

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

KANSAS LIVESTOCK ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING
HOTEL BROADVIEW, WICHITA, KANSAS
JANUARY 7, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOST VALUABLE INDUSTRY IN KANSAS. YOUR PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC PROCESS OF OUR STATE IS UNSURPASSED. I NEED NOT REMIND YOU OF THE BILLION DOLLAR VALUE OF YOUR HERDS OR THE \$600 MILLION MEAT PACKING AND PROCESSING INDUSTRY THAT DEPENDS ON THEM. THERE ARE MANY OTHER SEGMENTS OF OUR STATE'S ECONOMY THAT RELY ON THIS INDUSTRY, AND KANSANS ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE PROGRESS YOU HAVE MADE IN EXPANDING YOUR INDUSTRY AND FOR YOUR MANY OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR STATE.

- EVENTS AFFECTING THE LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY -

JUST A WEEK AGO, ON DECEMBER 31, SECRETARY HARDIN'S OFFICE NOTIFIED ME THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE HAD SUCCESSFULLY OBTAINED AN AGREEMENT FROM AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND IRELAND TO VOLUNTARILY MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO AGAINST TRANS-SHIPING MEAT THROUGH CANADA. YOU WILL REMEMBER THE STRUGGLE GETTING THE EMBARGO LAST SUMMER WHEN THE MEAT IMPORT QUOTAS WERE INVOKED AND REVISED. IT WAS GOOD TO LEARN THAT THESE TRANSSHIPMENTS WILL BE CONTROLLED FOR THE ENTIRE YEAR OF 1971, AND AT LEAST THAT THREAT TO MARKET STABILITY WILL NOT BOTHER US THIS YEAR.

ANOTHER RECENT DEVELOPMENT WAS THE STATEMENT MADE BY DON PAARLBERG, USDA'S DIRECTOR OF ECONOMICS, IN WHICH HE CRITICIZED THE RETAIL FOOD TRADE FOR NOT REFLECTING MARKET PRICE CHANGES QUICKLY AND COMPLETELY. PAARLBERG USED AS AN EXAMPLE THE RECENT DROP IN CATTLE PRICES, WHICH AS YET, HAS NOT BEEN REFLECTED BY A COMPARABLE DROP IN RETAIL BEEF PRICES. AS YOU KNOW, WHEN MARKET PRICES ON AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES INCREASE OR WHEN SHORT SUPPLIES ARE FORECAST, HEADLINES ARE MADE THROUGHOUT THE NATION, AND THE ANGUISHED CRIES OF EVERYONE FROM RALPH NADER TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSEWIVES ARE RAISED AGAINST PRODUCERS AND THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY GENERALLY. BUT WE DO NOT SEE SIMILAR HEADLINE TREATMENT GIVEN WHEN PRICES DECLINE. IT WAS GOOD TO HEAR A USDA SPOKESMAN ASKING FOR A BETTER BREAK FOR BOTH FARMERS, AS WELL AS CONSUMERS.

SEVERAL LIVESTOCK MATTERS WERE CONSIDERED BY THE SENATE THIS CONGRESS INCLUDING: THE CUSTOM SLAUGHTER AMENDMENT TO THE WHOLESOME MEAT ACT; A BILL PROVIDING FOR MEAT IMPORTS FROM FOREIGN MEAT PROCESSING PLANTS TO MEET WITH REGULATIONS EQUAL TO USDA MEAT INSPECTION REGULATIONS; AND OF COURSE, THE AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1970.

WHILE THE NEW FARM BILL IS FAR FROM PERFECT, WE WERE FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF PASSING THIS BILL OR REVERTING TO THE AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1958, WHICH LEFT NO REAL ALTERNATIVE. I BELIEVE SOME POSITIVE THINGS CAN BE SAID ABOUT THE BILL. IT DOES ATTEMPT TO INSURE THE SAME LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS AND IT DOES OFFER THE WHEAT AND FEED GRAIN PRODUCER AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRODUCE MORE OF WHICHEVER CROP HE WISHES.

LOOKING TO THE NEXT SESSION, I CAN SEE SEVERAL AREAS OF REAL CONCERN TO AGRI-BUSINESS.

