WAR.

"YOU KNOW THE TRAGEDY WE HAVE FOUND SO OFTEN," HE TOLD THEM. "HOPES ARE RAISED AND THEN DASHED, BECAUSE WE ARE DEALING HERE WITH A SAVAGE ENEMY WHO HAS NO CONCERN FOR HUMANITARIAN IDEALS."

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"....I THINK OF AIRPORTS WHERE CHILDREN HAVE COME UP AND SAID, 'MY DADDY IS MISSING IN ACTION'. I THINK OF THE WIVES WHO I HAVE SEEN AND THE MOTHERS AND THE REST. I THINK OF THEIR COURAGE AND WHAT THEY HAVE DONE AND WHAT THEY HAVE GIVEN FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AND THEN I REALIZE THAT MY JOB ISN'T ALL THAT HARD.

"I AM JUST SO PROUD OF HOW GREAT YOU HAVE BEEN, AND I AM NOT GOING TO LET YOU DOWN."

STANDING OVATION FOR PRESIDENT

THESE WERE THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS, AND, WHEN HE FINISHED THEM, THE WIVES, MOTHERS AND FAMILIES OF MISSING AND IMPRISONED SERVICEMEN IN THAT ROOM GAVE HIM A STANDING OVATION.

SENATOR KENNEDY AND SOME OF THE OTHER DEMOCRATS WHO SEEK THE PRESIDENCY TODAY MAY BELIEVE IN "CRAWLING", BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT FEW PRESIDENTS EVER STOOD TALLER THAN RICHARD NIXON STOOD THAT EVENING.

THE REASON, I BELIEVE, CAN BE SUMMED UP IN ONE WORD: TRUST. TRUST IN THE MAN AND TRUST IN THE JOB HE IS DOING. AND THAT IS WHAT CAN TILT THE SCALES IN OUR FAVOR IN 1972 -- PUBLIC TRUST.



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A RECORD OF TRUST

IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND IN THE CONGRESS, OUR PARTY HAS BUILT UP A RECORD OF TRUST AND RESPONSIBILITY. UNLIKE THE VISIONARIES AND SUPER SALESMEN OF THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAVE NOT MADE PROMISES WE KNEW WE COULD NOT KEEP. WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED -- AND THE CREDIT HERE LIES MAINLY WITH RICHARD NIXON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION -- IS A SOLID RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT. AND THE FACT THAT WE HAD TO BUILD IT ON A FOUNDATION OF EIGHT YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC QUICKSAND -- OF DOMESTIC FAILURES, HUMILIATION ABROAD, AND A BLOODY, SEEMINGLY ENDLESS WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA -- MAKES THIS FACT ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE.

CATALOGUE OF DISASTERS

I COULD CATALOGUE THE FAILURES AND THE DISASTERS THAT RICHARD NIXON INHERITED FROM HIS PREDECESSORS FOR THE REST OF THIS SPEECH AND STILL ONLY SCRATCH THE SURFACE. I COULD SPEAK OF THE SENSELESS, NO-WIN ESCALATION OF THE WAR THAT COST THOUSANDS OF YOUNG AMERICAN LIVES, BUT RENOUNCED ALL CHANCE OF VICTORY. I COULD SPEAK OF THE ANARCHY AND LAWLESSNESS THAT SWEPT AMERICAN CITIES AND LEFT SOME OF THEM IN ASHES.

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I COULD SPEAK OF THE DIVISIVE DEMOCRAT POLITICIANS WHO TURNED ON THEIR OWN ELECTED LEADERSHIP AND PROLONGED THE WAR BY SOWING DISCONTENT AT HOME AND -- WHETHER THEY WISHED IT OR NOT -- BOOSTING ENEMY MORALE AND DEMORALIZING OUR OWN FIGHTING MEN.

I COULD TALK OF THE DEMOCRAT POLITICIANS WHO, AGAIN AND AGAIN, HAVE APOLOGIZED FOR THE LAWLESS AND MADE EXCUSES FOR VIOLENCE. AND I COULD TALK OF THE HEAVY, DEBILITATING DOUBT -- THE FEELING OF DISCOURAGEMENT AND EVEN DESPAIR -- THAT CAME OVER AMERICA AFTER THESE EIGHT DOWNWARD, DISASTROUS YEARS.

