

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT INSURERS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE IN CHICAGO WITH YOU TODAY. IT IS ALWAYS REFRESHING FOR SOMEONE WHO WORKS IN WASHINGTON, D. C., TO TAKE LEAVE OF THAT CITY OCCASIONALLY AND GO TO OTHER CITIES AND AREAS OF OUR NATION WHERE PEOPLE ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH RUNNING THEIR OWN LIVES AND LESS INVOLVED IN RUNNING OTHER PEOPLE'S LIVES. IT SEEMS THAT WASHINGTON TENDS TO INFLICT A RATHER SEVERE CASE OF TUNNEL VISION ON MANY WHO LIVE AND WORK THERE. AND IT IS DANGEROUSLY EASY TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT A NATION OF 200 MILLION PEOPLE IS OUT THERE TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH AND WEST. JUST ABOUT THE ONLY ANTIDOTE SEEMS TO BE OCCASIONAL ESCAPE AND RETURN TO ONE'S HOME STATE OR DISTRICT, OR TO GET OUT TO MEET AND VISIT WITH DIVERSE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN INFECTED WITH THE POTOMAC FEVER VIRUS.

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BY THESE STANDARDS, MY IMMUNIZATION LEVEL SHOULD BE JUST ABOUT AS HIGH AS POSSIBLE. FOR SINCE BECOMING CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN JANUARY, I HAVE HAD A GREAT NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES TO VISIT IN EVERY AREA OF OUR NATION AND IN MORE THAN HALF THE STATES. IN THE COURSE OF THESE TRAVELS, I BELIEVE I HAVE HAD A RARE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH AND LISTEN TO A REMARKABLY BROAD SPECTRUM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- FROM STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, TO REPUBLICAN PARTY WORKERS IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY, TO BUSINESSMEN SUCH AS YOURSELVES.

ASSURANCE AND OPTIMISM

FEW PEOPLE -- EVEN THOSE IN ELECTIVE OFFICE -- HAVE THE CHANCE TO MEET AND GET TO KNOW SO MANY PEOPLE WITH SUCH WIDE INTERESTS AND VIEWPOINTS ACROSS AMERICA. IT HAS BEEN A GREAT EXPERIENCE AND A GREAT EDUCATION. AND PERHAPS THE MOST IMPRESSIVE AND IMPORTANT THING I HAVE LEARNED FROM THESE TRAVELS AND VISITS IS THAT AMERICA IS A VITAL, LIVELY AND ENERGETIC NATION WHOSE PEOPLE ARE DEMONSTRATING A SENSE OF ASSURANCE AND OPTIMISM WHICH HAS BEEN MISSING FROM THE NATIONAL SCENE FOR FAR TOO LONG.

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PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

THERE ARE MANY FACTORS WHICH MIGHT BE CITED AS INFLUENCES ON OUR NATIONAL ATTITUDE. BUT I BELIEVE THERE IS ONE WHICH TAKES ON SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE AND WHICH DESERVES SPECIAL MENTION. THAT ONE FACTOR IS THE LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION GIVEN TO THE UNITED STATES BY ITS PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON. HE HAS WORKED A REMARKABLE FEAT IN TAKING A DIVIDED, FACTION-TORN NATION, CALMING ITS FRAZZLED NERVES AND PUTTING IT BACK ON THE RIGHT TRACK TO GREATNESS.

SO I BELIEVE A PROGRESS REPORT ON AMERICA, AS IT STANDS IN NOVEMBER OF 1971, SHOULD PROPERLY BEGIN WITH A PROGRESS REPORT ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT WHILE WE ARE A NATION OF PARTISANS, WE ARE ALSO A NATION UNITED. AND WHILE WE CHOOSE A PRESIDENT BY PARTISAN MEANS AND IN PARTISAN CAMPAIGNS, THE PRESIDENT WE CHOOSE BECOMES THE PRESIDENT OF A UNITED PEOPLE WHO ARE RESIDENTS OF SEPARATE BUT UNITED STATES. AND LIKE EACH OF HIS PREDECESSORS, THE PRESIDENT HAS AT HEART THE INTERESTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE.