FIRST IS THE AREA OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT. I COSPONSORED AN AMENDMENT TO THE NEW FARM BILL WHICH SETS OUT A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITMENT TO EXPEDITE RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND TO REVIEW WHAT EXISTING AGENCIES ARE **ALREADY** DOING TOWARD IMPROVING RURAL AMERICA. HOPEFULLY THIS AMENDMENT WILL PROVIDE THE GUIDELINES AND FOUNDATION FOR EXTENSIVE LEGISLATION TO REVITALIZE RURAL AMERICA, WHICH I BELIEVE IS OUR NATION'S GREATEST UNDERDEVELOPED NATURAL RESOURCE.

THE SECOND AREA OF VITAL CONCERN TO AGRICULTURE IS THE ENVIRONMENT. POLLUTION IS A CONCERN OF EVERYONE, AND ITS RELATION TO THE LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY WILL COME TO A HEAD IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE WATER QUALITY STANDARDS SCHEDULED FOR ENFORCEMENT BY 1975. DUE TO THE IMPACT OF THESE REGULATIONS ON THE FEEDLOT INDUSTRY OF KANSAS, I HAVE ASKED THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY AND THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE TO REVIEW EXISTING LAWS AND REGULATIONS AND PROVIDE ME WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION. RECOMMENDATIONS WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR USE DURING THE UPCOMING SENATE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON WATER POLLUTION LEGISLATION. I HAVE ALSO REQUESTED THE CHAIRMAN OF OUR COMMITTEE TO SET ASIDE SUFFICIENT TIME TO EXPLORE THE PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL POLLUTION AND, PARTICULARLY, FEEDLOT POLLUTION. WE HOPE TO HAVE WITNESSES FROM KANSAS SO YOU WILL HAVE A FULL OPPORTUNITY TO OUTLINE YOUR SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND NEEDS.

- REPEAL OF THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION -

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A MOMENT TO MENTION ONE OF THE MAJOR THEMES OF THE PAST CONGRESS. IT SEEMED THAT ALMOST WEEKLY SOMEONE IN THE HOUSE OR, MORE USUALLY, IN THE SENATE, WOULD GET INTO THE QUESTION OF WHO SHOULD BE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF OUR ARMED FORCES, THE PRESIDENT OR THE CONGRESS.

THIS WAS A QUESTION THAT NEVER POSED MUCH TROUBLE FOR ME. I CAN READ, AND THE CONSTITUTION SAYS QUITE CLEARLY THAT "THE PRESIDENT SHALL BE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES". BUT THERE ARE SOME IN THE SENATE WHO HAVE SOME OBVIOUS DIFFICULTY IN SQUARING THIS LANGUAGE WITH THEIR APPARENT CONCEPTION OF A SENATOR'S JOB.

THEY EVEN INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO SUBSTITUTE THEIR JUDGMENT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S IN PROTECTING OUR TROOPS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THEY WERE IN EFFECT SAYING, "MR. PRESIDENT, THE SENATE CAN DO A BETTER JOB AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF THAN YOU". HOWEVER, I DOUBT THAT 100 SENATORS COULD DO A BETTER JOB. AND CERTAINLY IF I WERE A SOLDIER IN VIETNAM OR A PRISONER OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE OR THE VIET CONG, I WOULD RATHER HAVE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MAKING THE DECISIONS AFFECTING MY SAFETY OR POSSIBLE RESCUE THAN ALL 535 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- OR THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE SENATE HAS NO ROLE TO PLAY IN SHAPING OR GUIDING OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND DEALINGS WITH OTHER NATIONS. INDEED, IT HAS A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY. BUT THERE ARE LINES OF AUTHORITY, AND THE PRESIDENT IS UNQUESTIONABLY VESTED WITH THE AUTHORITY AND THE AWESOME RESPONSIBILITY TO DIRECT AND PROTECT OUR MEN IN UNIFORM. AND HE DESERVES THE SUPPORT OF EVERY AMERICAN IN THIS EFFORT.

