

Permissive Society -

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

ASSOCIATED MILK PRODUCERS, INC.  
PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1970

Leasible - Better

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU THIS MORNING, JUST AS IT WAS  
A PLEASURE TO BE WITH THE ~~██████████~~ MILK PRODUCERS IN WICHITA LAST MONTH.

SINCE THAT TIME, THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE HAS COMPLETED  
ACTION ON A NEW FARM BILL AND REPORTED IT TO THE FULL SENATE. IT IS  
DIFFICULT AT THIS POINT TO PREDICT WHEN THE SENATE WILL TAKE UP THE  
BILL, BECAUSE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF MAJOR LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS ARE  
AWAITING CONSIDERATION.

ELECTORAL REFORM WILL BE THE PENDING BUSINESS WHEN WE RETURN FROM  
THE LABOR DAY RECESS, AND THAT ALONE MAY FILL TWO OR THREE WEEKS. IN  
ADDITION, THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS WILL BE COMING  
UP -- ALONG WITH AN IMPORTANT AIR POLLUTION BILL, THE ~~██████████~~ FAMILY  
ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, AND A NUMBER OF ~~██████████~~ APPROPRIATIONS MEASURES.

SO THERE IS A ~~██████████~~ POSSIBILITY ~~THAT~~ THE FARM BILL WILL NOT  
BE CONSIDERED UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS IN NOVEMBER.

We can move it ahead -- hopefully,  
in a week or two --

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I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A MOMENT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU A PORTION OF THE SENATE FARM BILL WHICH HAS NOT BEEN A SUBJECT OF GREAT CONTROVERSY AND, THEREFORE, HAS NOT RECEIVED A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION.

THE URBAN CRISIS

AS YOU KNOW, THIS IS AN AGE OF CRISIS AND STRIFE FOR MUCH OF AMERICA, ESPECIALLY FOR OUR CITIES AND GREAT, SPRAWLING URBAN CENTERS. IN RECENT YEARS, THE "CRISIS OF OUR CITIES" HAS BECOME A MAJOR CONCERN TO CITIZENS AND GOVERNMENTS ALIKE. DETERIORATING CENTRAL CITIES HAVE BECOME SINKS OF CRIMINAL VIOLENCE AND DEGRADING LIVING CONDITIONS. THE UNPLANNED SPRAWL OF SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENTS HAS OVERLOADED SCHOOLS AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES. MASSIVE TRAFFIC SNARLS FRAY COMMUTERS' NERVES AND ENDANGER LIVES. INDUSTRIAL AND AUTOMOTIVE POLLUTION FOUL THE AIR AND THE WATER. IN SHORT, CITY LIFE HAS BECOME NEARLY INTOLERABLE, AND ALMOST UNMANAGEABLE.

THESE CONDITIONS FACING CITIES ARE A SERIOUS DRAWBACK TO ATTRACTING PEOPLE -- WHETHER FOR BUSINESS OR RECREATION. PEOPLE ARE JUST FED UP



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WITH LIFE THAT IS NOT WORTH LIVING. RECENT REPORTS INDICATE THAT EVEN SUBSTANTIAL BONUSES ARE NOT ATTRACTING NEW EXECUTIVES TO THE RAT RACE OF NEW YORK CITY. MONEY JUST CANNOT BUY A DECENT LIFE THERE.

HOWEVER, WHAT IS URBAN AMERICA'S LIABILITY IS RURAL AMERICA'S ASSET. AND THOSE ASSETS ARE ABUNDANT. FOR MANY YEARS, THOSE OF US IN THE CONGRESS FROM STATES WITH LOTS OF FRESH AIR AND PLENTY OF WIDE OPEN SPACES HAVE BEEN SAYING THAT OUR STATES HAVE THE ANSWERS TO THE URBAN CRISIS. OUR STATES HAVE GREAT RESOURCES OF PEOPLE, SPACE, NATURAL BEAUTY AND MODERN FACILITIES AND SERVICES. HERE IS WHERE CROWDED AMERICA SHOULD COME. WE CAN OFFER ROOM FOR GROWTH, SPACE FOR LIVING, AND A REAL PARTNERSHIP IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

BUT RURAL AMERICA, TOO, HAS PROBLEMS -- DECLINING POPULATION, SLOW ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND DEFICIENCIES IN PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES.

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT

WITH THE PROBLEMS, POTENTIALS AND PROMISES OF BOTH RURAL AND URBAN AMERICA IN MIND, SENATOR HERMAN TALMADGE OF GEORGIA AND I HAVE INTRODUCED A RURAL DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT TO THE SENATE FARM BILL.

