

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

DINNER HONORING CONGRESSMAN JOE SKUBITZ  
WIG'S RESTAURANT  
INDEPENDENCE, KANSAS  
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1969

I AM HERE TONIGHT TO ASSERT MY BELIEF AND SUPPORT IN THE "NEW  
FEDERALISM" WHICH IS THE EMERGING PHILOSOPHY OF THE NIXON ERA. BUT,  
ABOVE ALL, I AM HERE TO SEE THAT JOE SKUBITZ CONTINUES TO REPRESENT  
KANSAS' 5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN WASHINGTON. ~~THIS HAS BEEN A~~

~~LONG AND SUCCESSFUL CAREER IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.~~

JOE SKUBITZ AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE 1970S

IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS, WE WILL EXPERIENCE THE EMERGENCE OF A  
NEW EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT..... THE BIRTH OF  
A NIXON ERA OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT BASED UPON GOOD MANAGEMENT. WE  
WILL WITNESS THE COMING OF A DYNAMIC, NEW PHILOSOPHY -- THE PHILOSOPHY  
OF "NEW FEDERALISM".

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AND MEN OF JOE'S KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE ARE VITAL TO THE  
REALIZATION OF THIS COMING EPOCH.

IT IS OUR IMMEDIATE RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE THE PUBLIC OF THIS  
COMMUNITY FULLY AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF RETURNING JOE TO OFFICE  
IN 1970. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF YOU INDEPENDENCE REPUBLICANS  
TO SHOW THE ELECTORATE HERE THAT THEY HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RE-ELECT  
A REAL PROFESSIONAL MAN, A MAN WHO HAS SERVED IN CONGRESS LONG ENOUGH  
TO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS AND COMPREHEND THE SOLUTIONS -- AT BOTH THE  
LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL.

HERE IS A DEDICATED, HONEST, QUALIFIED LEGISLATOR OF THE HIGH-  
EST ORDER AND SKILL -- A MAN WE CAN ALL BE PROUD OF. AS YOUR SENATOR,  
I AM GOING TO GIVE JOE ALL THE ASSISTANCE I CAN OFFER. FOR THE SAKE  
OF INTELLIGENT REPRESENTATION FOR KANSANS IN WASHINGTON -- AND FOR  
THE SAKE OF A REPUBLICAN LED GOVERNMENT IN THE 1970S -- I ASK THAT  
YOU DO THE SAME.

*Things I  
feel certain he  
doesn't need it  
"enough" -*

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WITH MEN OF JOE'S ABILITY IN CONGRESS, AND THROUGH THE PROGRAMS PUT FORTH BY PRESIDENT NIXON, WE WILL SOON HAVE THE TOOLS TO WORK WITH. HOWEVER, IT IS VITAL FOR US TO REALIZE THAT THE SECURING OF A JUST PEACE AND THE FLOW OF POWER AND INCENTIVE BACK FROM THE FEDERAL TO THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL WILL NOT OCCUR OVERNIGHT. THE ROAD TO A REPUBLICAN ERA OF GOVERNMENT BASED UPON GOOD MANAGEMENT WILL BE A LONG AND TEDIOUS ONE.

OUR DEVOTION TO JOE'S RE-ELECTION DEMANDS OUR SOLEMN, UNITED EFFORT -- NOT DURING THE FEVERISH WEEKS PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY, BUT NOW -- TODAY. THE OPPORTUNITITES ARE TOO GREAT -- THE STAKES TOO HIGH -- FOR REPUBLICANS TO CONSIDER ANY OTHER ATTITUDE.