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A CENTRIST

LET ME MAKE ONE OR TWO POINTS REGARDING THIS PARTICULAR PRESIDENT. FIRST, HE IS A CENTRIST PRESIDENT, AND HE WON ELECTION AS A CENTRIST CANDIDATE, FOR TO THE LEFT OF HIM WERE THE LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY AND TO THE RIGHT OF HIM WERE THE FOLLOWERS OF GEORGE WALLACE.

THIS PRESIDENT WAS ELECTED BY THE GREAT MIDDLE BODY OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE. HE WAS ELECTED TO DRAW OUR NATION CLOSER TOWARD THE CENTER FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT. AND AS THE YOUNG LADY'S SIGN SAID SO ELOQUENTLY, "TO BRING US TOGETHER".

SECOND, I THINK IT IS WELL TO KEEP IN MIND THE FACT THAT NO REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT IN 40 YEARS HAS BEEN ELECTED BY REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICANS ALONE. MEMBERS OF OUR PARTY CONSTITUTE LESS THAN ONE THIRD OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE WITH DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS MAKING UP THE REST. REPUBLICANS, WHETHER THEY BE DWIGHT EISENHOWER OR RICHARD NIXON, NEED THE SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS TO BE ELECTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

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THIS IS WHY REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS TEND TO BE CENTRISTS AND WHY THEY SEEK TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS THAT MAKE UP THE BULK OF OUR POPULATION, RATHER THAN GIVING EXCESSIVE ATTENTION TO SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS ON EITHER FRINGE.

I BELIEVE A PROGRESS REPORT ON THIS PRESIDENT IS WORTHWHILE, NOT NECESSARILY BECAUSE HE IS A REPUBLICAN, BUT BECAUSE HE IS PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE AND BECAUSE HIS ACTIONS AND HIS PROPOSALS SHAPE THE DESTINY OF THIS NATION.

A LOW EBB

I THINK WE CAN ALL AGREE THAT WHEN RICHARD NIXON WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT, THE COUNTRY WAS AT A LOW POINT IN ITS HISTORY. AMERICANS WERE FILLED WITH SELF-DOUBT AND CONFUSION AND DESPAIR. THERE WAS TURMOIL IN THE STREETS AND ON THE CAMPUSES, AND THERE WAS VIOLENCE IN THE AIR.

THE THREAT OF ATTEMPTED REVOLUTION BY FACTIONS SUCH AS THE WEATHERMEN, THE S.D.S., AND THE BLACK PANTHERS, WAS REAL. THERE WERE BOMBINGS AND BURNINGS OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND SCHOOL BUILDINGS, AND SCHOOLS WERE SHUT DOWN.

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THE WORD WAS OUT THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT COULD BE HAD, THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD BE BROKEN, THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS COULD NOT BE TRUSTED, AND THAT GOVERNMENT ITSELF WAS ON THE VERGE OF MAJOR MALFUNCTION.

YOU ALL REMEMBER THIS. HOW COULD YOU FORGET? VIOLENCE AND TERROR AND THE THREATS OF VIOLENCE AND THE PROMISES OF ANARCHY FILLED THE AIRWAVES, THE TV SCREENS, AND THE NEWSPAPERS. AMERICA WAS IN TROUBLE.

A TIME OF CALM

BUT NOW, FOR THE MOST PART, THAT IS PAST --- SO MUCH SO THAT SOME AMONG US ARE A BIT UNEASY. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS SEE THE CALM AS THE CALM AFTER THE STORM. BUT OTHERS ARE DISCOURAGED. THEY SEE THE CALM AS THE SUFFOCATING SILENCE OF APATHY, AS A SURRENDER TO THE SYSTEM, AS A DEFEAT FOR IDEALIST ACTIVISM.