WE FEEL IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE CONGRESS MAKE A POSITIVE COMMITMENT TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF RURAL AMERICA. THIS COMMITMENT MUST GO BEYOND NORMAL AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS SUCH AS PRICE SUPPORTS, PARITY RELATIONSHIPS AND ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS. IT MUST GO TOWARD IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENTIRE RURAL ENVIRONMENT AND STIMULATION OF POPULATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THIS GREAT SECTOR OF OUR COUNTRY.

OUR AMENDMENT, TITLE 9 OF THE AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1970, HAS FIVE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF ACTION:

(1) LOCATION OF FEDERAL FACILITIES: IT DIRECTS ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN POLICIES AND PROCEDURES TO ASSURE PREFERENCE IN THE SELECTION OF THE LOCATION OF NEW OFFICES AND OTHER FACILITIES IN AREAS OF LOWER POPULATION DENSITY.

(2) PLANNING ASSISTANCE: IT DIRECTS FURTHER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN PLANNING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL MULTI-COUNTY, ECONOMIC



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AREAS NOT INCLUDED IN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED AREAS. THIS EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVE PLANNING FOR FURTHER GROWTH OF RURAL AREAS.

(3) INFORMATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE: SINCE PLANNING REQUIRES RESEARCH AND INFORMATION, IT PROVIDES GUIDELINES TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE THAT WILL ASSURE THE AVAILABILITY OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE LEADERS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES.

(4) GOVERNMENT SERVICES: IT ASSURES THAT RURAL COMMUNITIES WILL BE TREATED WITH THE HIGHEST PRIORITY IN THE PROVISION OF ALL GOVERNMENT SERVICES. SPECIAL EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON ADEQUATE TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION, WATER AND SEWER SYSTEMS, HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE, PROTECTION, AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES.

(5) FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE: IT REQUESTS A REPORT ON THE POSSIBLE UTILIZATION OF THE FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION AND AGENCIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE TO PROVIDE NEEDED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN DEVELOPING RURAL AMERICA.

IN ADDITION, THE AMENDMENT REQUIRES THAT REPORTS BE MADE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE PROGRESS BEING MADE TO EFFECT THE AMENDMENT'S DIRECTIVES. WE BELIEVE THAT THESE REPORTS WILL FURTHER HELP TO DEFINE THE AREAS OF SPECIAL DIFFICULTY AND PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR FUTURE LEGISLATION.

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WE FEEL THIS AMENDMENT IS A VITAL FIRST STEP IN DEVELOPING A COHERENT AND COORDINATED LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT. PROSPECTS FOR BOTH HOUSE AND SENATE APPROVAL ARE GOOD BECAUSE BY IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN RURAL AMERICA AND INCREASING THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE ALTERNATIVE TO URBAN AMERICA, THE ENTIRE NATION WILL BE RICHER AND THE LIVES OF ALL OUR CITIZENS WILL BE FULLER.

NEW UNITED STATES POLICY IN ASIA

NOW, I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO ANOTHER SUBJECT, AMERICA'S ROLE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC REGION. THIS IS A SUBJECT WHERE PUBLIC ATTENTION TO DETAIL HAS TO A LARGE EXTENT OBSCURED GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE BROAD VIEW AND THE SWEEP OF OUR OVERALL POLICY.

OF COURSE, THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM HAS BEEN THE FOCAL POINT OF INTEREST, CONCERN AND DISAGREEMENT FOR MANY YEARS.

BUT, AS VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW HAS ENDED HIS ASIAN TOUR THIS WEEK, IT IS CLEAR THAT WE STAND AT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN AMERICA'S ASIAN POLICY. THREE TIMES IN THE LAST THREE DECADES, THIS COUNTRY HAS SENT GROUND UNITS OF ITS ARMED FORCES INTO BATTLE ON THE ASIAN MAINLAND. NOW THE GREAT WITHDRAWAL HAS BEGUN, AND IT IS DOUBTFUL IF EVER AGAIN



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AMERICAN TROOPS WILL BE COMMITTED ON THAT HUGE LAND MASS. THAT SINGLE FACT IS FRAUGHT WITH TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE, NOT ONLY FOR OUR OWN COUNTRY, BUT FOR THE 60 PERCENT OF THE HUMAN RACE WHICH INHABITS ASIA.

HISTORIANS OF ANOTHER ERA WILL HAVE TO JUDGE WHETHER THE UNITED STATES HAS "WON" OR "LOST" THE SECOND INDOCHINESE WAR. BUT WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT THE AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FIGHTING UNITS HAS BEGUN AND IS IRREVERSIBLE.