BUT THE CONGRESS HAS RESPONSIBILITIES, TOO, AND I AM PLEASED THAT IT ACTED IN ONE PARTICULAR INSTANCE THIS PAST YEAR TO EXERT ITS LEGITIMATE INFLUENCE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY FIELD.

IN ONE OF ITS MOST SIGNIFICANT AND LEAST-PUBLICIZED ACTIONS, THE 91ST CONGRESS REPEALED THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION ON DECEMBER 31.

YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT THE CONGRESS, WITH THE HELP OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, PASSED THE RESOLUTION AT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S REQUEST. AND THEN JOHNSON USED IT AS AUTHORITY FOR ESCALATING UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR.

THE RESOLUTION HAD BEEN A MAJOR TARGET FOR ANTI-WAR FORCES FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS. AND EVERY TIME THE WAR WAS DISCUSSED SOME INDIGNANT DOVE WOULD START CRYING OVER THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION AND HOW TERRIBLE IT WAS.

WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON CAME INTO OFFICE, HE REVERSED AMERICAN POLICY IN VIETNAM. INSTEAD OF ESCALATING, HE BEGAN TO DISENGAGE. INSTEAD OF SENDING MORE TROOPS OVER THERE, HE STARTED BRINGING THEM HOME. AND SUDDENLY THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION WAS MEANINGLESS.

PRESIDENT NIXON NEVER RELIED ON IT TO SUPPORT HIS POLICIES. HE HAD NO NEED TO. AND HE HAD NO INTENTION OF EVER USING IT.

SO, IN JUNE, DURING DEBATE ON A FOREIGN MILITARY AID BILL, I INTRODUCED AN AMENDMENT TO REPEAL THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION. IT WAS FELT THAT SINCE THE RESOLUTION HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO SO MUCH ABUSE BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION, AND SINCE IT HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION, THIS WOULD BE A GOOD TIME TO STRIKE IT FROM ~~THE~~ BOOKS. THE REPEAL PASSED, AND FINALLY, TWO DAYS BEFORE ADJOURNMENT THE ACT RECEIVED FULL CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. IT IS NOW AWAITING THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE.

BUT HAS THERE BEEN ANY PUBLICITY ABOUT CONGRESS REPEALING THE TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION? HARDLY A WORD.

OF COURSE, MUCH OF THE REASON FOR THIS LACK OF ATTENTION IS DUE TO THE SUCCESS PRESIDENT NIXON HAS HAD WITH HIS SOUTHEAST ASIAN POLICIES. BUT THE FACT THAT REPEAL WAS INITIATED BY A NIXON SUPPORTER HAS ALSO PLAYED A PART.

THERE WAS A GENERAL FEELING AT THE TIME THE REPEAL WAS INTRODUCED THAT SOME SO-CALLED ANTI-WAR SENATORS WERE PLANNING THEIR OWN VERSION OF REPEAL. THEY WERE HOPING TO ENACT REPEAL WITH THE IMPLICATION THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD HAVE USED THE RESOLUTION TO EXPAND THE WAR.

IF THAT HAD BEEN THE ROUTE OF REPEAL, CAN YOU IMAGINE THE COMMOTION IN THE LIBERAL NEWS MEDIA?

BUT BY HAVING REPEAL INCLUDED IN A BILL WHICH MUST BE APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS AND DEMONSTRATE HIS CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO DE-ESCALATION. THE RESOLUTION HAS NEVER BEEN RELIED UPON BY THIS ADMINISTRATION IN ANY WAY. IT WAS LYNDON JOHNSON'S INSTRUMENT OF ESCALATION AND WAS CLEARLY NO PART OF NIXON FOREIGN POLICY.

IN PURSUIT OF DISENGAGEMENT, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ALWAYS MET OR EXCEEDED HIS SCHEDULE, AND BY SPRING MORE THAN 265,000 OF OUR MEN WILL HAVE BEEN RETURNED HOME.

SO THERE MAY HAVE BEEN LESS ATTENTION TO THE REPEAL OF TONKIN GULF THAN MIGHT HAVE OTHERWISE OCCURRED. BUT IT STANDS, NONETHELESS, AS ONE OF THE MAJOR ACTS OF THE CONGRESS AND ONE OF ITS MOST SIGNIFICANT AND PROPER FOREIGN POLICY ENDEAVORS IN RECENT YEARS.