RECENTLY, ONE SENATOR LAMENTED THAT THE MOOD ON MOST CAMPUSES IS UNCOMFORTABLY REMINISCENT OF THE SILENT GENERATION OF THE '50'S. IN HIS VIEW, "IT'S JUST TOO QUIET AROUND HERE," MEANING AROUND THE CAMPUSES.

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IN ALL HONESTY, I FEAR THAT IS A FEELING HELD BY TOO MANY IN HIGH PLACES -- THAT "IT'S JUST TOO QUIET AROUND HERE", THAT IF WE ARE TO HAVE PROGRESS, WE NEED A NATION IN TURMOIL AND CONFUSION..... THAT A LITTLE VIOLENCE IS A GOOD THING..... THAT ONLY BY REVOLUTIONARY AND SEMI-REVOLUTIONARY MEANS CAN GOVERNMENT BE MADE TO ACT OR CAN IT BE REMOLDED.

NO PLACE FOR TURMOIL

I DISAGREE WITH ALL OF THESE IDEAS. AND I TAKE ISSUE WITH ANYONE WHOSE WORDS SEEMINGLY SEEK TO INSPIRE NEW REVOLTS, NEW VIOLENCE, MORE MOBS AND MORE DEMANDS BY THE MOB.

I TAKE ISSUE AS ONE AMERICAN WHO BELIEVES WE CAN END WARS WITHOUT WAR AT HOME, THAT WE CAN BUILD THIS COUNTRY WITHOUT FIRST TEARING IT DOWN, AND THAT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE CAN FIND A PLACE IN OUR SYSTEM WITHOUT SEEKING FIRST TO OVERTURN THE SYSTEM.

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I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A LACK OF TURMOIL MEANS A LACK OF INTEREST OR A LACK OF DESIRE OR A LACK OF CHARACTER.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO BE NOISY TO BE HEARD.

THE "SILENT GENERATION"

AND I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SO-CALLED GENERATION OF THE '50'S -- INCLUDING MANY OF YOU HERE TODAY -- FAILED OUR NATION IN THE '60'S AND '70'S. MANY MEMBERS OF THAT GENERATION WENT TO WAR FOR THEIR COUNTRY, JUST AS MANY MEMBERS OF THIS GENERATION HAVE. AND THEY EXPERIENCED THE SAME FUTILITY AND FRUSTRATION OF KNOWING WAR WITHOUT VICTORY AND AN END TO FIGHTING WITHOUT AN END TO WAR.

I SALUTE THAT GENERATION OF THE '50'S BECAUSE ITS MEMBERS HAVE LEFT THE PAST BEHIND AND GONE ABOUT THE TASK OF BUILDING OUR FUTURE. THEY ARE AMONG THE LEADERS OF TODAY, AND THEY WILL BE THE LEADERS OF MANY TOMORROWS, REGARDLESS OF PARTY OR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

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BUT, I DO NOT BELIEVE THE PRESENT QUIET ON THE CAMPUSES INDICATES APATHY OR DISILLUSIONMENT AMONG THE GENERATION OF THE '70'S. BUT IF TODAY'S CONDITIONS DO NOT INDICATE APATHY, DISILLUSIONMENT AND INDIFFERENCE, THEN HOW ARE WE TO ACCOUNT FOR THE CALM AND QUIET THAT SOME SEEM TO FIND SO UNSETTLING?

LEADERSHIP IS KEY

COULD IT BE LEADERSHIP? COULD IT BE ACCOMPLISHMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES? COULD IT BE PEACE ABROAD AND ACTION AT HOME LEADING TO REFORM AND TO PROSPERITY? COULD IT BE A REASSESSMENT AND RE-EVALUATION OF OUR NATIONAL COURSE AND DIRECTION BY MANY AMERICANS, BOTH YOUNG AND OLD? COULD IT BE THAT THE GOALS SO MANY HAVE SO EARNESTLY SOUGHT ARE NOW IN SIGHT AND COMING NEARER?