SOME MAY COMPLAIN THAT WHAT I AM ASKING YOU TO DO WILL TURN REPUBLICAN POLITICS IN YOUR AREA INTO A "VINCE LOMBARDI-TYPE" PRE-SEASON TRAINING CAMP. WELL, WHAT'S WRONG WITH THAT? WE WILL DEVOTE OUR ENERGIES TO SECURING REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT NOW -- AND REALIZE



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THAT THE GOALS WE SEEK DEMAND OUR UNITED EFFORT 365 DAYS A YEAR --  
WE JUST MIGHT FIND OURSELVES IN THE "SUPER BOWL" A YEAR FROM NOW!  
I THINK WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR OUR PARTY IS WORTH SOME "PRE-  
SEASON" SWEAT.

~~REDACTED~~ I DON'T ~~REDACTED~~ WORRY ABOUT THE SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE  
REPUBLICANS. AS I STAND HERE ~~REDACTED~~, I SENSE A PROFOUND CHANGE  
FROM THE DAYS WHEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PRIVATE ORGANIZATION HAD  
TO BE <sup>LITERALLY</sup> ~~LITERALLY~~ FORCED INTO ACTING IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST. TRUE, THE  
CHANGE WHICH HAS OCCURRED NEEDS TO BE MORE DEEPLY INSTILLED WITHIN  
THE COMMUNITY. THIS IS A CRITICAL TASK FACING YOU IN THE COMING  
MONTHS. YET, I WANT TO MAKE ONE THING VERY CLEAR.

I AM PROUD THAT PUBLIC AWARENESS OF THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH  
LIE AHEAD -- FOR OUR COMMUNITIES AND COUNTRY -- IS STRONGER IN KANSAS  
THAN ANYWHERE ELSE. WE KANSANS RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBIL-  
ITIES OF OUR TIME. WE KNOW THAT THE TASK OF CARRYING OUT THESE RE-  
SPONSIBILITIES BEGINS HERE, IN COMMUNITIES LIKE INDEPENDENCE.

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A MANDATE FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

THERE IS SO MUCH THAT I WOULD LIKE TO SAY CONCERNING THE DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED DURING THE FIRST 10 MONTHS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. PRESIDENT NIXON'S 68% GALLUP POLL RATING -- AND THE RECENT ENDORSEMENT, BY A 6 TO 1 RATIO IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM FOR ACHIEVING A JUST PEACE IN VIETNAM -- HAVE PROVIDED THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH A POWERFUL MANDATE FROM AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE SOLIDLY BEHIND THEIR NEW PRESIDENT AND WILL CONTINUE TO ENDORSE THIS KIND OF LEADERSHIP.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY LIES BEFORE US. PRESIDENT NIXON IS THE STANDARD BEARER FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. AS SUCH, HE SYMBOLIZES THE STRENGTH OF LEADERSHIP AND CHARACTER OUR PARTY IS CAPABLE OF PRODUCING. THUS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL BE LOOKING TO US FROM NOW ON TO SUPPLY SUPERIOR MEN AND WOMEN TO REPRESENT THEM IN GOVERNMENT.



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WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS RESPONSIBILITY -- AND IT IS  
HERE -- AT THE LOCAL LEVEL -- WHERE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S FATE WILL  
BE DETERMINED.

AT THIS POINT, I MIGHT ADD THAT THOSE OF YOU WHO WOULD HAVE  
GIVEN ANYTHING IN THE PAST TO PUT ~~some members of Congress~~ IN THEIR PROPER PLACE  
CAN RELAX NOW. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN CARE OF THE PROBLEM FOR  
US. THE TRUST AMERICANS HAVE EXPRESSED IN THE PRESIDENT MUST HAVE COME  
AS QUITE A SHOCK TO THE "SACRED COWS" WHO HAVE DONE THEIR (XXXXXXX) TO  
DISCREDIT PRESIDENT NIXON AND VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW -- ESPECIALLY THOSE  
TWO. APPARENTLY, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS AGREE WITH VICE-  
PRESIDENT AGNEW: IF THESE PEOPLE CAN'T STICK TO THE FACTS AND OFFER  
ANYTHING THAT RESEMBLES AN OBJECTIVE ARGUMENT ON THE POLICIES OF THE  
ADMINISTRATION, THEIR RANTINGS SHOULD BE LABELLED FOR WHAT THEY ARE --  
UNFOUNDED SMEAR TACTICS BY MEN WHO WOULD STOP AT NOTHING TO ACHIEVE  
PERSONAL GAIN OR EMOTIONAL SATISFACTION.

