

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. ARMY
FORT RILEY, KANSAS
FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1969

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE BECAUSE I FEEL AT HOME WITH THIS GROUP. I SHALL NOT ENGAGE IN ANY PARTISAN DISCUSSION OF ISSUES PENDING BEFORE THE CONGRESS, BUT DO WANT TO TOUCH UPON TWO OR THREE WHICH I BELIEVE ARE OF INTEREST TO YOU AS MILITARY MEN, AS PARENTS, AS TAXPAYERS, AND ABOVE ALL, AS AMERICANS CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF OUR GREAT COUNTRY.

INFLATION

FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO ALL OF US, THAT OF INFLATION.

DURING 1968 THE UNITED STATES EXPERIENCED THE MOST SEVERE INFLATIONARY PRESSURES IN ITS HISTORY. THE WAGE PRICE SPIRAL IN 1968 WAS IN EXCESS OF 4 PERCENT, A PERCENTAGE APPROXIMATELY EQUAL TO THE REAL GROWTH OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT DURING THE SAME YEAR.

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TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, ONE DOLLAR IN JANUARY OF 1968 WAS WORTH 96 CENTS IN DECEMBER OF 1968. OBVIOUSLY, ANYONE WITH A SAVINGS ACCOUNT EARNING 4 PERCENT JUST BARELY HELD HIS OWN. THOSE LIVING ON FIXED INCOMES SUFFERED A LOSS IN PURCHASING POWER OF 4 PERCENT -- JUST LIKE A FOUR PERCENT PAY CUT.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CONTINUING INFLATION, BUT THE SITUATION LAST YEAR BECAME SIMPLY INTOLERABLE. ECONOMISTS HAVE WARNED FOR MANY YEARS THAT IF THE INFLATIONARY CYCLE IN THE U.S. EXCEEDED 3 PERCENT FOR ANY PERIOD OF TIME, IT COULD ONLY LEAD TO AN ECONOMY COLLAPSE OR TO AN UNCONTROLLABLE RUNAWAY INFLATION. IN FACT, THE AMERICAN DOLLAR LAST YEAR CAME PERILOUSLY CLOSE TO DEVALUATION.

NUMBER ONE DOMESTIC PROBLEM

PRESIDENT NIXON FACED MANY SEVERE PROBLEMS IN THE COUNTRY WHEN HE TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE ON JANUARY 20, NONE MORE SEVERE THAN THE NEED TO BRING THE NATION'S ECONOMY UNDER CONTROL AND TO RESTORE SENSIBLE FISCAL MANAGEMENT. IN THE LAST FULL YEAR OF THE

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PRIOR ADMINISTRATION, THE NATION HAD EXPERIENCED A \$25 BILLION DEFICIT BUDGET, THE WORST PEACE TIME DEFICIT IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC. THE MOST IMMEDIATE WEAPON AVAILABLE TO THE PRESIDENT IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION WAS TO BRING FEDERAL BUDGET EXPENDITURES UNDER CONTROL. PRESIDENT NIXON ORDERED ALL CABINET OFFICERS TO REVIEW AND PARE DOWN THE FISCAL 1970 BUDGET WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN PREPARED FOR CONGRESS BY THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION. CUTS WERE MADE OF APPROXIMATELY \$5 BILLION, AND THE 1970 BUDGET NOW BEFORE THE CONGRESS WAS PUT INTO BALANCE.

CONTROL DIFFICULT

LET ME SAY AT THIS POINT THAT IT IS NO EASY TASK TO CONTROL INFLATION. AFTER ALL, SPEAKING POLITICALLY, INFLATION IS NOT ALL THAT BAD FOR THE MAN IN OFFICE AT THE TIME. THOSE WHO LIVE ON FIXED INCOMES KNOW THAT EVERYTHING THEY BUY COSTS MORE, BUT IT IS A SLOW AND GRADUAL PROCESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN A WILDLY INFLATIONARY PERIOD LIKE 1968, THE ECONOMY SEEMS TO BE BOOMING; MORE MONEY IS IN CIRCULATION; WAGES ARE CONSISTENTLY INCREASING TO MEET RISING PRICES

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AND THE AVERAGE CITIZEN MAY THINK THAT HE HAS MORE MONEY. THEN AGAIN THE ADMINISTRATION IS UNDER CONTINUOUS PRESSURE TO SPEND MORE MONEY FOR EVERY PET PROJECT IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET. EVERY PROJECT HAS POLITICAL FAVOR SOMEWHERE. TO SPEND CAN BE POPULAR. TO CUT SPENDING CAN HAVE DIRE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES. IN SHORT, TO SLOW DOWN AN OVERHEATED ECONOMY WHICH IS MERELY BORROWING FROM FUTURE GENERATIONS, IS HARDLY A WELCOME POLITICAL PROSPECT FOR A NEW PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. PRESIDENT NIXON IS WELL AWARE OF THIS, BUT WITH CHARACTERISTIC COURAGE HE IS DETERMINED TO FOLLOW THE PATH OF RESPONSIBILITY.