- REFORM IS THE THEME -

AS YOU KNOW, THE MAJOR DOMESTIC THEME OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN REFORM. IN THE 1968 CAMPAIGN AND THROUGHOUT HIS TERM OF OFFICE THE PRESIDENT HAS STRESSED THE NEED FOR MAKING GOVERNMENT -- NOT ONLY IN WASHINGTON, BUT AT STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS AS WELL -- MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE AND MORE RESPONSIBLE IN THE CONDUCT OF ITS BUSINESS. SO FAR, WE HAVE SEEN THIS SPIRIT OF REFORM IMPLEMENTED AT MANY LEVELS AND IN A VARIETY OF WAYS.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE OUTMODED AND INEFFICIENT FEDERAL BUREAU OF THE BUDGET WAS REPLACED BY THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET. THIS NEW ARM OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH NOT ONLY HAS BUDGETARY POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, BUT IS ALSO CHARGED WITH MORE EFFICIENTLY COORDINATING AND DIRECTING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY.

IN ANOTHER MAJOR MOVE, THE DIVERSE, AND GENERALLY INEFFECTUAL AUTHORITY FOR PRESERVING AND RESTORING OUR ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES WAS CONSOLIDATED IN A NEW AND POWERFUL ORGANIZATION. THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TAKES OVER FROM SUCH SCATTERED SOURCES AS THE DEPARTMENTS OF INTERIOR, AGRICULTURE, AND HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, AND THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION. AND THIS NEW AGENCY WILL ASSUME GENERAL DIRECTION AND CONTROL OF FEDERAL EFFORTS TOWARD SAFEGUARDING AND IMPROVING OUR AIR, WATER AND MINERAL RESOURCES.

THE DEBT-RIDDEN AND INEFFICIENT POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT WAS CONVERTED INTO THE INDEPENDENT U. S. POSTAL SERVICE, WITH THE GOAL OF PROVIDING EFFICIENT SERVICE ON A SELF-SUPPORTING BASIS.

SOME OF THE MOST PUBLICIZED OF RECENT REFORMS HAVE BEEN THOSE TO LIBERALIZE AND HUMANIZE THE LIFE OF ENLISTED MEN IN THE NAVY AND THE ARMY. THESE REFORMS HAVE INVOLVED ELIMINATING MEANINGLESS, ANNOYING AND PETTY REGULATIONS AND PRACTICES, SUCH AS REVEILLE, OFF-DUTY DRESS REQUIREMENTS AND ENDLESS WAITING IN LINE, WHICH SERVED NO WORTHWHILE MILITARY FUNCTION AND MERELY LOWERED THE MORAL OF THE MEN WHO ARE THE BACKBONE OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM.

WITH THESE EXAMPLES OF REFORM IN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN MIND, I LOOK FORWARD TO A NEW SERIES OF INITIATIVES THAT WILL HOLD MUCH MORE IN THE WAY OF CONTINUING REFORM AND POSITIVE CHANGE IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

- REVENUE SHARING -

PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL AND PROGRESSIVE INNOVATIONS PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN HIS REVENUE SHARING PLAN. OVER THE YEARS, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S TAX-GATHERING ABILITIES HAVE INCREASED BY DRAMATIC PROPORTIONS. AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS -- STATES, CITIES, AND SPECIAL UNITS SUCH AS SCHOOL AND PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICTS -- HAVE FOUND THEMSELVES SEVERELY LIMITED BOTH IN THE SOURCES OF FUNDS AVAILABLE TO THEM AND IN THE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE SOURCES CAN BE TAPPED. EVERY YEAR THE SQUEEZE ON THE TAXPAYER INCREASES. AND EVERY YEAR WE HEAR THE CRIES OF GOVERNORS, MAYORS AND SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS OVER THE CRIPPLING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION THEY FACE IN TRYING TO PROVIDE STATE AND LOCAL SERVICES ON EVEN TIGHTER AND MORE INADQUATE BUDGETS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN THE GIANT SLICE OUT OF THE TAX-REVENUE PIE. AND THE CRUMBS THAT ARE LEFT OVER CANNOT SUPPORT THE RESPONSIVE EXECUTION OF VITAL LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

