

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
MILLERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION
67TH ANNUAL MEETING
SHOREHAM HOTEL - WASHINGTON, D. C.
TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1969

I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO BE WITH YOU, FOR WE SHARE A COMMON CONCERN. IT IS CONCERN FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AND CONCERN FOR ALL RURAL AMERICA.

WITH THAT CONCERN, WE ALSO SHARE A COMMON DETERMINATION. IT IS A DETERMINATION TO FACE SQUARELY THE PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT, AND TOGETHER SEEK BETTER ANSWERS FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE.

NO LONGER IS THE FARMER'S MARKET ONLY HIS NEIGHBORING CITIES, AND HIS NEIGHBORING STATES. NO LONGER IS HE ONLY AFFECTED BY THE LEVEL OF CONSUMPTION AND PROSPERITY IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. TODAY, HIS MARKET EXTENDS TO ALL CORNERS OF THE EARTH, AND CHANGES THAT OCCUR ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD CAN AFFECT HIS MARKET. THE SAME IS TRUE FOR THE MILLER.

FOR THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR WORLD IS CHANGE. THE SOMETIMES BREATHTAKING CHANGES DISTINGUISH OUR AGE FROM ALL THOSE WHICH HAVE PRECEDED US. THIS MEANS NOT ONLY NEW CHALLENGES, BUT ALSO NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO THE AMERICAN FARMER AND TO THE WHEAT MILLER.

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IN A REAL SENSE WHAT WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND IS THAT AGRICULTURE IS IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER WORLD. IT'S NOT A LAGGARD; IT'S NOT A BURDEN; IT IS NOT HOLDING AMERICA BACK. IT IS WHAT'S PROPELLING AMERICA FORWARD.

P. L. 480 ANNIVERSARY

ON JULY 10, WE WILL BE CELEBRATING THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE LATE BELOVED PRESIDENT EISENHOWER DENOTING HIS STRONG APPROVAL OF THE AGRICULTURAL TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1954 -- P. L. 480. THIS WAS ONE OF THE GREAT MILESTONES OF AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION. IT MOVED FOOD TO THE FOREFRONT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD SPEND A LITTLE TIME TODAY CONSIDERING THE IMPACT OF THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF OUR FARM ABUNDANCE IS TRULY ONE OF THE MOST INSPIRING ACTIVITIES EVER UNDERTAKEN BY ANY COUNTRY IN WORLD HISTORY. YOU SHOULD BE PROUD OF YOUR PART IN MAKING IT WORK EFFECTIVELY.

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THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM SHARE~~Y~~OUR ABUNDANCE WITH FRIENDLY PEOPLES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SUPPLEMENT EFFECTIVELY EXPANDING WORLD TRADE IN AGRICULTURE. PLEASE NOTE THE EMPHASIS ON THE WORD "SUPPLEMENT". IT HELPS THE UNITED STATES MAINTAIN ITS POSITION AS THE WORLD'S LEADING EXPORTER OF FOOD AND FIBER. AT THE SAME TIME, THIS PUBLIC LAW 480 PROGRAM -- KNOWN ALL OVER THE WORLD WITH THOSE INITIALS AND THOSE NUMBERS -- HAS BECOME AN IMPORTANT TOOL IN ACCOMPLISHING U. S. FOREIGN POLICY GOALS.

FOOD A POTENT FORCE

WE HAVE LEARNED DURING THE 15 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE THAT ----

- (1) FOOD IS A POTENT FORCE IN RELIEVING PROBLEMS GENERATED BY HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION;
- (2) FOOD IS A POWERFUL MEANS OF MEETING EMERGENCIES AND SITUATIONS FOLLOWING DISASTER;
- (3) THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM CAN HELP PREVENT INFLATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES;
- (4) THE FOREIGN CURRENCIES GENERATED CAN BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THEY ALSO CAN BE USED TO MEET U. S. REQUIREMENTS OVERSEAS, THUS STRENGTHENING OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS POSITION;

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- (5) FOOD CAN BE USED TO STRENGTHEN AND ENLARGE THE HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS OF U. S. VOLUNTARY AGENCIES OVERSEAS;
- (6) FOOD CAN BE USED AS A MOTIVATING MEANS TO HELP PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES IN BUILDING THEIR OWN FREE SOCIETIES;
- (7) FOOD IS BUILDING MARKETS FOR THE PRODUCE OF AMERICAN FARMS AND WILL BUILD AND IS BUILDING CASH MARKETS FOR THE FUTURE.