#### A VITAL INTEREST IN ASIA

AS A PEOPLE, WE HAVE NEVER BEEN MUCH ON NUANCE AND SHADING. WE LIKE OUR VICTORIES TOTAL AND OUR ENEMIES' SURRENDERS UNCONDITIONAL. THE FAILURE TO WIN SUCH A VICTORY -- TO IMPOSE SUCH A SURRENDER IN VIETNAM -- RAISES THE DANGER THAT WE MAY PICK UP OUR MARBLES AND GO HOME, TURNING OUR BACKS ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. SOME MEMBERS OF THE SENATE WOULD RESORT TO SUCH A COURSE IN AN EFFORT TO EASE THEIR CONSCIENCES FOR ACCEDING TO OUR EXPANDED INVOLVEMENT IN THE FIRST PLACE.

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YET THE UNITED STATES CANNOT CEASE TO BE AN ASIAN POWER. FIVE OF OUR STATES ARE WASHED BY THE WATERS OF THE PACIFIC AND ONE SITS AT THE CORE OF THAT OCEAN. WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN, AND WE HAVE TREATIES -- WHICH PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PROMISED WE WILL HONOR -- WITH NO FEWER THAN 18 ASIAN NATIONS.

FROM AN ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW, IT WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO ABDICATE ITS INTEREST IN A CONTINENT WHICH CONTAINS 92 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S RUBBER, 63 PERCENT OF ITS TIN, 22 PERCENT OF ITS MANGANESE AND NEARLY HALF OF ITS TUNGSTEN. AS A WORLD POWER, THE UNITED STATES CAN NO MORE SHIRK ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN ASIA THAN IT CAN ABANDON ITS POSITION IN EUROPE.

WE MUST COMMIT OURSELVES TO THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENT OF THOSE PACIFIC NATIONS WHICH SWING IN A GREAT ARC FROM JAPAN IN THE NORTH TO AUSTRALIA IN THE SOUTH. BUT, WHILE IT IS CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND MILITARY HARDWARE TO THESE NATIONS, THE IMPLICATIONS OF MR. NIXON'S GUAM DOCTRINE ARE THAT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NUCLEAR ATTACK, THEY ARE PRETTY MUCH ON THEIR OWN.



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THE NIXON DOCTRINE

THAT DOCTRINE WAS CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE LAST JANUARY:

"NEITHER THE DEFENSE NOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER NATIONS CAN BE EXCLUSIVELY OR PRIMARILY AN AMERICAN UNDERTAKING.

"THE NATIONS OF EACH PART OF THE WORLD SHOULD ASSUME THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF THEIR OWN WELL-BEING; AND THEY THEMSELVES SHOULD DETERMINE THE TERMS OF THAT WELL-BEING.

"WE SHALL BE FAITHFUL TO OUR TREATY COMMITMENTS, BUT WE SHALL REDUCE OUR INVOLVEMENT AND OUR PRESENCE IN OTHER NATIONS' AFFAIRS."

THOSE WORDS ARE REVERBERATING IN THE FARAWAY PLACES WITH THE STRANGE-SOUNDING NAMES: IN KUALA LUMPUR, IN KATHAMANDU, IN KABUL. WHENEVER A GREAT POWER SETS A NEW COURSE, OTHER POWERS MUST REEXAMINE THEIR OWN POLICIES. THE ASIAN LEADERS ARE IN THAT PROCESS NOW. IT IS A HEALTHY PROCESS, AND IT IS RESULTING IN AN INCREASED SELF-RELIANCE.

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BUT THOSE LEADERS ARE CONCERNED BECAUSE THERE IS SOME LAG IN COMMUNICATION ACROSS THE PACIFIC. THE CHANGED MOOD OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY UNDERSTOOD.

PEOPLE IN MANY ASIAN NATIONS ARE STILL WORRIED ABOUT A NEW ISOLATIONISM ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. THEY SEE THE FILMS OF THE PROTESTERS HERE, THEY READ THE HEADLINES DEMANDING IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL, AND THEY GENUINELY FEAR THAT THIS WILL BE THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE IN THE UNITED STATES. AND ONE CAN SURELY UNDERSTAND THEIR MISGIVINGS WHEN THE NEO-ISOLATIONISTS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE PROPOSE THEIR RETREAT AND DEFEAT LEGISLATION TO ABDICATE AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITIES TO OUR ALLIES AROUND THE WORLD. BUT ASIAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN REASSURED BY THE WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE RALLIED BEHIND THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN. AND THE DEFEAT OF SUCH IRRESPONSIBLE AND UNWISE PROPOSALS AS THE SO-CALLED "END THE WAR AMENDMENT" DOES MUCH TO SHOW OUR ALLIES THAT THIS COUNTRY WILL STAND BEHIND ITS COMMITMENTS.