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TODAY THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE SEES US AS A PARTY WITH STRENGTH AND CONVICTION -- BUT THERE IS SOMETHING ELSE. THERE IS A NEW "TEAM SPIRIT" WHICH IS THE ESSENCE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TODAY. THIS SPIRIT HAS UNITED REPUBLICANS AND HAS ENABLED OUR PARTY TO BECOME THE PREDOMINANT FORCE IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

BUT HOW DID THIS OCCUR? IT WASN'T LONG AGO WHEN WE WERE LABELLED AS A "SECOND CLASS" PARTY. HOW WERE WE ABLE TO ACHIEVE THE UNITY WE ARE EXPERIENCING TODAY?

WELL -- WE BEGAN TO LISTEN TO RICHARD NIXON. HE REMINDED US THAT INDIVIDUAL NEEDS ARE ULTIMATELY REALIZED THROUGH UNITED ACTION --- THROUGH THE INDIVIDUAL'S DEVOTION AND EFFORT ON BEHALF OF HIS COMMUNITY AND PARTY. THE ESSENCE OF THIS UNITY RESTED UPON THE CONCEPT OF VOLUNTARY ACTION. THIS IS THE KEY TO A BETTER REPUBLICAN PARTY TODAY AND A BETTER AMERICA TOMORROW. LET US NEVER FORGET THAT UNITY, PEACE, PROSPERITY AND INDEED ALL WHICH WE SEEK TO PROVIDE FOR A BETTER AMERICA TOMORROW CAN ONLY BE REALIZED BY DEDICATING OURSELVES TO THE JOB -- AS REPUBLICANS AND CITIZENS.



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THE BEST WAY FOR US TO APPRECIATE EXACTLY WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE NEXT 2 YEARS FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- HERE IN INDEPENDENCE -- AS WELL AS IN EVERY COUNTY AND STATE THROUGHOUT AMERICA -- IS TO REVIEW THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S FIRST 10 MONTHS IN OFFICE. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION DURING THIS BRIEF PERIOD IN TIME BORDER ON THE FANTASTIC -- ESPECIALLY IN THE FACE OF A HOSTILE CONGRESS. THE ENTIRE COMPLEXION OF THIS NATION'S VISAGE HAS CHANGED DRAMATICALLY. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS -- AND I MEAN MANY, MANY YEARS -- THERE IS A GROWING FEELING OF HOPE WHICH HAS SPREAD THROUGHOUT THIS LAND. AMERICANS LOOK TO WASHINGTON TODAY AND SENSE THE PRESENCE OF NEW STRENGTH AND CONVICTION.

CAUTIOUSLY -- AMERICANS ARE BEGINNING TO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT THEIR NEW PRESIDENT IS A MAN OF AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT NATURE -- FROM THE "CHARACTER" THEY WERE FORCED TO TOLERATE FOR 4 LONG, DREARY YEARS. HOW CAN WE BLAME THE AMERICAN PUBLIC FOR ITS DELAYED APPROVAL OF THE NEW PROGRAMS INITIATED BY PRESIDENT NIXON!



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FOR **S** YEARS AMERICANS LOOKED AT THE "TEXAS TEACHER'S REPORT CARD -- THERE WERE PLENTY OF C's AND D'S -- "C" FOR CONFUSION -- "D" FOR DESPAIR. WE HEARD A LOT OF PLEDGES TO BRING HOME SOME A's -- "A"s FOR ACCOMPLISHMENT -- BUT THIS WASN'T TO BE. ~~I DON'T THINK I HAVE TO REMIND YOU WHAT THE "CITIZENSHIP" SIDE OF OUR BOY'S REPORT CARD WAS LIKE -- I CAN REMEMBER THAT THERE WERE A LOT OF "D"s IN THE "TRUTHFULNESS" CATEGORY.~~

IF YOU THINK ABOUT IT -- MORE THAN ANY SINGLE FACTOR WHICH RECEIVED ABUSE DURING THOSE **S** DARK YEARS -- THE IMAGE OF THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS MOST SEVERELY DAMAGED.