YOU ARE A SIGNIFICANT PART IN THIS CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNERSHIP IN THE WAR AGAINST HUNGER AND DESPAIR. THROUGH YOUR HANDS FLOW MUCH OF THE WHEAT BOUNTY OF AMERICA. THROUGH YOUR HANDS THE MILLING JOB GETS DONE EFFICIENTLY AND ECONOMICALLY. COMPETITION MAKES IT SO, AND ALL OF US BENEFIT.

THIS GREAT MULTI-FACETED GOVERNMENT PROGRAM HAS CONTRIBUTED NOT ONLY TO OUR NATIONAL WELL BEING, BUT ALSO HAS MADE SOME SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO YOUR BUSINESS VOLUME. WE MUST KEEP THINKING NOT OF HOW TO CURTAIL IT OR WEAKEN IT, BUT HOW TO IMPROVE IT.

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NOW, HOW MANY OF YOU CAN HONESTLY STATE THAT YOU HAVE GONE ALL OUT TO EXPLAIN THIS PROGRAM TO OTHER CITIZENS? HOW MANY OF YOU IN VISITING WITH YOUR CONGRESSMEN HAVE EXPRESSED YOUR APPROVAL OF THIS EXCELLENT PROGRAM? YOU CAN MAKE IT EASIER FOR US WHO BELIEVE STRONGLY IN THE CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF THIS PROGRAM.

SECOND CLEAR WHEAT FLOUR

FOR MANY YEARS THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE HAS PAID A FLOUR EXPORT SUBSIDY ON SECOND CLEAR WHEAT FLOUR. MORE RECENTLY, THE USDA HAS REFUNDED WHEAT MARKETING CERTIFICATE PAYMENTS FOR SECOND CLEAR WHEAT FLOUR WHICH DOES NOT GO INTO FOOD USE. I AM TOLD FURTHER THAT THE SAME KIND OF SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IS IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES UNDER A TARIFF CLASSIFICATION WHICH TAKES IT OUTSIDE THE FLOUR IMPORT QUOTA AND ALLOWS IT TO COME IN AT ONLY A NOMINAL RATE OF DUTY. ALTHOUGH THIS CLASSIFICATION DEPENDS ON SECOND

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CLEARs BEING CONSIDERED "UNFIT FOR HUMAN CONSUMPTION," THE PRINCIPAL USE OF IMPORTED SECOND CLEARs IS IN FOOD AND FOOD PRODUCTS. THE ANNUAL COST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE IS OVER \$200,000 FOR EXPORT SUBSIDIES.

IN 1967, THE BUREAU OF CUSTOMS RULED THAT SECOND CLEARs IN THE TARIFF SENSE WERE NO LONGER CHIEFLY USED AS ANIMAL FEED. CONSEQUENTLY, THEY WERE RECLASSIFIED AS A PRODUCT OF MILLING. MORE RECENTLY, HOWEVER, A TENTATIVE DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO CHANGE THIS CLASSIFICATION OF SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IMPORTS.

THIS WOULD CLASSIFY SECOND CLEAR IMPORTS AS NONENUMERATED PRODUCTS NOT PROVIDED ELSEWHERE, UNBOUND, SUBJECT TO 8 PERCENT DUTY AND EXQUOTA.

THE BUREAU^U HAD IN EFFECT REAFFIRMED THAT SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IS NO LONGER CHIEFLY USED AS ANIMAL FEED; BUT THAT THIS PRODUCT IS IN

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A TARIFF SENSE A BY-PRODUCT RATHER THAN A PRODUCT OF THE MILLING OF GRAIN. CONSEQUENTLY, THE BUREAU CONCLUDED THAT SECOND CLEAR WHEAT FLOUR IMPORTS SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED AS A NONENUMERATED PRODUCT NOT PROVIDED FOR ELSEWHERE.

