

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

GOP DINNER  
NORWALK, OHIO  
SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO ATTEND THIS MCKINLEY BANQUET. I KNOW THIS EVENING MARKS A HIGH POINT FOR MANY OF YOU WHO HAVE GIVEN GENEROUSLY OF YOUR TIME AND EFFORT TO THE PARTY OVER THE PAST YEAR.

IT WAS WILLIAM MCKINLEY HIMSELF WHO ONCE WROTE THAT "A GOVERNMENT LIKE OURS RESTS UPON THIS INTELLIGENCE, MORALITY AND PATRIOTISM OF THE PEOPLE." IF THESE QUALITIES ARE PRESERVED, WE CAN WEATHER ANY STORM. IF THEY PERISH, THEN WE MUST EVENTUALLY PERISH TOO.

YOUR WORK AS ACTIVE, CONCERNED CITIZENS PROVES THAT AMERICANS STILL CARE; THAT THEY HAVE THE WILL AND THE STRENGTH IT TAKES TO GET INVOLVED AND TO WORK FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

AS WE ASSEMBLE HERE THIS EVENING, WE ARE ALSO REASSURED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAVE A FELLOW REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE WHO SHARES THIS COMMITMENT. IN MANY WAYS, THE QUALITY OF THE LEADERSHIP PRESIDENT NIXON IS GIVING AMERICA WAS SUMMED UP BY WILLIAM MCKINLEY WHEN HE DEFINED THE TRUE MEANING OF STATESMANSHIP. "STATESMANSHIP," HE SAID, "MUST BE WISE AS WELL AS FEARLESS-- NOT THE STATESMANSHIP WHICH WILL COMMAND THE APPLAUSE OF THE HOUR, BUT THE APPROVING JUDGEMENT OF HISTORY."

THAT IS THE KIND OF STATESMANSHIP THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS GIVING A GRATEFUL AMERICA.

IT HAS BEEN A LITTLE OVER TWO YEARS NOW SINCE RICHARD NIXON ENTERED THE WHITE HOUSE AND BEGAN THE CHALLENGING TASK OF BRINGING ORDER OUT OF CHAOS ON THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SCENES. AT THIS MID-POINT OF HIS FIRST TERM IN OFFICE, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS SOME OF HIS MAJOR GOALS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS.



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I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE THE COMMON GOALS AND SHARED ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PEOPLE OF OHIO AND THE REST OF THE NATION, AND THAT IN PURSUING THEM RICHARD NIXON HAS BUILT A RECORD THAT WE CAN ALL BE PROUD OF.

#### GOP MEETS CHALLENGE

WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ELECTED RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENT IN 1968, THEY GAVE OUR PARTY WHAT MAY BE ITS BEST OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE ITS ABILITY TO GOVERN -- A CHANCE TO MEET THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE AMERICA IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. AFTER NEARLY A DECADE SPENT AS THE PARTY OUT OF POWER, THE MANTLE OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP ONCE AGAIN FELL ON OUR SHOULDERS.

THIS IS A GREAT CHALLENGE -- PERHAPS THE GREATEST OUR PARTY HAS FACED IN THE PAST HUNDRED YEARS -- AND IT IS NOT WITHOUT PERIL.

BUT WE HAVE SEIZED THE OPPORTUNITY, AND WE HAVE MET THE CHALLENGE. THOSE LONG HOURS SO MANY OF US -- YOU AND I -- SPENT ON THE 1968 AND 1970 CAMPAIGNS ARE BEGINNING TO SHOW IMPRESSIVE RESULTS. PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING HIS FAITH WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND A NEW OPTIMISM AND SENSE OF DIRECTION HAVE BEEN INFUSED INTO THE COUNTRY BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

#### SWEEPING RE-EXAMINATION

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, WE HAVE SEEN THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT REFORM AND INNOVATION SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE POST WORLD WAR II ERA. THE VAST AND OFTEN WASTEFUL FEDERAL COLOSSUS HAS UNDERGONE ITS FIRST REALLY CRITICAL EXAMINATION IN GENERATIONS, AND, UNLESS DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN THE CONGRESS PLAYS A SPOILER'S ROLE, WE CAN EXPECT TO SEE MANY OF THE PRESIDENT'S REFORMS PASSED INTO LAW DURING THE NEXT TWO YEARS.