THE MAN FROM JOHNSON CITY LEFT HIS SUCCESSOR QUITE A LEGACY, ALL RIGHT. IT IS AMAZING THAT IT HAS TAKEN PRESIDENT NIXON ONLY 10 MONTHS TO RESTORE PUBLIC FAITH IN THE OFFICE!

LET US NOW TURN OUR ATTENTION TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST 10 MONTHS.

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FIRST, THE HEARTACHE WHICH CONCERNS US MOST -- VIETNAM.

THE NIXON VIETNAM DOCTRINE -- TWO CHOICES

WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON ASSUMED OFFICE IN JANUARY, HE FOUND THAT HE HAD TWO CHOICES OPEN TO HIM FOR ENDING THE WAR.

HE COULD ORDER AN IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL AMERICANS FROM VIETNAM, WITHOUT REGARD TO THE EFFECTS OF SUCH ACTION.

OR HE COULD INSTITUTE A VIETNAM POLICY THAT WOULD SEARCH FOR A JUST PEACE THROUGH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IF POSSIBLE, AND IF NOT, HE COULD IMPLEMENT A PLAN FOR VIETNAMIZATION OF THE WAR -- A PLAN THAT WOULD ALLOW US TO WITHDRAW ALL OUR FORCES FROM VIETNAM ON A SCHEDULE IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR PROGRAM TO ASSIST THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE BECOME STRONG ENOUGH TO DEFEND THEIR OWN FREEDOM.

AS PRESIDENT NIXON SAID ON NOVEMBER 3, HE HAS CHOSEN THE SECOND COURSE OF ACTION; THOUGH THIS COURSE MIGHT NOT BE THE EASY WAY, IT IS THE RIGHT WAY.



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EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE

MR. NIXON IMMEDIATELY STEPPED UP OUR GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE HANOI TO PARTAKE IN CONCERTED, CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. OUR PEACE PROPOSALS WERE SET FORTH IN GREAT DETAIL AND EVERY POSSIBLE

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★ If desired - the main points of Nixon's peace proposals (8/4/69) can be briefly listed -- i.e.:

1. Free elections under international supervision - both sides represented;
2. Supervised cease-fire;
3. Mutual withdrawal of non-South Vietnamese troops.

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DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WAS EXPLORED.

AFTER SIX MONTHS OF CONTINUOUS DEADLOCK IT BECAME APPARENT THAT HANOI HAD NO INTENTION OF ACCEPTING ANYTHING OTHER THAN TOTAL SUBMISSION BY THE U. S. OF ITS PLAN TO OVERTHROW THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AND ENVELOP THE COUNTRY IN COMMUNISM BY FORCE OF ARMS.

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THUS, AS PRESIDENT NIXON POINTED OUT IN HIS NOVEMBER 3 SPEECH:

"IT IS CLEAR THAT THE OBSTACLE IN NEGOTIATING AN END TO THE WAR IS NOT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.... THE OBSTACLE IS (HANOI'S REFUSAL TO SHOW THE LEAST WILLINGNESS TO JOIN US IN SEEKING A JUST PEACE. HANOI WILL NOT DO SO WHILE IT BELIEVES THAT ALL IT HAS TO DO IS WAIT FOR OUR NEXT CONCESSION -- AND THE NEXT -- UNTIL IT GETS EVERYTHING IT WANTS....PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATION DEPENDS ABOVE ALL ON HANOI'S DECIDING TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY."