I AGREE THAT SECOND CLEAR WHEAT FLOUR IS NO LONGER CHIEFLY USED IN THE UNITED STATES AS ANIMAL FEED. HOWEVER, I CANNOT AGREE THAT IT IS IN FACT A MILLING BY-PRODUCT.

THE EVIDENCE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTS THE VIEW THAT SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IS NOT A BY-PRODUCT, BUT IS IN FACT A CO-PRODUCT OBTAINED IN THE MILLING OF WHEAT. IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT WELL OVER ONE-HALF OF SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IS UTILIZED FOR FOOD USE IN THE UNITED STATES; AND ABOUT 90 PERCENT OF IMPORTED SECOND CLEARS ARE SO USED. THE USDA CONSIDERS SECOND CLEARS AS A PRODUCT OF WHEAT MILLING IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF ITS PROGRAMS.

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THE GENERAL RECOGNITION AND ACCEPTANCE OF SECOND CLEARS AS A MILLING PRODUCT REQUIRES A LIKE TREATMENT FOR TARIFF CLASSIFICATION PURPOSES. THE CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION PERMITS SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IMPORTS TO DISPLACE DOMESTIC SECOND CLEARS FOR FOOD USE. THE DOMESTIC CLEARS ARE THEN DIVERTED INTO INDUSTRIAL USE. THIS RESULTS IN THE REFUND OF THE COST OF WHEAT MARKETING CERTIFICATES WHICH WOULD OTHERWISE NOT OCCUR, THEREBY IMPOSING AN EXTRA FINANCIAL BURDEN ON THE GOVERNMENT.

I URGE THAT SECOND CLEAR FLOUR IMPORTS BE CLASSIFIED AS A MILLED GRAIN PRODUCT, AND PROVISION BE MADE TO REQUIRE IMPORTS FOR FOOD USE BE CLASSIFIED AS FIT FOR HUMAN CONSUMPTION, SUBJECT TO THE SECTION 22 FLOUR IMPORT QUOTA AND DUTIABLE AT \$.52 PER CWT. THIS WOULD ELIMINATE THE PRESENT FINANCIAL BURDEN ON THE USDA PRESENTED BY SUCH IMPORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED UNFIT AND EXQUOTA BY REASON OF ASH CONTENT.

ALSO, THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSED CUSTOMS CLASSIFICATION THROWS INTO QUESTION THE CONTINUATION OF THE EXPORT SUBSIDY PROGRAM ON SECOND CLEARS.

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NUTRITION

AS YOU KNOW, I AM A MEMBER OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS. WE HAVE RECEIVED TESTIMONY ABOUT HUNGER IN THIS COUNTRY, HUNGER THAT IS HIDDEN FROM VIEW IN THE FORM OF MALNUTRITION.

WE ARE LEARNING THAT PROTEIN-DEPRIVED CHILDREN DO NOT LEARN AS WELL IN THEIR FORMATIVE YEARS AS THEIR WELL-FED COUNTERPARTS. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THEIR MENTAL CAPACITY, BECAUSE OF RETARDED BRAIN GROWTH, IS PERMANENTLY IMPAIRED. ADDED TO THIS IS THE IMPACT OF MATERNAL MALNUTRITION. MATERNAL MALNUTRITION MAY BE THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT CAUSE OF A HOST OF SUBTLE BIRTH DEFECTS, FROM LOWER INTELLIGENCE TO SPEECH AND HEARING IMPEDIMENTS.

PROTEIN MALNUTRITION IS CONDEMNING FUTURE GENERATIONS TO POOR PERFORMANCE. THE MOST PERNICIOUS CYCLE IS THAT WHERE PEOPLE ARE TOO POOR TO EAT WELL, THEY DEVELOP POORLY. UNABLE TO ACHIEVE, THEY POSSIBLY GET POORER. THIS CYCLE MUST BE BROKEN.

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MANY GROUPS, INCLUDING INTERNATIONAL AS WELL AS INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, HAVE DEVELOPED FOOD FORMULAS TO MEET THIS PROBLEM OF PROTEIN MALNUTRITION. SUCH A FOOD PREPARATION MUST MEET STRINGENT STANDARDS OF NUTRITIONAL QUALITY, AND AT THE SAME TIME BE AVAILABLE IN LARGE QUANTITIES AT LOW COST. THE FOOD MUST BE TRANSPORTABLE WITHOUT PROBLEMS, EASILY PREPARED FOR USE, AND READILY ACCEPTABLE BY THE CHILDREN.