NIXON CHANGES AMERICA

BUT I AM NOT HERE TODAY TO BE CRITICAL OF THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP BEING OFFERED BY THE OPPOSITION PARTY. I AM HERE TO TALK ABOUT THE CHANGE THAT HAS COME OVER THIS NATION UNDER RICHARD NIXON. I AM HERE TO SAY THAT TODAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GETTING MORE LEADERSHIP AND LESS DEMOGUERY FROM THEIR ELECTED PRESIDENT THAN THEY HAVE IN MANY YEARS.



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THIS IS THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT HAS BEEN ABLE TO COPE WITH AN OPPOSITION CONGRESS; THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT HAS NOT WAITED FOR THE CONGRESS TO ACT IN SUCH AREAS AS DRAFT REFORM, EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION AND THE WHOLE SCOPE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE AMERICA OF TODAY IS NOT THE AMERICA OF 1968 -- AND WE CAN ALL BE THANKFUL FOR IT. THE AMERICA OF TODAY IS A BETTER, FREER SOCIETY THAN EVER BEFORE; A SOCIETY IN WHICH MORE PEOPLE OF ALL RACES ARE ENJOYING MORE ABUNDANCE IN ALL THINGS THAN EVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY.

LAW ENFORCEMENT IMPROVES

THE AMERICAN LAW ENFORCEMENT SYSTEM IS NOT THE SAME DECREPIT, SHACKLED SYSTEM IT WAS A FEW YEARS AGO. TODAY, THANKS TO STRONG ADMINISTRATION POLICIES AND FAIR, ENERGETIC ENFORCEMENT, THE RATE OF INCREASE IN CRIME IS BEING PROGRESSIVELY CUT BACK, AS WAS REVEALED IN THE LATEST F.B.I. CRIME FIGURES, RELEASED JUST A FEW DAYS AGO.

THE SUPREME COURT OF TODAY IS NOT -- AND WE CAN BE THANKFUL FOR THIS -- THE SAME COURT AS IN 1968. PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ALREADY

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APPOINTED TWO OUTSTANDING CONSTITUTIONAL JURISTS, CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER AND ASSOCIATE JUSTICE HARRY BLACKMUN, TO GIVE NEW BALANCE AND SOUNDNESS TO THE HIGH COURT'S COMPOSITION. AND THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE CLEAR HIS INTENTION OF FILLING THE CURRENT VACANCIES WITH OTHER QUALIFIED, RESPONSIBLE MEN.

#### GOVERNMENT REFORMED

THE GOVERNMENT OF TODAY IS NOT THE GOVERNMENT OF 1968. PRESIDENT NIXON HAS DONE MORE TO OVERHAUL AND MODERNIZE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT THAN ANY LEADER IN THE POST-WAR ERA. POSTAL REFORM, EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION AND BOLD NEW PLANS TO REVITALIZE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THROUGH REVENUE SHARING -- ALL ARE NEWER, BETTER APPROACHES TO GOVERNMENT THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS SET FORTH WITH CLARITY AND FORCE.

NOR HAVE OTHER AREAS BEEN NEGLECTED. WHILE THE MUSKIES, BAYHS, KENNEDYS AND MC GOVERNS HAVE COMPETED WITH EACH OTHER TO TEAR DOWN OUR NATION'S DEFENSES, RICHARD NIXON HAS STOOD FIRM FOR A STRONG AMERICA. HIS LEADERSHIP, HIS REPEATED EFFORTS TO RALLY THE CONGRESS, RESCUED THE ABM ANTI-MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM FROM EXTINCTION AT THE HANDS OF A



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GROUP OF POLITICIANS WHO THINK IT IS WORTH LEAVING AMERICA DEFENSELESS JUST TO GAIN A LITTLE PUBLICITY AND SOME SHORT-TERM POPULARITY. RICHARD NIXON KNOWS THAT ONLY A STRONG AMERICA IS A SAFE AMERICA, AND HE IS PLEDGED TO THAT PRECEPT. AS LONG AS HE SERVES IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AMERICA IS GOING TO STAY STRONG -- AND FUTURE GENERATIONS CAN LOOK BACK IN GRATITUDE FOR IT.