#### AN ALTERNATIVE PLAN

IN THE FACE OF FAILURE TO PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, THE PRESIDENT HAS INITIATED ANOTHER PLAN TO ACHIEVE PEACE, WHICH WILL TERMINATE THE WAR REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAPPENS AT PARIS. FURTHERMORE, THE SCOPE OF THIS ALTERNATIVE PLAN EXTENDS BEYOND VIETNAM TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF FUTURE "VIETNAMS". THIS FRESH APPROACH IN THE APPLICATION OF U. S. FOREIGN POLICY HAS BECOME KNOWN AS THE NIXON DOCTRINE.



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### THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN

WHEN APPLIED TO THE WAR AND THE FUTURE OF U. S. INVOLVEMENT, THIS DOCTRINE IS KNOWN AS THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN.

IN INITIATING ITS APPLICATION, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ORDERED A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN OUR EFFORTS TO PREPARE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES TO ASSUME FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY. THIS WILL BE DONE THROUGH A STEPPED UP TRAINING PROGRAM AND PROVIDING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY WITH MORE MODERN EQUIPMENT.

### POSITIVE RESULTS

AS THE FAMILIAR SAYING GOES: "THERE IS NO SUCCESS LIKE SUCCESS ITSELF!" IN HIS NOVEMBER 3 SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE PRESIDENT COULD BACK UP HIS NEW PLAN WITH POSITIVE RESULTS.

SINCE THE PLAN WAS LAUNCHED IN MARCH, THESE DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE:

- (1) U. S. AIR OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN REDUCED BY 20%;
- (2) AMERICAN MEN ARE FINALLY COMING HOME. "BY THE END OF 1969, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS STATED, "OVER 75,000 MEN WILL HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN, INCLUDING 30% OF ALL U. S. COMBAT TROOPS."

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- (3) THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY HAS RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THIS PROGRAM AND GROWS STEADILY STRONGER;
- (4) ENEMY INFILTRATION HAS NOTICEABLY DROPPED; AND WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT ----
- (5) U. S. CASUALTIES ARE AT THE LOWEST IN 3 YEARS.

NIXON'S DOCTRINE AND THE FUTURE

WHAT DOES THE NIXON DOCTRINE HOLD FOR THE FUTURE OF U. S. POLICY IN VIETNAM? THE PLAN MEANS THAT WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF U. S. GROUND COMBAT FORCES, HAVING BEEN REPLACED IN THE FIELD BY WELL-TRAINED SOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS. TRUE, THIS WILL NOT OCCUR OVERNIGHT. BUT OUR MEN WILL BE COMING HOME THROUGH AN ORDERLY SCHEDULED TIMETABLE, WHICH WILL ALLOW U. S. FORCES IN THE FIELD TO CONDUCT AN ORDERLY EXCHANGE OF COMMAND WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY, WITHOUT PROVIDING THE ENEMY WITH A MILITARY ADVANTAGE.



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IF WE ALLOW OURSELVES TO THINK AHEAD A BIT ON HOW THIS VIETNAMIZATION PROGRAM MIGHT AFFECT DEVELOPMENTS IN PARIS, IT BECOMES APPARENT THAT HANOI'S PRESENT POSITION AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WILL HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZED, AND JUST MIGHT GIVE HANOI SERIOUS REASON TO REEVALUATE THEIR PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR. WHY SHOULD THIS BE CONSIDERED A POSSIBILITY? FOR TWO REASONS:

FIRST, NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF MILITARY POWER IN SOUTH VIETNAM WILL RESULT FROM THIS PLANNED, ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL OF U. S. COMBAT TROOPS. BATTLEFIELD POSITIONS ONCE HELD BY U. S. TROOPS WILL BY THEN HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED BY STRONG SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY ELEMENTS.

SECONDLY, PRESIDENT NIXON, IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, PLANS TO MAKE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR TO HANOI THAT HE WILL NOT HESITATE TO TAKE STRONG AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO DEAL WITH ANY PLAN HANOI HAS IN MIND TO INCREASE THEIR MILITARY EFFORT.