WHEAT SOYA BLEND

THE UNITED STATES MILLING AND BULGUR INDUSTRIES HAVE FORMULATED SUCH A FOOD PRODUCT BASED ON WHEAT. IT IS PRECOOKED AND IS DESIGNED FOR USE AS A BEVERAGE OR GRUEL, SOUP OR DESSERT. IT IS CALLED WHEAT SOYA BLEND.

WHEAT SOYA BLEND IS A HIGHLY NUTRITIOUS PRECOOKED FOOD WHICH IS 75 PERCENT WHEAT PRODUCTS, 20 PERCENT DEFATTED SOY FLOUR, 3 PERCENT REFINED SOY OIL, AND 2 PERCENT VITAMIN AND MINERAL PREMIXES.

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WHEAT SOYA BLEND HAS A MINIMUM PROTEIN CONTENT OF 20 PERCENT AND A GOOD AMINO ACID BALANCE. IT PROVIDES THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS FOR GROWTH IN CHILDREN AND IS INTENDED PRIMARILY FOR USE IN MATERNAL/CHILD FEEDING AND SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS.

WHEAT SOYA BLEND HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, AND HAS BEEN FOUND TO BE READILY ACCEPTED AS A HIGH-PROTEIN FOOD. SINCE WHEAT SOYA BLEND IS A PRECOOKED PRODUCT, IT IS EASILY PREPARED.

THE COST PER UNIT OF PROTEIN IS EXTREMELY LOW. THE POTENCY OF THE PROTEIN IS FORTIFIED BY THE VITAMINS AND MINERALS WHICH COMPRISE 2 PERCENT OF THE MIXTURE.

WE MUST EXPLOIT TO THE FULLEST THESE NEW CAPABILITIES OF OUR FOOD SCIENCES TO HELP ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE OF BETTER NUTRITION. AS PART OF THIS, I AM URGING THE USDA TO INCLUDE THIS PRODUCT IN THE DOMESTIC DONATION PROGRAMS.

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IT IS PHYSICALLY, SCIENTIFICALLY AND TECHNOLOGICALLY POSSIBLE TO BANISH HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION IN THIS GREAT LAND. SUCH A VICTORY WILL NOT BE EASY. IT WILL CALL FOR A HIGHER LEVEL OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENGINEERING THAN MANKIND HAS YET ACHIEVED.

IF WE SUCCEED, THE SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMIC REWARDS WILL BE GREAT FOR ALL OF US.

LET US WHO SHARE IN THE MIRACLE OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A FUTURE IN WHICH OUR ENERGIES AND OUR PRODUCTIVITY WILL BE DEVOTED TO MAKING LIFE HAPPIER, FREER AND MORE ABUNDANT FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY OF MAN.

NOW, HAVING TOUCHED ON THESE SPECIFIC SUBJECTS, LET ME DWELL A FEW MINUTES ON WHAT MAY HAPPEN ON THE SENATE SIDE THIS YEAR.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 91ST CONGRESS IS OFF TO A SLOW START, WHICH, IN MY OPINION, AUGURS WELL FOR THE COUNTRY AND PARTICULARLY THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER. PRESIDENT NIXON UNQUESTIONABLY UNDERSTANDS GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL PROCESSES, AND I WOULD GUESS THAT HE IS PURPOSELY MOVING VERY CAUTIOUSLY. IN ADDITION, MOST AMERICANS, AND

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HOPEFULLY THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, REALIZE THAT IN THE PAST FEW YEARS CONGRESS HAS ENACTED MORE LEGISLATION THAN THE PEOPLE CAN DIGEST. AS BOTH SENATOR MANSFIELD AND SENATOR DIRKSEN HAVE STATED, PERHAPS A MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY OF THIS CONGRESS IS TO REVIEW SOME OF THE LEGISLATION PASSED IN HASTE, TO MAKE CHANGES, AND, IN SOME CASES, TO ELIMINATE PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE PROVED TO BE COSTLY AND UNSUCCESSFUL.

WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO AGRICULTURE, THERE HAVE BEEN VERY FEW SIGNS OF ACTIVITY IN THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, AND EVEN IN THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, WHICH IS GENERALLY A BEEHIVE OF ACTIVITY, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE, IF ANYTHING, DONE. SOME OF US ON THE SENATE COMMITTEE HAVE VISITED INFORMALLY ABOUT THE AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT -- COMMONLY KNOWN AS P. L. 480 -- WHICH EXPIRES DECEMBER 31, 1970, AND ABOUT COMMODITY PROGRAMS FOR WHEAT, FEED GRAINS AND COTTON, AS THE PRESENT PROGRAM EXPIRES WITH THE 1970 CROP.

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UNDOUBTEDLY, P. L. 480 WILL BE EXTENDED, THOUGH AS YET THERE HAS BEEN NO HINT FROM THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING ANY CHANGE IN DIRECTION, BUT AS YOU KNOW, FARMERS ARE DEMANDING MORE FARM INCOME AND, HOPEFULLY, THIS ADMINISTRATION CAN COME UP WITH SOME NEW PROGRAM OR CHANGES IN THE EXISTING COMMODITY PROGRAMS WHICH WOULD INCREASE FARM INCOME WITHOUT VAST ADDITIONAL GOVERNMENT OUTLAYS.

IN MY OPINION, WE SHOULD START HEARINGS LATER THIS YEAR SO THAT IN THE SECOND SESSION OF THE 91ST CONGRESS WE CAN MOVE QUICKLY TO ENACT COMMODITY LEGISLATION. FRANKLY, HOWEVER, THERE APPEARS TO BE VERY LITTLE PRESSURE AT THIS TIME TO DO ANYTHING, BUT AGAIN I BELIEVE THE ADMINISTRATION CAN AND WILL SUPPLY THE IMPETUS AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

LURKING IN THE BACKGROUND ARE PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH A COMMODITY RESERVE PROGRAM. ALL OF YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THIS LEGISLATION, BUT IN MY OPINION, THERE IS VERY LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT ANY RESERVE PROGRAM WILL BE ENACTED UNLESS SOME GENIUS COMES UP WITH A NEW AND DIFFERENT

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APPROACH. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER PROGRAMS, INCLUDING FARM BARGAINING, FOOD STAMP PROGRAMS, AND THE GREAT PLAINS PROGRAM, WHICH WILL PROBABLY RECEIVE SOME ATTENTION THIS YEAR, BUT AGAIN, LET ME EMPHASIZE THERE APPEARS TO BE NO GREAT RUSH BY ANYONE TO MAKE ANY DRASTIC CHANGES IN EXISTING PROGRAMS OR ANY GREAT PUSH FOR NEW PROGRAMS.

I HAVE REQUESTED A REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL GRAINS ARRANGEMENT -- WHICH, IN MY OPINION, IS DETRIMENTAL TO AMERICAN WHEAT PRODUCERS. I WILL BE DISCUSSING THIS SPECIFICALLY WITH CLARENCE PALMBY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, IN THE NEAR FUTURE. LET ME ADD THAT CLARENCE PALMBY IS AN OUTSTANDING AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED MAN WHO KNOWS WE MUST DO SOMETHING TO EXPAND OUR AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS IF THE AMERICAN FARMER IS TO HAVE MEANINGFUL PROSPERITY.

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FINALLY, LET ME DISCUSS VERY BRIEFLY A MATTER NOT DIRECTLY
RELATED TO YOUR INDUSTRY OR AGRICULTURE GENERALLY, BUT VITAL, IN MY
OPINION, TO THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY.

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NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE ABM SYSTEM

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

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

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

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INFINITELY MORE. PRESIDENT NIXON'S DECISION WITH RESPECT TO THE
SAFEGUARD ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM DIRECTLY AFFECTS -----

THE SECURITY AND SURVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES;

THE LIFE OF EVERY U. S. CITIZEN; AND

THE SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM.