IN THE ECONOMIC AREA, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ACTED WITH BOTH FIRMNESS AND RESTRAINT IN COPING WITH THE INHERITED PROBLEM OF INFLATION, WHILE GEARING THE ECONOMY TO A TRANSITION FROM WAR-TIME TO PEACE-TIME FOOTING. MEETING A CHALLENGE OF THESE PROPORTIONS IS NEVER EASY, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT MUST BE DONE IN



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THE FACE OF NEGATIVE OPPOSITION BY SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO PLACE POLITICS BEFORE THE NATIONAL GOOD. BUT TODAY IT IS BEING DONE.

#### CRIME FIGHT UPGRADED

CRIME, A GROWING SOURCE OF CONCERN OF ALL AMERICANS IS ALSO BEING DEALT WITH DECISIVELY BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. A VIGOROUS, DEDICATED ATTORNEY GENERAL, JOHN MITCHELL, NOW HAS STRIKE FORCES AT WORK ATTACKING ORGANIZED CRIME IN SEVENTEEN CITIES AND METROPOLITAN AREAS.

FEDERAL EXPERIENCE AND EXPERTISE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT ARE NOW HELPING LOCAL POLICE OFFICIALS BUILD MORE MODERN EFFECTIVE CRIME FIGHTING UNITS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE EXPENDED 800 MILLION DOLLARS ON THIS WORTHWHILE GOAL BY JUNE OF THIS YEAR. MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THIS MONEY HAS BEEN USED BY STATES TO IMPROVE THEIR POLICE ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH NEW EQUIPMENT, BETTER TRAINING, AND STEPPED-UP RECRUITING.

WHILE THE CRIME PROBLEM IS FAR FROM SOLVED, THE LATEST STATISTICS INDICATE THAT THE RATE OF GROWTH IS BEING CURBED. THIS YEAR, THE OVERALL RATE OF INCREASE WAS THE LOWEST SINCE 1966, AND THERE ARE 23 AMERICAN CITIES OF OVER 100,000 POPULATION WHERE CRIME HAS ACTUALLY DECREASED IN THE LAST YEAR.

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING EXAMPLES OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO PROTECT LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS CAN BE SEEN IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ALL THROUGH THE YEARS OF THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY, WASHINGTON WAS ONE OF THE CRIME CAPITALS OF THE WORLD, WITH A MUSH-ROOMING CRIME RATE.

IT REACHED THE POINT WHERE AMERICAN ASTRONAUTS WERE SAFER FLYING TO THE MOON AND BACK THAN THE AVERAGE CITIZEN TRYING TO WALK A FEW BLOCKS FROM THE U.S. CAPITOL BUILDING AFTER SUNSET.

WELL, TODAY CRIME IS GOING DOWN IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN FOURTEEN YEARS, FEWER CRIMES ARE BEING COMMITTED IN WASHINGTON THAN IN THE PREVIOUS YEAR, THANKS TO AN ALL-OUT EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE NIXON ADMINIS-

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TRATION TO STAMP OUT LAWLESSNESS IN THE FEDERAL CITY.

MODERNIZED LAW ENFORCEMENT

BUT WASHINGTON D.C. , IMPORTANT AS IT IS TO ALL OF US AS OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL, IS STILL ONLY ONE CITY. THE PROBLEM OF CRIME IS FAR GREATER, AFFECTING EVERY STATE OF THE UNION.

AND WHEN RICHARD NIXON TOOK OFFICE, THIS SPRAWLING, TWENTIETH CENTURY CRIME PROBLEM WAS BEING FOUGHT BY OUTMODED, UNDER-FINANCED MEANS.

TWO YEARS LATER, WE HAVE PLANNING AGENCIES IN EACH OF THE FIFTY STATES AND FOUR TERRITORIES AT WORK DEVELOPING NEW TECHNIQUES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME. MANY OF THE BENEFITS OF THIS ENLIGHTENED PROGRAM WILL NOT BE FELT IMMEDIATELY, BUT THEY WILL HELP GUARANTEE THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS WILL LIVE FREE FROM THE CONSTANT MENACE OF ATTACKS BY ROBBERS, RAPISTS, AND CHILD MOLESTERS.