I BELIEVE IT IS ALL OF THESE.

BUT THE OVERRIDING INFLUENCE HAS BEEN LEADERSHIP AND SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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LET US LOOK AT SOME OF THE MAJOR SOURCES OF DISCONTENT THAT FILLED OUR LAND DURING THE LATE 1960'S.

WAR CAUSED DISCONTENT

ONE OF THEM WAS THE WAR -- A WAR THAT WE NEVER MEANT TO WIN, BUT INSISTED THAT OUR YOUNG MEN FIGHT. AND ALONG WITH THE WAR, OF COURSE, WAS THE DRAFT.

THE WAR, THOUGH IT AFFECTED INITIALLY THE YOUNG MEN, WOUND UP AFFECTING AND DISAFFECTING ALL SEGMENTS AND AGE GROUPS IN OUR SOCIETY. I THINK IT IS THE MAIN CULPRIT.

BUT THERE WAS ANOTHER INFLUENCE, TOO, AND I CITE IT WITHOUT INFERRING THAT IT IS NECESSARILY EVIL OR DISHONEST OR INACCURATE. AND THAT INFLUENCE IS THE MEDIA, ESPECIALLY TELEVISION BECAUSE OF ITS IMPACT AND ITS IMMEDIACY. IT BRINGS THE LIVING WORLD INTO THE LIVING ROOM.

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THE TWO -- THE WAR AND TELEVISION -- ARE INTERTWINED. THIS IS THE FIRST TELEVISED WAR. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE BLOOD AND THE GUTS AND THE HORROR OF WAR HAVE BEEN BROUGHT INTO THE HOME AND BEEN IMPRESSED ON THE SENSES OF MOST OF THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE NATION.

IN ONE RESPECT, THIS MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION EVER MADE BY THE MEDIA. BECAUSE BY MAKING THE HORRORS OF WAR A LIVING REALITY FOR VIRTUALLY EVERY AMERICAN, TELEVISION MAY WELL HAVE PLANTED THE SEEDS OF A FIRM AND LASTING DETERMINATION THAT WAR SHOULD BE DONE AWAY WITH IN THE WORLD.

BUT ANOTHER POSSIBLE ASPECT OF TELEVISION'S INFLUENCE MAY HAVE BEEN TO HEIGHTEN AMERICAN IMPATIENCE FOR A SPEEDY END TO THE WAR AND A QUICK RESOLUTION TO OUR INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

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TV PROBLEMS SOLVED QUICKLY

EVERY DAY AND EVERY NIGHT FOR MOST OF THEIR LIVES, YOUR CHILDREN AND MINE HAVE WATCHED THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE UNIVERSE SOLVED IN 30 TO 60 MINUTES.

IS IT POSSIBLE -- AND I THROW THIS AT YOU AS A QUESTION, NOT A CONCLUSION -- IS IT POSSIBLE PART OF THE UNREST IN THIS COUNTRY, PART OF THE DISSATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT AND WITH OUR LEADERS IS THAT, AS FAR AS OUR CHILDREN ARE CONCERNED, THEY DO NOT SOLVE PROBLEMS FAST ENOUGH? THE SMOG THAT IS HERE TODAY IS HERE TOMORROW. AND SO IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM. AND SO IS THE WAR. AND YOU NAME IT. IN REAL LIFE, PROBLEMS ARE SOLVED AND GO AWAY VERY SLOWLY. ARE OUR CHILDREN HAVING TROUBLE SEPARATING THE FLEETING IMAGE OF TELEVISION FROM THE REALITY OF LIFE? ARE THEY DEMANDING MORE THAN WE CAN EVER DELIVER, OR MORE THAN THEY WILL EVER BE ABLE TO DELIVER? IS TV CREATING A FRUSTRATION WITH REALITY THAT LEADS TO THREATS AND DEMANDS FOR CHANGE, AND THAT FAILING, TO VIOLENCE?