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RETURN OF OKINAWA

IN THE LONG PULL OF HISTORY, THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION MAY BE REMEMBERED AS THE TIME WHEN AMERICA REGAINED HER BALANCE AND HER SELF-CONFIDENCE, AND MOVED TO A NEW AWARENESS AND A NEW ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

BUT IN ASIAN EYES, ONE EVENT IN THIS PERIOD THAT WENT RELATIVELY UNNOTICED IN THE UNITED STATES MAY ALSO GROW IN IMPORTANCE WITH THE YEARS. THAT WAS OUR RETURN OF OKINAWA TO JAPAN.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST INDUSTRIAL NATION TURNED OVER A POWERFUL AND STRATEGIC BASE TO THE WORLD'S THIRD LARGEST INDUSTRIAL NATION -- THAT SAYS A LOT ABOUT AMERICA TO THE JAPANESE AND TO ALL ASIANS.

THIS WAS DONE WITH NO GREAT OUTCRY ABOUT A LOSS OF AMERICAN SECURITY -- THAT SAYS A LOT ABOUT THE LEADERSHIP OF A PRESIDENT AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN HIS JUDGMENT ABOUT OUR SECURITY NEEDS.

FINALLY, THIS WAS DONE TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR CLOSE COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN TWO GREAT PACIFIC POWERS -- ON WHICH SO MUCH OF THE FUTURE STABILITY OF ASIA DEPENDS.

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AS I SAID, THIS WENT RELATIVELY UNNOTICED IN THE UNITED STATES;  
ON THE CONTRARY, IT WAS VERY CAREFULLY NOTED IN ASIA.

THE RIGHT POLICY AT THE RIGHT TIME

UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE 1970'S THE UNITED STATES IN THE  
POST-VIETNAM ERA, COULD MAKE NO GREATER ERROR THAN TO CONTEMPLATE A  
WITHDRAWAL FROM OFF-SHORE ASIA. IN JAPAN AND INDONESIA PARTICULARLY,  
WE HAVE POTENTIALLY POWERFUL FRIENDS. UNDER THE NUCLEAR UMBRELLA OF  
THE NIXON DOCTRINE, THESE FRIENDS -- AND OTHERS -- NEED TO BE ENCOUR-  
AGED AND HELPED TO BUILD A PACIFIC COMMUNITY OF WHICH THE UNITED STATES  
COULD BE NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN AN EQUAL MEMBER.

IT IS HARD TO TALK ABOUT DOCTRINES WITHOUT BEING OVERLY SIMPLISTIC  
OR EXCESSIVELY GENERAL, BUT LET ME TRY.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE SAID TO EUROPE, "STAY OUT OF THIS HEMISPHERE."  
THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE SAID <sup>TO</sup> THE SOVIET UNION, "STAY OUT OF COUNTRIES THAT  
WANT TO REMAIN NON-COMMUNIST." THE NIXON DOCTRINE SAYS, "WE'LL HELP OUR  
FRIENDS WHO ARE WILLING TO HELP THEMSELVES."



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EACH OF THESE DOCTRINES WAS ENUNCIATED AT A CRITICAL TURNING POINT IN OUR HISTORY. THE FIRST TWO WERE RIGHT FOR THEIR TIMES; THE NIXON DOCTRINE IS RIGHT FOR OUR TIME.

IT WAS WOODROW WILSON WHO SAID, "DEMOCRACY IS MORE THAN A FORM OF GOVERNMENT. IT IS A FORM OF CHARACTER."

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER TODAY IS NOT THE SORT THAT SELLS OUT ITS FRIENDS, THAT RUNS AWAY FROM ITS COMMITMENTS, THAT TRIES TO TURN INWARD AND LETS THE REST OF THE WORLD GO HANG.

NOR IS IT A PART OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER TO TAKE ON THE JOBS THAT OTHERS SHOULD BE DOING FOR THEMSELVES, TO WEAKEN THE WILL OF OUR FRIENDS BY CARRYING THEIR BURDENS FOR THEM.

AMERICA STANDS BEHIND ITS FRIENDS, NOT IN FRONT OF THEM, IN THEIR DEFENSE OF THEIR FREEDOM, AND AS SELF-RESPECT AND SELF-RELIANCE INCREASE AMONG THE NATIONS OF ASIA, RESPECT FOR AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO RISE.

Hanglung → "Mick Out -

Lee Sutter - Happy Birthday

- fun + laughter -- finally for + quality