WHILE SOME LEADING DEMOCRAT POLITICIANS HAVE FOUND NOTHING BETTER TO DO THAN DEFAME OUTSTANDING CRIME FIGHTERS LIKE F.B.I. DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN ACTING IN THE INTEREST OF DECENT AMERICANS OF ALL PARTIES. THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DEDICATED TO FIGHTING CRIMINALS -- NOT TO FIGHTING CRIME FIGHTERS.

MEANWHILE, ONE OF THE GREAT JURISTS OF OUR TIME, CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER, IS LEADING THE FIGHT FOR JUDICIAL REFORM. JUST AS HE HAS LED THE SUPREME COURT TO A MORE REASONED, BALANCED STAND ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF OUR TIME, HE IS ALSO PROVING A POWERFUL ALLY OF REFORM IN OUR LOWER COURTS.

THE VERY PRESENCE OF CHIEF JUSTICE BERGER ON THE HIGH COURT IS EVIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS KEPT HIS FAITH WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IN 1968 RICHARD NIXON TOLD US THAT HE WOULD RESTORE BALANCE TO THE SUPREME COURT, AND THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT HE HAS DONE.



### DEMOS FOUGHT HIGH COURT BALANCE

DEMOCRATS IN THE UNITED STATES PULLED EVERY TRICK IN THE BOOK TO STOP HIM, AND TO PERPETUATE THE LOP-SIDED LIBERAL MAJORITY ON THE COURT, BUT THE PRESIDENT WOULD NOT BE SWAYED. BECAUSE OF THIS COURAGEOUS STAND ON PRINCIPLE, CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER AND JUSTICE BLACKMUN SIT IN THE SUPREME COURT TODAY. KEEPING HIS PLEDGE DID NOT WIN RICHARD NIXON THE LOUD ACCLAIM OF THE MASS MEDIA, OR THE RINGING ENDORSEMENT OF THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST, BUT I BELIEVE IT HAS WON THE TRUST AND GRATITUDE OF AVERAGE AMERICANS IN THE MILLIONS. POSTAL REFORM; GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION; PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT FROM EXPLOITATION AND POLLUTION; GREATER ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT; AND REVENUE SHARING WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS -- ALL OF THESE GOALS ARE HIGH ON THE LIST OF PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES. EACH OF THEM HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF DETAILED PLANNING AND VIGOROUS ACTION, JUST AS THE PRESIDENT'S NEW FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH HAS SET US ON A WISER, MORE STABLE COURSE INTERNATIONALLY.

### NIXON DOCTRINE WORKING

THE NIXON DOCTRINE HAS ENCOURAGED OUR ALLIES TO TAKE ON THEIR FAIR SHARE OF DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND NOT TO RELY ON UNCLE SAM TO FOOT THE BILL AND PROVIDE THE MANPOWER WHENEVER A DISTANT CRISIS ERUPTS.

THE NIXON DOCTRINE HAS FACED AND PASSED ITS ACID TEST IN VIETNAM. FROM THE DAY HE ANNOUNCED HIS FIRST TROOP PULLOUTS, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS MET OR BEATEN EVERY DEADLINE HE HAS SET UP FOR AMERICAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS.

WHEN RICHARD NIXON TOOK HIS OATH OF OFFICE, TWO YEARS AGO, THERE WERE 535,000 AMERICAN TROOPS COMMITTED TO SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND NO PLAN TO BRING THEM HOME.

### PRESIDENT BRINGS TROOPS HOME

WELL, DESPITE ALL OF THE RED-HOT RHETORIC OF THE MEDIA DOOM MERCHANTS, THE FACT IS THAT THIS PRESIDENT IS WINDING DOWN THE WAR THAT HE INHERITED FROM THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION TWO YEARS AGO.

AND THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT IS ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE



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STEADY BARRAGE OF ATTACKS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO BY EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES -- INCLUDING MOST OF THE POLITICIANS WHO RUBBER-STAMPED THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION'S STEP-BY-STEP ESCALATION OF THE WAR. NOW THEY FEVERISHLY STRIVE TO OUTDO EACH OTHER AS PRESIDENTIAL CRITICS.