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I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER, BUT I SUGGEST THAT WE THINK ABOUT IT.

IF THE ANSWER IS THAT IT ISN'T SO, IT DETRACTS NOTHING FROM THE FACT THAT THERE IS PEACE ON THE CAMPUSES, PEACE IN THE STREETS AND NEARLY PEACE IN VIETNAM. IF IT IS SO, IT MAKES THE JOB DONE BY OUR PRESIDENT ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE.

WINDS DOWN WAR

LET US SEE JUST WHAT HE HAS DONE. AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO A VIRTUAL END. THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION BUT THAT AMERICANS WILL NO LONGER BE INVOLVED IN GROUND FIGHTING WITHIN A VERY FEW MONTHS. AND THIS MEANS THAT THE POLICY OF VIETNAMIZATION -- OF VIETNAMESE FIGHTING VIETNAM'S WAR -- IS WORKING. IT MEANS THAT SOUTH VIETNAM HAS A CHANCE TO SURVIVE AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION WITHOUT SACRIFICING AMERICAN LIVES. IT MEANS THAT YOUNG AMERICANS NO LONGER WILL BE CALLED TO FIGHT AND DIE ON FOREIGN SOIL FOR WHAT SO MANY OF THEM THINK IS A FOREIGN CAUSE.

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IT MEANS THAT NOT SO MANY OF THEM WILL BE DRAFTED AND THAT MORE OF THEM WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO LIVE NORMAL LIVES. AND, THEREFORE, IT MEANS A RETURN TO THE REGULAR BUSINESS OF LIFE ON THE CAMPUS AND WHEREVER YOUNG PEOPLE HAPPEN TO BE.

DRAFT REFORMED

THE DRAFT, OF COURSE, IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE WAR. AS THE WAR HAS DIMINISHED, SO HAS THE DRAFT. BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THE DRAFT HAS BEEN REFORMED DRASTICALLY, IN A WAY THAT HAS FAVORABLY INFLUENCED THE FUTURES OF OUR YOUNG MEN.

LET ME EXPLAIN. AT THE END OF 1968, EVERY YOUTH FROM 19 TO 26 WAS ELIGIBLE FOR THE DRAFT FOR SEVEN YEARS. EVERY YOUNG MAN HAD SEVEN YEARS DURING WHICH HE COULD NOT PLAN HIS LIFE AND HARDLY DARED RISK GETTING MARRIED OR STARTING A CAREER.

ABOUT ALL HE COULD DO WAS GO TO COLLEGE. THE AVERAGE YOUNG MAN WAS BITTER AND REBELLIOUS AND SO WAS HIS GIRLFRIEND. TODAY, THAT IS CHANGED. HE HAS TODAY JUST ONE YEAR OF DRAFT ELIGIBILITY, AND EVEN WITHIN THAT YEAR HE KNOWS THROUGH A LOTTERY SYSTEM JUST

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WHAT HIS CHANCES OF BEING DRAFTED ARE. THUS MOST YOUNG MEN NOW CAN PLAN AHEAD AND DECIDE ON JOBS, CAREERS, SCHOOLING, OR MARRIAGE. THE FRUSTRATION AND THE BITTERNESS ARE GONE. AND THERE IS CALM ON CAMPUS, THE CALM NOT OF WEARINESS AND DEFEAT, BUT THE CALM OF THOSE WHO ARE PLANNING AND PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE.

YOUNG SEEK INVOLVEMENT

THERE IS A THIRD ELEMENT THAT ENTERS IN -- A VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENT. TODAY'S YOUNG PEOPLE WANT TO BE INVOLVED. THEY WANT TO HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF CITY AND STATE AND COUNTRY. THEY WANT A CHANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SYSTEM AND TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM. LITERALLY, THEY WANT TO DO WHAT THEY SEE DONE DAILY AND NIGHTLY ON TELEVISION.