IT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINATION TO CURB INFLATION THAT LED TO HIS RECOMMENDATION FOR CONTINUATION OF THE 10 PERCENT INDIVIDUAL SURTAX AND ELIMINATION OF THE 7 PERCENT INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT. AGAIN THERE IS NO POLITICAL GAIN IN CONTINUING THE HIGH LEVEL OF FEDERAL TAXATION IMPOSED BY THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION AND IN REPEALING A TAX BENEFIT ENJOYED BY BUSINESSMEN ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THESE TWO STEPS, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT FELT WERE ESSENTIAL TO RESTORING SOUND FISCAL MANAGEMENT.

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POLITICAL COURAGE

LEST THERE BE ANY ILLUSIONS, THE JOB OF BRINGING THE AMERICAN ECONOMY BACK INTO SENSIBLE BALANCE IS NOT GOING TO BE ACCOMPLISHED OVERNIGHT. SO-CALLED "TIGHT MONEY", THAT IS, CONTRACTION OF THE NATION'S MONETARY SUPPLY, IS HERE TO STAY FOR SOME TIME. TAXES WILL BE HIGH. TAX REFORM WILL BURDEN MANY MORE TAXPAYERS THAN IT WILL BENEFIT. AUSTERITY IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET WILL BRING ANGUISHED CRIES FROM THOSE WHO HAVE ENJOYED THE LARGESSE OF A WIDE OPEN FEDERAL TREASURY. IT WILL TAKE POLITICAL COURAGE TO WITHSTAND THE MANY PRESSURES BUT I CAN TELL YOU THIS ---- THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. WILL NOT BE DETOURED NOR WILL HIS COURAGE FAIL IN THE FIGHT TO RESTORE SOUND FEDERAL FISCAL MANAGEMENT.

FOR THERE IS REALLY NO ALTERNATIVE. FORTUNATELY, WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO KNOWS IT. INFLATION AT THE RATE EXPERIENCED LAST YEAR WOULD CAUSE A DOUBLING OF PRICES WITHIN THE NEXT 14 YEARS. AMERICA WOULD SIMPLY PRICE ITSELF OUT OF THE WORLD MARKET, LOSE ITS ABILITY TO TRADE, AND UNDOUBTEDLY FACE A CURRENCY DEVALUATION WITH ALL THAT THAT DISASTROUS STEP WOULD ENTAIL. THOSE ON FIXED INCOMES WOULD BE

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UNABLE TO SURVIVE AND WE WOULD SADDLE OUR CHILDREN WITH DEBTS THEY WOULD BE UNABLE TO PAY. INFLATION IS A VICIOUS CYCLE PENALIZING THOSE LEAST ABLE TO PAY THE BILL. IT FEEDS UPON ITSELF. THOSE LIVING ON SOCIAL SECURITY RAPIDLY LOSE THEIR PURCHASING POWER AND HAVE TO TURN TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR MORE HELP. INCREASING SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS CAN RESULT IN BIGGER AND BIGGER DEFICITS AND BIGGER AND BIGGER DEFICITS ACCELERATE THE INFLATIONARY PACE. THE WORKER DEMANDS, AND RIGHTLY SO, HIGHER WAGES TO MEET HIGHER PRICES. THE MANUFACTURER RAISES HIS PRICES TO PAY FOR THE HIGHER LABOR COSTS, AND ULTIMATELY THE ENTIRE SYSTEM HAS TO COLLAPSE.

IF EVERYONE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE REAL HAZARD TO THE WELFARE OF THE REPUBLIC, THEN THE PRESIDENT'S TASK WOULD BE MUCH EASIER. AS RESPONSIBLE MEMBERS OF A RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY, I FEEL CERTAIN YOU WILL SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S COURAGEOUS EFFORTS.