THUS, I BELIEVE THAT A FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING SYSTEM WILL BE ADOPTED IN THIS COUNTRY WITHIN THE NEXT DECADE. ALTHOUGH THE PAST CONGRESS DID NOT ACT ON THIS SUBJECT, IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH A PLAN IS A TOP ADMINISTRATION DOMESTIC GOAL FOR THE NEW CONGRESS WHICH CONVENES IN TWO WEEKS. AS A MEANS OF MAKING FEDERALISM ONCE AGAIN THE HALLMARK OF OUR GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM, THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZES THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON MUST TURN BACK MONEY FROM ITS SOURCES TO ENABLE STATES AND CITIES AND OTHER UNITS TO EFFECTIVELY TAKE UP THEIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN. THE ONLY ALTERNATIVES TO SUCH STRENGTHENING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ARE FURTHER EXPANSION AND INEFFICIENCY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT, OR TOTAL COLLAPSE AND STAGNATION OF THE SMALLER GOVERNMENTAL UNITS.

- WELFARE REFORM -

AS THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES HAS INCREASED IN SIZE, THE COMPLEXITY OF SEEING TO THE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE HAS ALSO INCREASED. HOWEVER, THE COMPLEXITY OF THIS PROBLEM HAS BEEN LEAST MATCHED -- IF NOT SURPASSED -- BY THE CAPACITY OF OUR SYSTEM TO DEAL WITH IT. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS CAPACITY HAS NOT BEEN EFFICIENTLY OR EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED. THE WELFARE SYSTEM, CONCEIVED WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS, HAS NOT ONLY FAILED TO BRING THE RELIEF FROM DIFFICULTY IT WAS DESIGNED FOR, BUT IT HAS INTENSIFIED AND INCREASED THE MISERY OF ITS BENEFICIARIES. THE WELFARE SYSTEM OF TODAY IS A TOTAL DISASTER. IT IS COSTING TAXPAYERS IN EVERY STATE COUNTLESS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR. AND IT IS DEMEANING AND ERODING THE SELF-RESPECT OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO SEEK NOTHING MORE THAN A WAY OUT OF THE POVERTY, ILLNESS AND SQUALOR IN WHICH THEY FIND THEMSELVES.

NATIONALLY, ANNUAL PAYMENTS FOR AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN WENT UP 374 PER CENT IN THE DECADE JUST COMPLETED. AND JUST AS A CLOSE-TO-HOME EXAMPLE, LOOK AT THE FIGURES FOR KANSAS. BETWEEN AUGUST, 1969, AND AUGUST, 1970, THE WELFARE ROLLS INCREASED 23.7 PER CENT. THAT IS IN JUST ONE YEAR. AND FROM FISCAL YEAR 1965 TO FISCAL YEAR 1969, KANSAS WELFARE EXPENDITURES WENT FROM \$7.8 MILLION TO \$10.6 MILLION. EVEN AT THAT, KANSAS WAS JUST ABOUT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NATIONAL PICTURE. 27 STATES HAD EVEN GREATER RATES OF INCREASE.

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THERE HAS BEEN MUCH TALK OVER THE COUNTRY IN RECENT YEARS OF THE NEED TO CHANGE OUR WELFARE SYSTEM, OF THE NEED TO REDUCE THE COSTS, OF THE NEED TO ELIMINATE THE INEQUITIES IN IT AND REMEDY THE SHORTCOMINGS. BUT, FINALLY SOMEONE TOOK A GOOD HARD LOOK AT THE PROBLEM AND PUT FORTH A PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD BRING REAL AND MEANINGFUL REFORM TO WELFARE AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. THAT SOMEONE WAS PRESIDENT NIXON. HE PROPOSED A PLAN TO THE LAST CONGRESS THAT WOULD REMOVE THE SELF-PERPETUATING SPIRAL INTO SQUALOR AND DESPAIR OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM, AND IN ITS PLACE ESTABLISH A WORK-RELATED SELF-IMPROVEMENT-FOCUSED, ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED PROGRAM. THIS PROGRAM WOULD REACH OUT TO THE REAL NEEDS OF PEOPLE CAUGHT IN THE POVERTY CYCLE AND PROVIDE THEM TRAINING, EDUCATION AND REAL ASSISTANCE IN IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THEIR LIVES AND THEIR FAMILIES' FUTURES. AND IT WOULD PROVIDE A REALISTIC PROSPECT OF REDUCING WELFARE COSTS AS PEOPLE BECOME SELF-SUFFICIENT AND NO LONGER DEPENDENT ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE.