WHAT A SIGHT IT IS TO WATCH THESE MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACKS--WHO SAT DUMBLY BY AS TWO DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS LED US FURTHER AND FURTHER INTO THE MORASS OF VIETNAM--TO MAKE A POLITICAL FOOTBALL OF THIS TRAGIC WAR. IF THEIR PERFORMANCE WERE NOT SO DANGEROUS, IT WOULD BE A LAUGHABLE COMEDY OF ERRORS, A CHRONIC CASE OF THE BLIND LEADING THE BLIND.

#### MUSKIE A "RIP VAN WINKLE"

PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING EXAMPLE OF THIS PARTICULAR BRAND OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM WAS DEMONSTRATED RECENTLY BY THE CURRENT FRONT RUNNER FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

ACCORDING TO THIS POLITICAL RIP VAN WINKLE, HIS "REAL DOUBTS ABOUT OUR INVOLVEMENT" IN VIETNAM BEGAN IN 1965. AS THEY SAY ON "LAUGH-IN", THIS IS VERY-R-R-Y INTERESTING, SINCE THIS MAN KEPT ON BLINDLY RUBBER-STAMPING THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF EXCALATION ALL THE WAY THROUGH THE 1968 ELECTIONS. HE EVEN FOUGHT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION-BACKED VIETNAM PLANK AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO. THE ONLY EXPLANATION I CAN THINK OF IS THAT HE MUST HAVE BEEN WALKING AND TALKING IN HIS SLEEP.

THEN, SUDDENLY, IN 1969, RIP VAN WINKLE WOKE FROM HIS LONG POLITICAL NAP AND STARTED ATTACKING PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO HAS DONE MORE TO END THIS WAR IN TWO YEARS THAN HIS PREDECESSORS DID IN TWO TERMS IN OFFICE.

I DO NOT MEAN TO SINGLE OUT EDMUND MUSKIE AS IF HE WERE THE ONLY ONE TO RESORT TO THESE TACTICS. BUT ISN'T IT A LITTLE LATE FOR HIM TO CONFESS THAT HE SLEPT THROUGH THE WAR?

BUT WHAT REALLY MATTERS IS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON IS ACHIEVING A JUST, HONORABLE END TO AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VEITNAM, DESPITE THE IRRESPONSIBLE ATTACKS

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OF THESE MEN. THIS WAS MADE CLEAR IN THE PRESIDENT'S TELEVISION ADDRESS TO THE NATION.

INCIDENTALLY, I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO REMEMBER EXACTLY WHAT IS MEANT BY AN HONORABLE END TO OUR INVOLVEMTN IN VIETNAM. THE QUESTION IS, NOT ONE OF VICTORY OR DEFEAT, BUT SIMPLY WHETHER OR NOT WE WILL ALLOW A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER. THE SECOND FACTOR IN AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT IS THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY. A RECENT NATIONAL POLL REVEALED THAT A FIVE-TO-ONE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WANT US TO LEAVE VIETNAM IN SUCH A WAY THAT OUR POW'S ARE NOT ABANDONED TO THE TENDER MERCIES OF THE COMMUNISTS TO BE USED AS INTERNATIONAL HOSTAGES. THIS ADMINISTRATION IS PLEDGED TO SUCH A POLICY. IT WILL NOT BE SWAYED BY THE IRRESPONSIBLE RHETORIC OF THOSE WHO WOULD RUSH AMERICA INTO ACTIONS THAT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THE SAFETY OF OUR POW'S.

THAT IS WHAT I MEAN WHEN I SPEAK OF AN HONORABLE POLICY TO END THE WAR.

THE INTELLIGENT, COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON, WHO REFUSED TO BE TEMPTED BY THE SHORT-TERM REWARDS OF DEMAGOGUERY, IS SUCCESSFULLY BRINGING US THROUGH THIS NATIONAL ORDEAL.

#### MILITARY UNDER ATTACK

BUT PERHAPS THE OVERRIDING ISSUE OF TODAY IS OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS.

NOTHING IN LIFE IS MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN SURVIVAL ITSELF, AND YET, IN THE OVERHEATED NATIONAL DIALOGUE ABOUT "RE-ORDERED PRIORITIES" AND "HUMAN NEEDS," THE BASIC ISSUE OF NATIONAL SURVIVAL HAS BEEN DOWNGRADED AND RIDICULED BY THOSE WHO WOULD DISTRACT THE PUBLIC WITH SHORT-TERM ISSUES WITH POLITICAL SEX APPEAL.