TODAY THEY HAVE THAT CHANCE. A BILL GIVING EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLDS THE VOTE WAS SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT. HAD THE PRESIDENT VETOED IT, I CAN ASSURE YOU HIS VETO WOULD HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED. BUT HE SIGNED IT.

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TODAY, YOUNG PEOPLE NO LONGER MUST DEMAND THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE. TODAY THEY HAVE THAT RIGHT. ANOTHER NEED -- OR THE EXCUSE -- TO REBEL HAS DISAPPEARED, AND ANOTHER INFLUENCE HAS BEEN PROVIDED TO BRING CALM TO THE CAMPUSES AND TO THE STREETS.

BUT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES WHO FEEL MORE CONFIDENT IN THEIR LIVES AND WHO NOW FACE THE CHALLENGES OF LIFE IN THE CLOSING THIRD OF THE 20TH CENTURY, WITH GROWING ENTHUSIASM, SERENITY AND A SENSE OF NEW-FOUND OPTIMISM.

THE VERY FACT OF MORE TRANQUIL TIMES WITH OUR YOUNG PEOPLE HAS HEARTENED AND ENCOURAGED THEIR ELDERS.

BUT THE PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP HAS ALSO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN SHAPING THEIR ATTITUDES.

YEARS OF REFORM

THE LAST THREE YEARS HAVE BEEN YEARS UNEQUALLED FOR THE RECORD OF REFORMS AND PROPOSED REFORMS WHICH THIS PRESIDENT HAS INITIATED. REFORMS IN GOVERNMENT THROUGH GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

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AND REVENUE SHARING, REFORMS IN WELFARE, ECONOMIC REFORMS, REFORMS IN THE POSTAL SYSTEM, REFORMS IN FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS AND, YES, REFORMS IN THE DIRECTION OF THE SUPREME COURT THROUGH THE APPOINTMENT OF MEN WHO BELIEVE THE CONSTITUTION MEANS WHAT IT SAYS.

UNREASONABLE OPPOSITION

THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN EASILY WON, NOR WILL THE FUTURE GOALS WHICH HAVE BEEN SET FORTH. ALL TOO OFTEN, THE SINCERE EFFORTS OF THIS PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN MET WITH A RESISTANCE AND AN OPPOSITION THAT EXCEED THE REASONABLE BOUNDS OF OUR PARTISAN TRADITIONS.

I SUPPOSE EVERY PRESIDENT EXPECTS TO ENCOUNTER A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF TOUGH SLEDDING AND STIFF RESISTANCE ALONG THE WAY. BUT THIS PRESIDENT -- POSSIBLY SUFFERING A CARRYOVER OF MENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION -- HAS MET WITH TOO MANY EXAMPLES OF OPPOSITION FOR THE PURE SAKE OF OPPOSITION AND ATTACKS

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ON HIS PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES WHICH ARE TOO FREQUENTLY GROUNDED IN PERSONAL RATHER THAN PRINCIPLED MOTIVATIONS. "BREAK THE PRESIDENT" HAS UNFORTUNATELY APPEARED TO BE THE AIM OF HIS MOST PERSISTENT CRITICS.

WE ARE CURRENTLY WITNESSING ATTACKS ON TWO OF THE PRESIDENT'S NOMINEES FOR HIGH OFFICE. THEY BEAR NO RELATION TO THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, BUT THEY DO REFLECT HEAVILY ON THE PERSONAL AND POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF THOSE WHO MOST VOCALLY OPPOSE THEM.