THUS, THE GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE TO BE REALIZED THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS VIETNAMIZATION PROGRAM IS THAT IT SUPPORTS OUR

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FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE OF ASSURING SOUTH VIETNAM THE BASIC RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE, FREE FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE NIXON DOCTRINE, DESCRIBED TO AMERICANS ON NOVEMBER 3 AND PRESENTLY BEING APPLIED IN VIETNAM, REPRESENTS A VIGOROUS, CREATIVE APPROACH -- AND INDEED THE ONLY INTELLIGENT APPROACH TO TERMINATING OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THAT WAR -- SO DO 72% OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE!

LET US HOPE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE LOUDLY CRITICIZED THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS WILL JOIN THE 68% WHO SEE THAT HIS PLAN FOR ENDING THE WAR IS THE MOST SENSIBLE APPROACH TO TAKE. THEIR SUPPORT IS VITAL BECAUSE THE KEY TO SUCCESS FOR THIS COMPREHENSIVE PLAN TO WIN THE PEACE IS TO BE FOUND HERE AT HOME, THROUGH THE UNITED SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

A GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THIS VITAL FACT. NOW IT IS TIME FOR THOSE IN GOVERNMENT WHO HAVE EXPLOITED VIETNAM FOR PARTISAN PURPOSES IN THE PAST TO HELP US END THIS WAR AND SECURE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.



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HAVING DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT OF SECURING A JUST PEACE IN VIETNAM,  
LET ME BRIEFLY DISCUSS ANOTHER CRITICAL PROBLEM WHICH CONCERNS ALL OF  
US AS TAXPAYERS AND CITIZENS -- THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION.

THE PATH OF RESPONSIBILITY -- THE NATION'S ECONOMY

THE "PATH OF RESPONSIBILITY" IS A PHRASE WHICH BEST DESCRIBES THE  
NIXON PHILOSOPHY AND APPROACH TOWARD PROGRAMMING THE NATION'S ECONOMY  
TODAY AND IN THE 1970's.

UPON ASSUMING OFFICE, PRESIDENT NIXON BASICALLY HAD TO CHOOSE  
BETWEEN TWO POLICIES OF ACTION:

HE COULD CONTINUE THE "POPULAR" ECONOMIC POLICIES WHICH THE PRE-  
VIOUS ADMINISTRATION HAD PERPETUATED IN ITS EFFORTS TO PLEASE THOSE  
VESTED INTEREST GROUPS WHOSE SUPPORT WAS CONSIDERED DESIRABLE. A CON-  
TINUATION OF THESE ECONOMIC POLICIES WOULD ALSO APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN  
PUBLIC, ALREADY LULLED INTO A SENSE OF FALSE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY BY  
THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT OF A READILY AVAILABLE MONETARY  
SUPPLY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, PRESIDENT NIXON COULD ELECT TO ADOPT UNPOPULAR

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MEASURES THAT WOULD GUARANTEE IMMUNITY AGAINST THE IMMEDIATE PRESENCE OF A SERIOUS ECONOMIC DOWNSWING. HE WISELY CHOSE THE LATTER COURSE OF ACTION, SACRIFICING HIS POPULARITY FOR A CONTINUATION OF THIS NATION'S OVERALL ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S DECISION TO RETAIN THE UNPOPULAR INCOME TAX SURCHARGE AT A 5% RATE EXEMPLIFIES THE POINT I WISH TO MAKE HERE. HERE IS TRUE COURAGE -- HERE IS GENUINE CONCERN NOT FOR THE TEMPORARY -- BUT THE PERMANENT GOOD OF AMERICA'S ECONOMIC HEALTH.

#### THE PRESIDENT ACTS

TIME DOES NOT PERMIT ME TO DESCRIBE IN DETAIL THE CHAOTIC SITUATION WHICH PRESIDENT NIXON "INHERITED" FROM THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION DUE TO ITS RECKLESS APPLICATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY.