I CANNOT REMEMBER ANY TIME IN MY LIFETIME WHEN THE AMERICA MILITARY HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO A MORE CONCERTED, INCESSANT CAMPAIGN OF ABUSE DURING THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. NO SINGLE GROUP DESERVES FULL BLAME FOR IT. SOME MEMBERS OF THE PRESS, OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA, AND EVEN OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, HAVE JOINED IN THE ATTACK.



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THE TRAGEDY IS THAT, IN THEIR SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS, THEY DO NOT REALIZE THAT WHAT THEY ARE ATTACKING IS MORE THAN THE AMERICAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT -- IT IS THE VERY ABILITY OF OUR NATION TO PROTECT ITSELF IN A TURBULENT, NUCLEAR AGE.

THE FACTS OF LIFE IN AN ATOMIC AGE ARE UNDENIABLE. THE GREATEST THREAT TO AMERICAN SECURITY -- MORE LONG-LASTING AND MORE PERILOUS THAN VIETNAM -- IS RUSSIA'S GROWING NUCLEAR ARSENAL.

#### LESSON OF PEARL HARBOR

LAST MONTH I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO AN AUDIENCE IN HAWAII. THERE, TOO, I DISCUSSED THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND THE UNPRECEDENTED ATTACK BEING LAUNCHED AGAINST OUR ARMED FORCES TODAY. BECAUSE IT WAS HAWAII -- AN OUTLYING LINK IN OUR CHAIN OF NATIONAL DEFENSES, AND THE SCENE, A GENERATION AGO, OF THE DAY THAT LIVED IN INFAMY -- I THINK I REALIZED THE FULL URGENCY OF MY MESSAGE FOR THE FIRST TIME.

THOSE WHO LIVED THROUGH THE HORROR AND DISBELIEF OF THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR WILL NEVER FORGET IT. AFTER THE BITTER LESSON OF 1941, AMERICANS VOWED NEVER TO BE TAKEN BY SURPRISE AGAIN -- ESPECIALLY IN A NUCLEAR AGE, WHEN THERE CAN BE NO LAST-ROUND COMEBACK.

UNFORTUNATELY, SOME AMERICANS HAVE FORGOTTEN THE TRAGIC LESSON OF PEARL HARBOR -- THE LESSON THAT OUR FUTURE AS A FREE PEOPLE DEPENDS ON OUR STRENGTH AS A NATION.

#### EISENHOWER KEPT AMERICA STRONG

AS GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNED HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN NEARLY TWO CENTURIES AGO, "TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTUAL MEANS OF PREVENTING IT." THIS LESSON WAS NOT LOST ON PRESIDENT EISENHOWER.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER -- WHO ENDED THE WAR IN KOREA HONORABLY, JUST AS RICHARD NIXON IS ENDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM HONORABLY -- RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE.

AND WHEN HE LEFT OFFICE IN 1961, AMERICA BENEFITED FROM HIS WISDOM. THE



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UNITED STATES HAD AN OVERWHELMING NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY OVER THE SOVIET UNION --  
A SUPERIORITY THAT ENABLED PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO FACE DOWN THE RUSSIANS DURING  
THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS A FEW YEARS LATER.

BUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE DISARMERS AND THE FOES OF NATIONAL SECURITY  
HAVE THEIR WAY? WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF WE ALLOW THEM TO STRIP OUR ALREADY WEAKENED  
DEFENSES? WHAT WILL HAPPEN THE NEXT TIME WE MUST FACE UP TO ALIEN AGGRESSION  
IF THE NUCLEAR CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST US?



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RUSSIANS BUILD SUPERIORITY

THESE ARE NOT PLEASANT QUESTIONS TO THINK ABOUT. THE ANSWERS ARE NOT VERY REASSURING. MILITARILY, HERE IS WHERE AMERICA STANDS TODAY IN RELATION TO THE SOVIET UNION. FROM A POSITION OF CLEAR SUPERIORITY IN THE EISENHOWER YEARS, OUR COUNTRY'S STRATEGIC POSITION HAS BEEN GRADUALLY ERODED.