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

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

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

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

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

THIS IS HOW IT WOULD SHAPE UP:

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

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SOVIET UNION AND THE ABM SYSTEM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BUT AMERICA'S CONTINUING STRENGTH, DETERMINATION, AND FIRMNESS HAVE BROUGHT THE WORLD SLOWLY CLOSER TO THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION WHERE WORLD PEACE WILL BE POSSIBLE.

MR. NIXON'S DECISION ON THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM ALSO REFLECTS THE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF COST IN MONEY VS. COST IN LIVES. IT DEMONSTRATES AGAIN THAT THE LIFE OF EACH AND EVERY AMERICAN IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.

THE OPPONENTS OF THE ABM SYSTEM ARGUE THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH A SYSTEM WILL MAKE ARMS LIMITATION DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS MORE DIFFICULT. THEY SAY IT WILL ESCALATE THE NUCLEAR RACE. I CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW A SYSTEM THAT IS DEFENSIVE IN DESIGN, PURPOSE, AND CAPABILITY WILL ESCALATE THE ARMS RACE.

REMEMBER THAT THE SYSTEM WHICH IS PROPOSED IS SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO A SYSTEM WHICH THE RUSSIANS HAVE ALREADY CONSTRUCTED. THE SYSTEM PRESENTS NO THREAT TO ANY OTHER NATION BUT ONLY PROVIDES PROTECTION FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OUR ALLIES.

IN THIS REGARD, CONSIDER THE STATEMENT OF DR. W. K. H. PANAFSKY, A MEMBER OF THE ORIGINAL PANEL THAT STUDIED THE MISSILE DEFENSE PROBLEM:

"I AM AWARE OF MANY STUDIES THAT HAVE SHOWN IT WOULD BE CHEAPER TO INCREASE OUR MINUTEMAN FORCE RATHER THAN TO DEFEND IT." BUT HE ADDED, "I ALSO AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE LESS PROVOCATIVE TO THE SOVIET UNION TO DEFEND THE FORCE WE HAVE RATHER THAN TO INCREASE IT."

DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

AS PART OF THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE ABM SYSTEM, THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF PUBLICITY RECENTLY GIVEN TO A GROWING NUMBER OF ANTI-MILITARY STATEMENTS. I AM CONCERNED THAT THESE STATEMENTS MAY CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH SOME AMERICANS MAY LOSE PERSPECTIVE OVER THE VALUE AND COMPETENCE OF OUR DEFENSE OFFICIALS.

WERE IT NOT FOR THE DEDICATION AND SELF-SACRIFICE OF INDIVIDUAL
SERVICEMEN OF EVERY RANK, THIS WORLD WOULD BE A VERY DIFFERENT
PLACE, ALTHOUGH WE MIGHT NOT BE ALIVE TO WITNESS SUCH TRAGEDY.
EVERYONE OF YOU, I AM SURE, KNOWS PEOPLE WHO ARE IN THE MILITARY
SERVICE. YOU KNOW ON A REAL AND PERSONAL LEVEL THAT THEY ARE NOT MEMBERS
OF SOME TYPE OF SINISTER ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE CREATION OF
A MILITARISTIC SOCIETY. A FORMER DEFENSE SCIENTIST RECENTLY POINTED
OUT, SOME PEOPLE SEEM TO THINK THAT "DECISIONS IN THE PENTAGON ARE
MADE BY FAT, CIGAR CHEWING GENERALS LAUGHING AMONG THEMSELVES
ABOUT BILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND MEGADEATHS". LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT
THAT IS JUST NOT SO.

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THE PENTAGON INVOLVES AN INTER-PLAY
BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE'S TOP CIVILIAN AND MILITARY
ADVISORS. THE INTER-PLAY BRINGS TO BEAR THE DIVERGENT VIEWS OF
ALL OF THE INDIVIDUALS. BUT JUST AS THEY MAY AT TIMES HAVE DIVERGENT
VIEWS, ALL OF THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE DEDICATED AND CONSCIENTIOUS
AMERICANS WHOSE ONLY CONCERN IS THE WELFARE OF THIS COUNTRY.
FURTHER, IN THE CASE OF THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM, IT IS WORTH NOTING
THAT THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION HAD THE UNANIMOUS SUPPORT OF THE
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

BECAUSE OF THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE DECISION TO BE REACHED
OF THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM, THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF
STATE HAVE GONE TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO KEEP THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE ADVISED OF THE ISSUES AT STAKE.