STUDENT DISORDER

SECONDLY, LET ME DISCUSS BRIEFLY THE PROBLEM OF STUDENT DISORDER. THE INESCAPABLE FACT, ONCE YOU SIFT THROUGH THE NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS AND ABSORB WHAT APPEARS ON YOUR TELEVISION SCREEN, IS THAT A SMALL PROPORTION OF STUDENTS -- HARRIS AND GALLUP POLLS SAY ONLY 2 PERCENT -- HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PLACE THEIR INSTITUTIONS UNDER VIRTUAL SIEGE, TOTALLY DISRUPTING CLASSES, DAMAGING COLLEGE

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BUILDINGS AND PROPERTY AND IMMOBILIZING THEIR COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS. THAT 2 PERCENT OF OUR STUDENTS ARE DISRUPTING THE PURSUIT OF EDUCATION OF THE OTHER 98 PERCENT IS IMPORTANT, AND SHOWS THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THOSE WHO PROTEST VIOLENTLY FAR OUTWEIGHS THEIR NUMERICAL STRENGTH.

RIGHTS TO DISSENT AND CONFORM

IT ALSO BRINGS UP A VERY FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH, WHICH AS PARENTS AND CITIZENS, BOTH YOU AND I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO IMPRESS UPON OUR YOUTH. THAT IS, WHILE AMERICA DEFENDS, PROTECTS AND ENCOURAGES THE RIGHT TO DISSENT, WE ALSO DEFEND, PROTECT AND ENCOURAGE THE RIGHT TO CONFORM. IF THE RIGHT TO DISSENT IS PRECIOUS TO THE MINORITY, THE RIGHT TO CONFORM IS EQUALLY SACRED TO THE MAJORITY. THEY CANNOT EXIST SEPARATELY, BUT MUST CO-EXIST, IN A COMPLEMENTARY RELATIONSHIP. FOR WHEN EITHER OVERSTEPS ITS BOUNDS, THE BALANCE IS THREATENED. THEN TYRANNY -- BE IT OF THE MAJORITY OR THE MINORITY -- IS INEVITABLE.

ALTHOUGH LAWFUL DISSENT IS A TOUCHSTONE OF AMERICAN FREEDOM, VIOLENT METHODS USED BY STUDENTS IN THE NAME OF CHANGE OR PROGRESS IS AN ALBATROSS FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM. AS SOCIETY CANNOT PERMIT ANY

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CITIZEN TO JUDGE THAT LAW WHICH HE WILL OBEY AND THAT WHICH HE WILL DISOBEY, SO, TOO, SOCIETY CANNOT EMBRACE THE LANGUAGE AND TACTICS OF VIOLENCE IF ANY DEGREE OF FREEDOM, JUSTICE OR PROGRESS IS TO BE ACHIEVED OR MAINTAINED.

SOME DISILLUSIONMENT LEGITIMATE

AS ADULTS, YOU AND I HAVE AN ADDED RESPONSIBILITY, WHICH, AT THE OUTSET, MAY APPEAR AS AN UNDESERVED CONCESSION TO THE VIOLENT FEW OF OUR NATION'S YOUTH. IN MY OPINION, WE MUST EXAMINE SOME OF THE REASONS FOR STUDENT UNREST AND TRY TO LEARN, WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT SOME OF THEM.

I SAY THIS BECAUSE THE VERY STUDENTS WHO ARE CHALLENGING OUR INSTITUTIONS ARE A PRODUCT OF OUR SOCIETY. THEY ARE THE BEST EDUCATED GENERATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. THEIR EDUCATION, FAR FROM MEMORIZATION OF ROTE FACTS AND FIGURES, HAS ENCOURAGED FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IN DEPTH ON SUBJECTS WHICH OFTEN STAGGER THE MINDS OF THEIR PARENTS.

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IN THE PROCESS, THEY HAVE DISCOVERED THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT WE AS ADULTS PREACH AND WHAT WE DO SOMETIMES. WHAT OUR YOUTH HAVE FOUND IS A GULF BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE REAL, BETWEEN OUR AGENDA OF UNSOLVED PROBLEMS AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAST GENERATIONS.

THE FACT IS PART OF THE DISILLUSIONMENT AND IMPATIENCE OF MANY OF OUR YOUTH IS LEGITIMATE. MANY OF OUR EDUCATIONAL, BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO THE TEMPO OF THE CHANGES IN OUR COMPLEX, TECHNOLOGICALLY-ORIENTED SOCIETY SINCE THE 1940'S.