BY THE MID-1970'S, THE RUSSIANS CAN BE EXPECTED TO HAVE A FORCE OF 1,900 LAND-BASED ICBM'S. THIS WOULD GIVE THE RUSSIANS MORE THAN ENOUGH STRENGTH TO WIPE OUT ALL AMERICAN CITIES OF SUBSTANTIAL SIZE, AND A STRONG SUPERIORITY OVER OUR OWN MISSILE FORCE.

BESIDES HER LAND-BASED MISSILES, RUSSIA NOW HAS A FLEET OF 17 MISSILE-LAUNCHING SUBMARINES, WITH ANOTHER 15 IN VARIOUS STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION. TWO YEARS AGO, SHE HAD ONLY FOUR.

THIS MEANS THAT TODAY NEARLY ALL OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES -- YOU, I AND EVERYONE ELSE IN THIS ROOM, PLUS MOST OF THE REMAINDER OF THE NATION -- LIE WITHIN RANGE OF RUSSIA'S SUBMARINE



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I THINK I REALIZED THE FULL URGENCY OF MY MESSAGE FOR THE FIRST TIME.

THOSE WHO LIVED THROUGH THE HORROR AND DISBELIEF OF THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR WILL NEVER FORGET IT. AFTER THE BITTER LESSON OF 1941, AMERICANS VOWED NEVER TO BE TAKEN BY SURPRISE AGAIN.

UNFORTUNATELY, SOME AMERICANS HAVE FORGOTTEN THAT VOW, AND THE TRAGIC LESSON WE LEARNED AT PEARL HARBOR -- THE LESSON THAT OUR FUTURE AS A FREE PEOPLE DEPENDS ON OUR STRENGTH AS A NATION.

EISENHOWER RECOGNIZED DEFENSE NEEDS

AS GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNED HIS FELLOW COUNTRYMEN NEARLY TWO CENTURIES AGO, "TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTUAL MEANS OF PREVENTING IT."

THIS LESSON WAS NOT LOST ON PRESIDENT EISENHOWER. HE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE.

AND WHEN HE LEFT OFFICE IN 1961, AMERICA BENEFITED FROM HIS WISDOM. THE UNITED STATES HAD AN OVERWHELMING NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY OVER THE SOVIET UNION -- A SUPERIORITY THAT ENABLED PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO FACE DOWN THE RUSSIANS DURING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS A YEAR LATER.



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AS A RESULT, RUSSIAN MISSILES WERE PEACEFULLY REMOVED FROM CUBA,  
AND A POTENTIAL THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SURVIVAL WAS ELIMINATED.

BUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE DISARMERS AND THE FOES OF NATIONAL  
SECURITY HAVE THEIR WAY? WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF WE ALLOW THEM TO STRIP  
OUR ALREADY WEAKENED DEFENSES? WHAT WILL HAPPEN THE NEXT TIME WE MUST  
FACE UP TO ALIEN AGGRESSION IF THE NUCLEAR CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST  
US?

RUSSIAN INTENTIONS CLEAR

THESE ARE NOT PLEASANT QUESTIONS TO THINK ABOUT. THE ANSWERS  
ARE NOT VERY REASSURING. THE SOVIET UNION HAS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY  
ARTICULATED ITS GOAL OF WORLD CONQUEST. AMERICA IS THE ONLY REAL BAR-  
RIER TO THAT DRIVE FOR GLOBAL DOMINATION; THEREFORE, AMERICA IS THE  
PRIME TARGET FOR SOVIET MILITARY PLANNING. OUR ONE-WAY DISARMERS TRY  
TO GLOSS OVER THIS. THEY TELL US THAT THE RUSSIANS CAN BE RELIED ON  
TO BE REASONABLE. AFTER ALL, WE ARE TOLD, THEY ARE ONLY HUMAN. WHY  
WOULD THEY WANT TO BOTHER US?

THE SAME KIND OF TALK COULD BE HEARD IN HUNGARY IN 1956, RIGHT  
BEFORE RUSSIAN TANKS ROLLED INTO BUDAPEST. IT COULD BE HEARD IN

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, JUST BEFORE THAT UNFORTUNATE COUNTRY WAS OCCUPIED BY THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

NOW WE HEAR THE SAME TALK FROM THE LIPS OF AMERICAN POLITICIANS WHO OUGHT TO KNOW BETTER. AND IF THEIR VIEWS PREVAIL, IT WILL ONLY BE A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE AMERICA IS AS VULNERABLE TO NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL AS CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY WERE TO INVASION.