AND WHAT ARE SOME OF THE FACTS IMPORTANT FOR EACH OF YOU AS
CITIZENS TO HAVE?

FIRST OF ALL, SIMPLY CONTINUING ABM RESEARCH WITHOUT DEVELOPMENT
WOULD NOT PROVIDE US WITH A DEFENSE TO MEET THE GROWING SOVIET
THREAT. IN OTHER WORDS, THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM IS DESIGNED TO
DEVELOP, AS THE SOVIET THREAT DEVELOPS AND CAN BE STOPPED AT ANY
POINT IF SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENT IS REACHED WITH THE SOVIETS ON
LIMITING STRATEGIC FORCES.

AND AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE CANNOT ATTEMPT TO STOP A MASSIVE
SOVIET ATTACK ON OUR CITIES FOR TECHNOLOGICALLY WE "JUST DON'T
KNOW HOW". OUR ONLY HOPE IS DETERRENCE. A PRIME OBJECTIVE OF
"SAFEGUARD" IS TO PREVENT AN ENEMY FROM DESTROYING OUR MISSILES
WHICH ARE THE BASIS OF OUR DETERRENT POWER.

WITH A PROBLEM AS COMPLEX AND DEMANDING AS THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE ISSUE, IT IS REASONABLE TO EXPECT THAT DIFFERENT OPINIONS WILL EXIST. THE OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT NIXON'S DECISION IS SINCERE BECAUSE HONEST MEN CAN DIFFER ON WHAT IS BEST FOR THEIR COUNTRY IN THESE COMPLEX AND DANGEROUS TIMES. BUT THOSE WHO SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON ARE JUST AS SINCERE. FOR EXAMPLE, SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, IS ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED AND REVERED MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE. RECENTLY, SENATOR RUSSELL, SPEAKING IN FAVOR OF MR. NIXON'S DECISION, SAID..."IN MY JUDGMENT, IF WE EVER HOPE TO GET A MEANINGFUL TREATY IN THIS DREAD FIELD OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, WE WILL HAVE TO HAVE AT LEAST MILITARY EQUALITY WITH THE RUSSIANS".

SENATOR RUSSELL ADMITTED SOME CONCERN WITH THE CRITICS OF THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM WHO CLAIM THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE BUILT BECAUSE THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT IT WILL WORK.

"NOBODY KNOWS FOR CERTAIN THAT IT WILL WORK", HE SAID. "BUT WE HAVE SPENT \$3 BILLION ON RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM, AND IT IS REASONABLE TO BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE EFFECTIVE AS A DETERRENT TO ANY FIRST STRIKE."

IN MY MIND, THIS IS THE BASIC POINT AT ISSUE. WHAT OTHER DECISION COULD PRESIDENT NIXON HAVE MADE WHEN OUR SECURITY...MINE, YOURS, OUR FAMILIES...WAS AT STAKE?

SPEAKER MCCORMACK, A DEMOCRAT WITH A LONG UNBROKEN RECORD OF SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY...ADVISED THAT WHENEVER THE SECURITY OR THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES IS AT STAKE, IF IN DOUBT, RESOLVE IT ON THE SIDE OF OUR NATION'S SECURITY.

LET ME CLOSE BY POSING THIS ONE QUESTION. IF YOU WERE PRESIDENT;
IF YOU WERE FACED AS HE HAS BEEN BY THE ABM ISSUE WHICH INVOLVED
THE NATIONAL SECURITY; IF DOUBTS HAD BEEN EXPRESSED BY BOTH
SIDES, WOULD YOU NOT HAVE DECIDED IN THE SAME WAY PRESIDENT NIXON
DID? WOULDN'T YOUR DECISION BE TO TAKE THE STEPS YOU CAN TAKE
TO PROTECT OUR COUNTRY AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK? AS FOR ME, I
RESPECT THE RIGHT OF THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH ME, BUT I TAKE MY
STANCE WITH THOSE WHO STAND FOR GIVING OUR NATION THE "SAFEGUARD"
IT MUST HAVE TO BE SECURE.

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