THE NATION HAD EXPERIENCED A \$25 BILLION DEFICIT BUDGET. TO BRING FEDERAL BUDGET EXPENDITURES UNDER CONTROL, CUTS WERE MADE OF APPROXIMATELY \$5 BILLION, AND THE 1970 BUDGET WAS PUT INTO BALANCE.

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POLITICAL COURAGE

OBVIOUSLY, ALL THESE EFFORTS TO REDUCE SPENDING CAN HAVE DRAS-  
TIC POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES. IN SHORT, TO SLOW DOWN AN OVERHEATED ECON-  
OMY WHICH IS MERELY BORROWING FROM FUTURE GENERATIONS, IS HARDLY A  
WELCOME POLITICAL PROSPECT FOR A NEW PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.  
PRESIDENT NIXON KNOWS THIS, BUT WITH CHARACTERISTIC COURAGE HE IS  
DETERMINED TO FOLLOW THE PATH OF RESPONSIBILITY.

WE MUST BE REALISTIC. THE TASK OF RESTORING THE AMERICAN ECON-  
OMY BACK INTO A SENSIBLE BALANCE WILL TAKE TIME. REGRETTABLY, A "TIGHT  
MONEY" POLICY WILL BE NECESSARY FOR SOME TIME, AND TAXES WILL BE HIGH.  
AUSTERITY IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET WILL BRING ANGUISHED CRIES FROM THOSE  
WHO HAVE ENJOYED A PREVIOUS POLICY OF A WIDE OPEN TREASURY. IT WILL  
TAKE POLITICAL COURAGE TO WITHSTAND THE MANY PRESSURES, BUT I CAN TELL  
YOU THIS ---- THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT BE DETOURED, NOR WILL HIS COURAGE  
FAIL IN THE FIGHT TO RESTORE SOUND FEDERAL FISCAL MANAGEMENT.



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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 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.

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IF EVERYONE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE REAL HAZARD TO THE WELFARE OF THE REPUBLIC, THEN THE PRESIDENT'S TASK WOULD BE MUCH EASIER.

RETENTION OF THE SURTAX

AS YOU KNOW, ON NOVEMBER 26, THE PRESIDENT WON A MAJOR BATTLE IN HIS WAR ON INFLATION. MY COLLEAGUES AND I IN THE SENATE WERE SUCCESSFUL IN DEFEATING AN ATTEMPT TO KNOCK OUT AN EXTENSION OF THE INCOME TAX SURCHARGE OUT OF THE TAX REFORM BILL.

THIS MEANS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CORPORATIONS WILL CONTINUE PAYING THE SURTAX THROUGH NEXT JUNE -- BUT AT A 5% RATE RATHER THAN THE 10% RATE WHICH IS EFFECTIVE UNTIL JANUARY 1.

THE RETENTION OF THE SURTAX WOULD NOT BE ADVOCATED BY A PRESIDENT CHIEFLY INTERESTED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF A POPULAR IMAGE. BUT SUCH ACTION WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY A MAN MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY GOOD GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT AND A CONTINUED HIGH LEVEL OF ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

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THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF A CONTINUATION OF THE SURTAX IS THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S \$5.9 BILLION BUDGET SURPLUS PROJECTED FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR.

THE MAJORITY OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE SHARE THE PRESIDENT'S CONVICTION THAT FURTHER SURTAX EXTENSION WAS NEEDED TO KEEP THE BUDGET IN THE BLACK AND SLOW THE ASCENT OF PRICES -- CONDITIONS WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL IN PREVENTING A RUNAWAY INFLATION.

#### TAX REFORM LEGISLATION

AT THIS POINT, I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO ANOTHER ISSUE WITHIN THE ECONOMIC PICTURE -- THAT IS MOST CURRENT AND THE SUBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE DEBATE -- TAX REFORM LEGISLATION. I THINK YOU WILL AGREE -- HERE IS ANOTHER "SOUL SEARCHING" ISSUE TO TEST THE STRENGTH OF THE PRESIDENT'S CHARACTER.