#### THE MILITARY BALANCE

MILITARILY, HERE IS WHERE AMERICA STANDS TODAY IN RELATION TO THE SOVIET UNION. FROM A POSITION OF CLEAR SUPERIORITY IN THE EISENHOWER YEARS, OUR COUNTRY'S STRATEGIC POSITION HAS BEEN GRADUALLY ERODED. BY THE MID-1970'S, THE RUSSIANS CAN BE EXPECTED TO HAVE A FORCE OF 1,900 LAND-BASED ICBM'S. THIS WOULD GIVE THE RUSSIANS MORE THAN ENOUGH STRENGTH TO WIPE OUT ALL AMERICAN CITIES OF SUBSTANTIAL SIZE, AND A STRONG SUPERIORITY OVER OUR OWN MISSILE FORCE.

BESIDES HER LAND-BASED MISSILES, RUSSIA NOW HAS A FLEET OF 17 MISSILE-LAUNCHING SUBMARINES, WITH ANOTHER 15 IN VARIOUS STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION. TWO YEARS AGO, SHE ONLY HAD FOUR.



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THIS MEANS THAT TODAY NEARLY ALL OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES -- YOU, I AND EVERYONE ELSE IN THIS ROOM, PLUS MOST OF THE REMAINDER OF THE NATION -- LIE WITHIN RANGE OF RUSSIA'S SUBMARINE MISSILE FORCE.

ON TOP OF ALL THIS, THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT HAS EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS DEVELOPING A NEW ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM, SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE FOUR COMPLEXES NOW PROTECTING MOSCOW.

AND WITHIN RECENT WEEKS, IT WAS REVEALED THAT THE RUSSIANS MAY BE SPEEDING UP DEVELOPMENT OF A NEWER, MORE DEVASTATING MODEL OF ICBM.

PATTERN CLEAR

THE PATTERN IS AS CLEAR AS IT IS OMINOUS. THE RUSSIANS AREN'T BUILDING AND DEPLOYING ALL OF THIS NUCLEAR HARDWARE JUST FOR THE FUN OF IT, OR TO MAINTAIN A FULL-EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY. THEY MEAN BUSINESS, AND THEIR PAST RECORD AS AN AGGRESSOR SHOWS US EXACTLY WHAT KIND OF BUSINESS THEY MEAN.

ALL OF WHICH UNDERSCORES THE NEED FOR OUR NATION TO LOOK TO ITS OWN DEFENSES AND TO MAINTAIN THE KIND OF REALISTIC DETERRENCE ADVOCATED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AND DEFENSE SECRETARY LAIRD.

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NEED FOR STRONG, ECONOMICAL DEFENSE

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT UNCLE SAM SHOULD GIVE A BLANK CHECK TO THE PENTAGON. AS THE RECORD SHOWS, PRESIDENT NIXON IS READY, WILLING AND ABLE TO TRIM THE UNNECESSARY FAT FROM OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM. THE FACT IS THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS SAVED \$8 BILLION IN DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.

AS FOR THE TALK OF REARRANGING PRIORITIES, JUST LOOK AT THE FACTS AND YOU CAN SEE THAT THIS HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE. WHEREAS 66 PERCENT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET WAS SPENT ON DEFENSE IN 1952, THE PERCENTAGE HAS BEEN CUT NEARLY IN HALF, TO 34.6 PERCENT FOR FISCAL 1971. SINCE 1952, DEFENSE SPENDING HAS FALLEN FROM 13.6 TO 7.2 PERCENT OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. AND, FINALLY, WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON SENT HIS BUDGET FOR FISCAL 1971 TO THE CONGRESS, SPENDING ON HUMAN RESOURCES SUCH AS HEALTH AND EDUCATION OUTPACED DEFENSE SPENDING FOR THE FIRST TIME IN TWO DECADES.

THERE CAN BE NO DENYING THE DEDICATION OF THIS ADMINISTRATION -- AND ALL REASONABLE MEN -- TO AN ECONOMICAL NATIONAL DEFENSE. BUT TO ECONOMIZE IS NOT THE SAME THING AS TO DESTROY, ANY MORE THAN DIETING IS THE SAME THING AS STARVING TO DEATH.