THE CONGRESS DID NOT ACT ON THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL LAST YEAR, BUT THE DECADE OF THE '70'S WILL SEE A THOROUGHGOING CHANGE IN WELFARE ASSISTANCE -- AND SUBSTANTIALLY ALONG THE LINES OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLAN. THIS IS NOT JUST A NATIONAL GOAL; IT IS A NATIONAL NECESSITY. AND EARLY IN THE NEW CONGRESS AN IMPROVED, UPDATED AND COMPREHENSIVE WELFARE REFORM PACKAGE WILL BE SENT TO CAPITOL HILL BY THE PRESIDENT.

- THE DRAFT -

OF COURSE, WE HAVE ALREADY TOUCHED ON REFORMS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN REGULATIONS AFFECTING SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN SMALL BUT IMPORTANT MATTERS OF DAILY LIFE. BUT I BELIEVE THE ENTIRE STRUCTURE OF MILITARY LIFE AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT FOR THE PAST THIRTY YEARS WILL BE PROFOUNDLY CHANGED IN THE COMING YEARS. PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ALREADY SHIFTED THE DRAFT FROM AN INEQUITABLE, INCONSISTENT AND UNPREDICTABLE DEFERMENT SYSTEM, ADMINISTERED BY AUTONOMOUS AND AUTOCRATIC LOCAL BOARDS, TO A STANDARD, SIMPLE AND FAIR NATIONWIDE LOTTERY. YOUNG MEN ARE NOW GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CONCRETE PLANS ABOUT THEIR FUTURES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR MILITARY OBLIGATIONS. AND WHILE THIS NEW DRAFT PROGRAM IS A MARKED IMPROVEMENT, IT IS ONLY A STEP TOWARD A TOTALLY NEW MILITARY MANPOWER POLICY.

I BELIEVE -- ASSUMING MY EXPECTATION OF NO MAJOR WAR IS REALIZED -- THAT THE DRAFT WILL BE ENTIRELY ELIMINATED IN THE '70'S. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ALREADY TAKEN STEPS TOWARD UPGRADING SALARY, WORKING CONDITIONS AND CAREER OPPORTUNITIES TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A FLUX OF HIGHLY-MOTIVATED, COMPETENT AND EFFECTIVE PEOPLE INTO OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. ACCOMPANIED BY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS TO

BE PRESENTED TO THE NEW CONGRESS, THESE STEPS WILL MEAN THAT MANY MORE CAREER-CALIBER PEOPLE, BOTH ENLISTED MEN AND OFFICERS, WILL SEEK OUT THE ARMED SERVICES FOR EMPLOYMENT IN THE FIRST PLACE. AND THEY WILL REMAIN IN UNIFORM FOR LONG-TERM EMPLOYMENT, JUST AS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON'S DIRECTION, THE GATES COMMISSION IN ITS STUDY OF THE DRAFT RECOMMENDED STEPS TO IMPROVE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF MILITARY SERVICE, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS PLEDGED HIMSELF TO ACHIEVING THAT GOAL.

- THE SPIRIT OF '76 -

REFORM IS THE FACT AS WELL AS THE SPIRIT OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. AND BECAUSE OF THIS FACT AND THIS GUIDING SPIRIT, I AM INCREASINGLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE NEW CONGRESS -- AS WELL AS THE COURSE OF OUR NATION IN THE DECADE OF THE '70'S. WE ARE GETTING OFF TO A GREAT START. WE HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT BEGINNING AT DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE '60'S, AND WE HAVE MEASURED THE CHALLENGES OF THE '70'S.