NIXON AND THE DRAFT

PRESIDENT NIXON UNDERScoreD ONE ASPECT OF THIS TUESDAY WHEN HE SUGGESTED TO CONGRESS THAT THE DRAFT BE REVISED AND MODERNIZED TO MAKE IT AS EQUITABLE AND REASONABLE AS POSSIBLE. CONSISTENT WITH NATIONAL SECURITY, THE PRESIDENT WOULD DRAFT THE YOUNGEST FIRST, LIMIT THE PERIOD OF DRAFT VULNERABILITY, RANDOMIZE THE SELECTION POLICY AND REVIEW DEFERMENT POLICIES IN AN EFFORT TO UPDATE AND UPGRADE A SYSTEM BRIMFUL OF INEQUITIES AND INEFFICIENCIES, A SYSTEM WHICH HAS JUSTIFIABLY INCURRED THE IRE AND INDIGNATION OF COUNTLESS YOUTH SINCE IT BEGAN IN 1948.

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UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE OFFICIALS THEMSELVES ALSO MUST ASSUME A GREATER LEAD BY DETERMINING TO GUARANTEE PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE NATION'S CAMPUSES. REASON, NOT FORCE, MUST PREVAIL ON EVERY CAMPUS. THIS CALLS FOR EXPULSION OF THOSE WHO REFUSE TO LIVE WITHIN THE RULES OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. IN INSTANCES OF DISORDER, LAWBREAKING AND COERCION, POLICE MAY HAVE TO BE SUMMONED BY THE UNIVERSITY ITSELF. YOUTH WHO VIOLATE THE LAW SHOULD BE TREATED AS WOULD ANY OTHER LAWBREAKER.

I DO NOT ADVOCATE DIRECT GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AS AN EFFECTIVE SOLUTION TO CAMPUS DISORDERS.

ALL OF US -- MUST BE ALERT TO OPPORTUNITIES TO CHANNEL STUDENT ENERGIES INTO THE KIND OF ACTIVISM THAT TRULY SERVES AND IMPROVES SOCIETY. THE ONLY WAY TO BRING ABOUT LASTING, EFFECTIVE CHANGE AND PROGRESS IN OUR INSTITUTIONS IS TO PARTICIPATE IN A POSITIVE WAY, WITHIN THE SYSTEM -- SCHOOL, BUSINESS OR GOVERNMENT.

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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 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.

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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."

THE PRESIDENT, IN ADDITION TO SETTING FORTH THE ISSUES AND
ACCEPTING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESOLVING THEM, WAS ECHOING WHAT
A PREVIOUS PRESIDENT SUCCINCTLY STATED ABOUT THE JOB OF BEING
PRESIDENT. I REFER TO FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S REMARK, WHEN HE

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REPORTEDLY 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 POSITIONS 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.

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 FOUR 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. SUCH A WARHEAD GIVES THEM THE CAPABILITY OF LAUNCHING THE FIRST STRIKE AGAINST OUR MISSILE BASES AND PERHAPS DESTROYING MOST OF OUR CAPABILITY TO RETALIATE.

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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.

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 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

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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.

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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
HERE, OF COURSE, HAS BEEN OR IS IN THE MILITARY SERVICE. YOU KNOW

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ON A REAL AND PERSONAL LEVEL THAT YOUR FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES ARE NOT MEMBERS OF SOME TYPE OF SINISTER ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE CREATION OF A MILITARISTIC SOCIETY. A FORMER DEFENSE SCIENTIST RECENTLY POINTED OUT THAT 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". I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE 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 ON 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.

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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

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NIXON ARE JUST AS SINCERE. FOR EXAMPLE, SENATOR RUSSELL, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, IS ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED AND REVERED MEMBERS OF THE U.S. SENATE. RECENTLY, SENATOR RUSSELL, SPEAKING IN FAVOR OF MR. NIXON'S DECISION, SAID, "IN MY JUDGEMENT, 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?

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SPEAKER McCORMACK, A DEMOCRAT WITH A LONG UNBROKEN RECORD OF SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY, ADVISED THAT WHENEVER THE SECURITY 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?

LET ME ADD THE ABM VOTE WILL BE VERY CLOSE IN THE SENATE, WHILE I PREDICT THE HOUSE WILL APPROVE THE PROPOSAL BY A 3-1 MARGIN. I URGE YOU TO CONTACT YOUR FRIENDS IN THE CONGRESS FOR, FRANKLY, I HATE TO PREDICT WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IF PRESIDENT NIXON'S ABM PROPOSAL IS DEFEATED.

AGAIN, I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY OF SPEAKING TO YOU THIS EVENING, AND IF I MAY EVER BE OF ASSISTANCE IN ANY WAY, CONTACT FRED BRAMLAGE, MY JUNCTION CITY AGENT.

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- Business
- Not belong to any group - Rep
- Not a social wife
- Had many
- Ben Ching