NIXON STRESSES MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

THE MATTER OF AMERICA'S MILITARY PREPAREDNESS IS OF CONSTANT CONCERN TO US. THE SALT TALKS IN VIENNA AND HELSINKI HAVE RAISED UNREALISTIC HOPES FOR SOME PEOPLE, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE NOTWITHSTANDING, AND THESE HOPES HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED INTO ASSUMPTIONS BY SOME THAT STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS WILL SOON BE UNNECESSARY AND OBSOLETE. THE FACTS DO NOT BACK THIS UP. SOVIET STRATEGIC WEAPONS GROWTH RATES HAVE SURPASSED OUR OWN. TODAY THEY HAVE OVER 1500 LAND-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES TO OUR 1054. BY 1974, THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ESTIMATES THAT THEY WILL HAVE AS MANY SUBMARINE LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES AS WE NOW POSSESS, OR HAVE PLANNED FOR PRODUCTION. AT SOME POINT NEXT YEAR, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE TO EXAMINE THE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOVIETS AS AGAINST THEIR TALK AT SALT AND DECIDE

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WHETHER TO FOREGO NEW WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT OR SEND INTO PRODUCTION A NUMBER OF NEW SYSTEMS WHICH ARE CURRENTLY IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

NEW DEFENSE SYSTEMS

TO MEET A POSSIBLE SOVIET CHALLENGE FOR THE SEVENTIES, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE MELVIN LAIRD HAS SEVERAL NEW AND IMPRESSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS. THESE ARE THE B-1 BOMBER WHICH WILL GIVE US A MANNED AND FLEXIBLE STRATEGIC CAPABILITY, AND IN THE EVENT OF CONTINUED SOVIET SUBMARINE PRODUCTION, TWO NEW SYSTEMS. ONE, THE EXPO (EXTENDED RANGE POSEIDON) WOULD GIVE OUR PRESENT POLARIS SUBS AN EXTENDED RANGE OVER THEIR PRESENT CAPABILITY OF 2500 MILES. THIS WOULD ALLOW THEM A CONSIDERABLE MARGIN OF SAFETY FOR PATROL. THE SECOND SUBMARINE SYSTEM CALLS FOR A NEW SUBMARINE WITH A LONG RANGE (6000 miles) MISSILE. THESE SYSTEMS WILL BE SET FOR PRODUCTION DECISIONS NEXT YEAR, AND THESE DECISIONS WILL DEPEND UPON OUR REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF SALT TALK PROGRESS. AT THE PRESENT TIME, SECRETARY LAIRD PLANS TO ASK FOR A DEFENSE BUDGET OF \$83 BILLION DOLLARS. OUR BUDGET FOR THIS YEAR IS \$76 BILLION, AND GIVEN THE TERMINATION OF OUR PRESENCE IN VIETNAM, AN ADDITIONAL TEN BILLION FROM THE OLD BUDGET WILL BECOME AVAILABLE FOR POSSIBLE WEAPONS PROGRAMS.



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I HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL DEMONSTRATE THEIR SINCERITY AT SALT BY CURBING THE RECKLESS EXPANSION OF THEIR STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS. IF THEY DO NOT, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT SECRETARY LAIRD'S REQUEST FOR NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHICH WILL AVERT THE INTOLERABLE POSITION OF AMERICA'S BECOMING AN INFERIOR POWER TO THE SOVIET UNION. WE ARE NOW INTERESTED IN SOVIET ACTIONS. INTENTIONS ARE NOT ENOUGH. THE TIME WILL SOON COME WHEN WE WILL BE AT THE THRESHOLD OF EITHER SOVIET ADHERENCE TO ARMS LIMITATION OR A NEW ARMS SPIRAL FOR WHICH THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED IF NECESSARY.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRESS

BUT IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE AMERICA, WE MUST ALSO PRESERVE THE ENVIRONMENT. HERE AGAIN, THE STORY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION IS ONE OF PROGRESS AND CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENT. NO GENERATION HAS BEEN MORE AWARE OF ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS THAN THIS ONE, AND NO ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN MORE ACTIVE IN PRESERVING AND RESTORING THE ECOLOGICAL BALANCE THAN THIS ONE. PURE AIR LEGISLATION HAS BEEN ENACTED. RIGHT NOW, THE

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CONGRESS IS CONSIDERING COMPREHENSIVE WATER POLLUTION LEGISLATION AS A RESULT OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERN FOR OUR MARINE ENVIRONMENT. AND, BY VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS CURRENTLY ON THE BOOKS, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS ALREADY HIT POLLUTERS, AND HIT THEM HARD.

EACH OF THESE ACHIEVEMENTS IS IMPORTANT TO OUR LONG-TERM NATIONAL WELL-BEING. EACH OF THEM IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA, OF IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR THIS GENERATION AND THE NEXT.

PEACE, PROSPERITY - BIG ISSUES

BUT, IN THE PUBLIC MIND AND IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST, EACH OF THESE TAKES A BACK SEAT TO THE TWO BURNING ISSUES OF TODAY: PEACE AND PROSPERITY. IT IS THESE TWO GOALS -- THE GOALS THAT, SINGLY OR TOGETHER, HAVE ELUDED MOST PAST GENERATIONS -- THAT AMERICANS ARE SEEKING TODAY.