I AM SPEAKING, OF COURSE, OF WILLIAM REHNQUIST, WHO HAS BEEN NOMINATED FOR THE SUPREME COURT, AND EARL BUTZ, WHO HAS BEEN NOMINATED TO BECOME SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

BOTH POSITIONS ARE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, AND BOTH MUST BE FILLED BY QUALIFIED, HONORABLE MEN OR WOMEN. BUT FROM THE OUTSET, THE VOICES WHICH HAVE BEEN RAISED IN OPPOSITION TO MR. REHNQUIST AND MR. BUTZ HAVE BEEN THOSE OF MEN WHOSE PRIMARY NOTORIETY TODAY

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IS ASSOCIATED WITH THEIR ANNOUNCED OR UNANNOUNCED PURSUIT OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY'S PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. NOW, I WOULD NOT FOR A MOMENT SUGGEST THAT A CAMPAIGN FOR OFFICE SHOULD ABRIDGE ANYONE'S FREEDOM OF SPEECH. BUT I CERTAINLY DO BELIEVE THAT THE NATION'S BEST INTERESTS CAN BETTER BE SERVED THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM AND RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION.

DANGER TO GOVERNMENT

CERTAINLY MR. REHNQUIST AND MR. BUTZ SHOULD RECEIVE THOROUGH SCRUTINY OF BOTH THEIR RECORDS AND THEIR QUALIFICATIONS. BUT NEITHER THEY NOR ANY OTHER NOMINEE OR POTENTIAL NOMINEE FOR A POSITION OF PUBLIC TRUST SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO AN UNRELENTING BARRAGE OF GROUNDLESS AND MEANLY-MOTIVATED ATTACKS. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN TWO DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, WHO WERE MENTIONED MERELY AS POSSIBLE SUPREME COURT NOMINEES, MADE THE TARGETS OF THESE SAME VICIOUS TACTICS. AND IF SUCH TREATMENT BECOMES ACCEPTED PRACTICE, IT COULD LEAD TO A SEVERE CRISIS IN GOVERNMENT. PUBLIC SERVICE IS OFTEN

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UNDERTAKEN AT GREAT PERSONAL SACRIFICE BY DEDICATED AMERICANS WHO GIVE UP BOTH SECURE POSITIONS AND LUCRATIVE SALARIES TO SERVE THE UNITED STATES.

IF PART OF THE PRICE OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMES TO BE A TERM IN THE POLITICAL PILLORY WHERE A PERSON'S GOOD NAME AND REPUTATION ARE MUDDIED BY OPPORTUNISTS, THEN THE COST WILL HAVE BECOME TOO HIGH AND OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, RELYING ON A GENEROUS SPIRIT OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND SACRIFICE, WILL HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO THE EDGE OF DISASTER.

I JUST WANT TO SAY THAT MR. REHNQUIST AND MR. BUTZ WILL BE GIVEN THOROUGH CONSIDERATION BY THE SENATE -- JUST AS THE PRESIDENT GAVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO MAKING THEIR NOMINATIONS. THE SENATE HAS A SIGNIFICANT ROLE TO PLAY, BUT THE BEST INTERESTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR NATION DEMAND THAT THAT ROLE BE PLAYED RESPONSIBLY AND WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING AND FOSTERING THE PARTICIPATION OF TALENTED, HONEST AND CONCERNED CITIZENS IN OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

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CONCLUSION

I SUGGEST THAT AMERICANS -- ALL AMERICANS -- LOOK AT THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE LAST THREE YEARS, NOT AS PARTISANS, BUT AS AMERICANS; NOT IN THE CONTEXT OF WHO IS IT THEY WANT AS PRESIDENT, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT ONE PRESIDENT HAS ACCOMPLISHED ON BEHALF OF ALL AMERICANS.

SERIOUSLY AND IN ALL SINCERITY, I BELIEVE THAT IF AMERICANS WILL DO THAT, IF THEY WILL JUST COMPARE TODAY TO THIS DAY IN 1968, THEN THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1972 WILL BE WAGED ON A DIFFERENT PLANE, A POLITICAL PLANE TO BE SURE, BUT ALSO A POSITIVE PLANE WHERE CANDIDATES AND VOTERS ALIKE WILL BE ABLE TO SEEK AND ENDORSE WAYS TO ENHANCE THE PEACE AND TO BUILD THE NATION. AMERICANS CAN BE GRATEFUL THAT THE FOUNDATION FOR THESE THINGS HAS ALREADY BEEN LAID.