I BELIEVE THE '70'S WILL SEE A CONTINUING RENEWAL OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT, THE SPIRIT OF '76 IF YOU WILL. IT HAS SUSTAINED AMERICA FOR NEARLY TWO HUNDRED YEARS AS WE FOUGHT THE BRITISH, FOUGHT OURSELVES, FOUGHT THE GERMANS AND THE JAPANESE. IT CARRIED US THROUGH THE WILDERNESS AND ACROSS A CONTINENT. IT SUSTAINED US DURING WAR, DURING DEPRESSION AND DURING NATURAL DISASTER. ONLY IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS IT BEGUN TO FLAG. AND THAT I BELIEVE HAS BEEN ONLY A TEMPORARY THING; BROUGHT ABOUT BY A GOVERNMENT THAT EXPECTED TO DO TOO MUCH FOR ITS PEOPLE AND DID NOT EXPECT ENOUGH FROM THEM; BROUGHT ABOUT BY A TECHNOLOGICAL EXPLOSION THAT BROUGHT US TOO MUCH TOO FAST; AND BROUGHT ABOUT BY AN INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS REVOLUTION THAT LEFT US SEEING THE WORLD MORE STARKLY AND IN MORE DETAIL THAN EVER BEFORE.

BUT NOW I THINK THERE IS THE BEGINNING OF A REVIVAL OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND A DECLINE IN THE MINDLESS, MEANINGLESS, ANSWERLESS REVOLT WE HAVE BEEN SEEING AGAINST OUR SOCIETY AND ITS TIMELESS VALUES.

I DO NOT MEAN THAT THE KIDS ARE CUTTING THEIR HAIR SHORT AGAIN OR THAT THE HARD HATS ARE LETTING THEIRS GROW. BUT I DO THINK THAT, PERHAPS SUBCONSCIOUSLY, ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY HAVE BEGUN TO BE AFFECTED BY THE STRONG, CALM, UNWAVERING LEADERSHIP THE NATION HAS BEEN GETTING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

HAVE YOU NOTICED? THE CITIES WERE CALMER LAST SUMMER. THE CAMPUSES ARE QUIETER THIS FALL. THE STOCK MARKET IS REFLECTING A GROWING OPTIMISM. THERE IS NOT SO MUCH EXPRESSION OF THE FEELING "WHAT'S THE USE" AND "NOTHING IS BETTER THAN WHAT WE'VE GOT" ANY MORE. THERE IS A GROWING REVULSION AGAINST VIOLENCE FOR VIOLENCE'S SAKE OR AS A SIGN OF REBELLION AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT.

THERE IS MORE THE SPIRIT OF "LET'S MOVE AHEAD. LET'S MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK, AND LET'S MAKE PROGRESS UNDER THE SYSTEM".

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA HAS BEEN A HISTORY OF CHANGE, AND THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA HAS BEEN THE SPIRIT OF CHANGE. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN SATISFIED WITH THE STATUS QUO. WE HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT IMPROVEMENT AND BETTERMENT FOR OURSELVES, OUR CHILDREN, OUR COUNTRY.

THIS IS THE KIND OF SPIRIT WE ARE GETTING FROM MORE AND MORE OF OUR LEADERS TODAY, AND CERTAINLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

- A DECADE OF PROGRESS -

SHAKESPEARE SAID, "NEVER CAME REFORMATION IN A FLOOD". THAT MAY BE SO, BUT THERE IS NOW A RISING TIDE OF REFORM FLOWING IN OUR GOVERNMENT AND FROM THERE TO OUR PEOPLE. AND I BELIEVE THIS TIDE WILL BRING ABOUT A DECADE OF PROGRESS FOR AMERICA IN THE '70'S.-- A DECADE IN WHICH WE MAKE GREAT STRIDES IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS WE HAVE DISCUSSED HERE TODAY -- AND A DECADE WHICH BRINGS THE FIRST YEARS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S DREAM, A GENERATION OF PEACE.

AND I BELIEVE, AND CONFIDENTLY PREDICT, THAT THE AMERICA OF THE '70'S -- IF WE WORK AT THAT TASK AS A UNITED PEOPLE -- CAN BE THE BEST AMERICA IN OUR HISTORY.