FIRST FULL GENERATION OF PEACE

THINK BACK. EXCEPT FOR A FEW OF US WHOSE MEMORIES GO BACK BEFORE WORLD WAR I AND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, WE HAVE NOT KNOWN A TIME WHEN AMERICA HAS ENJOYED A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY.



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THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN WE HAVE HAD PEACE; THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN WE HAVE HAD PROSPERITY; THERE HAVE BEEN A FEW SHORT, HAPPY PERIODS WHEN WE HAVE HAD BOTH. BUT NO GROUP OF AMERICANS IN THE 20TH CENTURY HAS BEEN BLESSED WITH A FULL GENERATION OF BOTH.

RICHARD NIXON SEEKS NO LESS THAN THIS FOR HIS COUNTRY. HE HAS BROUGHT HOME THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS THAT PAST DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP SENT TO FIGHT AND DIE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. HE HAS OPENED UP NEW DIPLOMATIC AVENUES FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING, MOST RECENTLY WITH HIS HISTORIC CHINA INITIATIVE. THE HOT WAR RICHARD NIXON INHERITED IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WILL SOON BE OVER FOR AMERICANS. ALREADY, OUR CASUALTIES HAVE BEEN REDUCED BY AS MUCH AS NEARLY 90 PERCENT, AND MONTH AFTER MONTH, MORE AND MORE OF OUR MEN ARE COMING HOME. ALREADY, THE STATIC COLD WAR MONOLITH OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD HAS BEGUN TO FRAGMENT, TO WEAKEN, AS AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TAKES OUR MESSAGE OF PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH AND MUTUAL TRUST TO THE PEOPLES OF COUNTRIES LIKE RUMANIA AND CHINA.

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NIXON STRENGTHENS ECONOMY

AT HOME, THE PRESIDENT HAS ACTED BOLDLY AND WISELY TO INSURE THAT WE WILL HAVE A PROSPERITY TO MATCH THE PEACE IN THE GENERATION AHEAD. IN HIS MESSAGE TO THE PUBLIC ON AUGUST 15, AND AGAIN IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, RICHARD NIXON SPELLED OUT A COURSE THAT CAN PRESERVE AMERICA'S STRENGTH AS THE NUMBER ONE ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD AND CREATE A CLIMATE OF SECURITY AND ABUNDANCE FOR AVERAGE WORKING AMERICANS.

EVERY POLL THAT HAS BEEN TAKEN SINCE RICHARD NIXON'S FIRST MESSAGE ON AUGUST 15 SHOWS THAT THE PEOPLE ARE SOLIDLY BEHIND THEIR PRESIDENT -- THAT THEY UNDERSTAND AND SUPPORT THE HARD, BUT NECESSARY, DECISIONS HE HAS HAD TO MAKE. THE MILLIONS OF AMERICAN WORKERS, PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE AND LARGE AND SMALL BUSINESSMEN ARE UNITED IN THIS. ONLY THE VOICES OF WOULD-BE CANDIDATES AND OLD-LINE LABOR POWER BROKERS HAVE STRUCK A FEW DISCORDANT NOTES.



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CONGRESS MUST BACK PEOPLE

THE MAJOR TEST THAT LIES AHEAD IS WHETHER THE CONGRESS, IN CONSIDERING THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM, WILL LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE OR TO A FEW DISSIDENT BUT POWERFUL MEN WHO WOULD BLOCK THE WAY FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN.

I BELIEVE THE CONGRESS WILL SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT. I AM SURE THAT THE PEOPLE WILL. AND THAT MEANS THAT WHEN THE PUBLIC VOTES IN NOVEMBER OF '72, THE CANDIDATE WHO STANDS FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN THEIR MAJORITY VIEW WILL NOT BE ONE OF THE POLITICAL DOUBTERS OR DELAYERS WHO SEEK TO DERAIL OR OBSTRUCT THE NEW PROSPERITY TODAY. IT WILL BE THE MAN WHO CREATED THE NEW PROSPERITY; THE MAN WHO PUT THE STOPPER ON INFLATION AND GOT THE ECONOMY GOING AND GROWING ALONG HEALTHY LINES; THE MAN WHO TODAY LEADS US TOWARD A GENERATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

AND, IF YOU AND I DO OUR JOBS WELL DURING THE NEXT YEAR, THAT MAN WILL BE RICHARD NIXON.