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THE TAX REFORM ACT - 1969

IN REGARD TO THE 1969 TAX REFORM ACT, I REGRETTABLY FOUND IT NECESSARY TO VOTE AGAINST IT.

THE ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF THIS LEGISLATION WAS TO REMOVE THE INEQUITIES IN OUR TAX STRUCTURE WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING TO THE INFLATIONARY SPIRAL.

HOWEVER, AFTER THE SENATE FINISHED WITH THE COMMITTEE BILL -- THE \$6-BILLION SURPLUS, WHICH THIS BILL PROVIDED FOR DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1970, WAS CHANGED TO A PROJECTED DEFICIT OF \$10 BILLION TO BE INCREASED TO \$12 BILLION BY 1971 !!!

A GROWING DEBT

I GRANT YOU -- ALL AMERICANS ARE INTERESTED IN TAX REDUCTIONS. BUT -- A DEFICIT WOULD ONLY SERVE TO INCREASE THE PRESSURES OF INFLATION WITHIN OUR ECONOMY.

ON JUNE 30, 1968, THE NATIONAL DEBT WAS \$350.7 BILLION; BY NOVEMBER 20, 1969, -- ONLY 17 MONTHS LATER -- IT HAD RISEN TO \$369.5 BILLION -- AN INCREASE OF \$18.8 BILLION!!

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AN INCREASE IN PERSONAL TAX EXEMPTION

I ADMIT, AT FIRST GLANCE, THE BOOST FROM \$600 TO \$800 FOR PERSONAL TAX EXEMPTION WAS A PLEASANT THING TO CONTEMPLATE. THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN AN ATTRACTIVE TAX PACKAGE -- BUT -- ONLY IN THE SHORT RUN. AGAIN, MR. NIXON CHOSE TO SACRIFICE PUBLIC APPEAL FOR THE GOOD OF THIS NATION'S OVERALL ECONOMIC HEALTH.

FURTHERMORE, THE EFFORT TO PROMOTE A 15% SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE WITHIN THE PROPOSED TAX REFORM ACT WAS CLEARLY MOTIVATED BY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

IT IS LOGICAL TO ASSUME THAT RISING LIVING COSTS NECESSITATE AN INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS.

YET, WE KNOW FULL WELL THAT THE COUNTRY CANNOT AFFORD A 15% JUMP IN SOCIAL SECURITY PLUS AN INCREASE IN THE MINIMUM PAYMENT FROM \$55 TO \$100/\$150 A MONTH.

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AVOIDING A PRESIDENTIAL VETO

IN MY OPINION, PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROPOSAL OF A 10% INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS -- WITH AN ESCALATOR PROVISION WHICH WOULD COMPENSATE FOR FUTURE INCREASE IN LIVING COSTS -- AND HIS PROPOSAL FOR A GREATER ALLOWANCE FOR OUTSIDE EARNINGS, WOULD REPRESENT A MUCH SOUNDER APPROACH TOWARD TAX REFORM DURING AN INFLATIONARY PERIOD.

OUR MAIN ECONOMIC CONCERN MUST UNFORTUNATELY -- YET NECESSARILY -- BE DIRECTED TOWARD CHECKING INFLATION.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT TAX REFORM IS LONG OVERDUE. LET US HOPE THE HOUSE-SENATE CONFEREES WILL ADOPT THOSE POSITIVE SECTIONS OF THE 2 BILLS AND REACH AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL MEET OUR ORIGINAL OBJECTIVE, RATHER THAN NECESSITATE PRESIDENTIAL VETO.



Walter Munt - flage  
Montgomery Co - police force - flage

Santa - - - - - (diffuse)  
Lulu  
R + D  
R + D

⑦ Quinn - Chute ...

A. B. M. - - fight