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THE WARNING OF HISTORY

HISTORY IS LITTERED WITH TRAGIC EXAMPLES OF GREAT AND LITTLE NATIONS THAT GREW COMPLACENT AND SELF-SATISFIED. IT IS LITTERED WITH CIVILIZATIONS THAT FLOWERED AND THEN LOST THE WILL AND THE STRENGTH NECESSARY FOR SURVIVAL.

AS AMERICANS, WE ARE CITIZENS OF PERHAPS THE GREATEST NATION TO EMERGE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF RECORDED HISTORY. BESIDES OUR COUNTRY'S IMMENSE POWER AND WEALTH, IT HAS GIVEN BIRTH TO A SET OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS UNRIVALED IN THE ANNALS OF MANKIND. AND YET, IF THE VOICES OF IRRESPONSIBILITY TRIUMPH, AND AMERICA IS STRIPPED OF HER DEFENSES, FUTURE GENERATIONS MAY LOOK BACK ON US AS JUST ONE MORE EXTINCT CIVILIZATION THAT GREW RIPE AND THEN GREW ROTTEN -- THAT PERISHED THROUGH ITS OWN WEAKNESS AND APATHY.

THAT IS AN EPITAPH THAT NEVER SHOULD AND NEVER SHOULD AND NEVER SHALL BE WRITTEN AS LONG AS DECENT, CONCERNED AMERICANS OF ALL PARTIES AND PERSUASIONS STAND BEHIND A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE -- THE KIND OF REALISTIC DETERRENT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON ADVOCATES.

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URGES SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT

THESE ARE SOME OF THE REASONS WHY I AM WORKING AND SPEAKING FOR PRESIDENT NIXON. AND THAT IS WHY TODAY I URGE ALL OF YOU TO DO THE SAME. EACH OF YOU IS ONE OF THE FRONT-LINE DEFENDERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. EACH OF YOU HAS FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS AND CO-WORKERS WHOSE ATTITUDES YOU CAN INFLUENCE WITH THE FACTS -- THE SUCCESS STORY OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

OF COURSE EVERYTHING IS NOT RIGHT WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION. MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE. BUT LOOK AT THE ALTERNATIVES BEFORE KNOCKING WHAT WE HAVE. BELIEVE ME, ONCE YOU'VE LOOKED AT SOME OF THE LEADING ALTERNATIVES, YOU'LL BE GRATEFUL FOR WHAT WE HAVE.

BE PROUD OF PROGRAM

AS REPUBLICANS AND AS AMERICANS, WE CAN SPEAK WITH PRIDE ABOUT WHAT THIS PRESIDENT HAS ~~DONE~~ AND PROPOSED.

HIS IS A GOOD PROGRAM, AND IT HAS BROUGHT GOOD RESULTS, DESPITE THE OBSTRUCTIONIST TACTICS OF SOME LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY.

BUT, UNLESS WE STAND UP FOR THE MAN AND HIS PROGRAMS, UNLESS WE TALK POSITIVELY ABOUT HIM AND WHAT HE IS DOING, THE PEOPLE WILL NOT KNOW.



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THEY WILL ONLY HAVE THE HALF-TRUTHS, DISTORTIONS AND UNKEEPABLE PROMISES OF THE OTHER SIDE TO GUIDE THEM.

WE CAN WIN -- AND I THINK WE WILL WIN NEXT YEAR'S ELECTION -- BUT WE CAN ONLY DO IT WITH YOUR SUPPORT AND YOUR HARD WORK.

THE MAN BEHIND THE PROGRAM

I AM CONFIDENT IN YOU, AND I AM CONFIDENT IN THE MAN WE SUPPORT. LOOK AT HIM, AND LOOK AT HIS RECORD.

RICHARD NIXON IS SMART. HE IS TOUGH. HE DOES NOT KNUCKLE UNDER TO PRESSURE. HE DOES NOT REACT TO THE PANIC OF THE MOMENT. HE LOOKS DOWN THE LONG ROAD TOWARD WHAT IS GOOD FOR AMERICA. THAT KIND OF LEADERSHIP IS NOT EASY TO COME BY IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES, BUT IT IS MORE URGENTLY NEEDED TODAY THAN EVER.

I BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE REALIZE THIS NEED AND RECOGNIZE THE QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP -- AND THE QUALITY OF RESULTS -- THAT RICHARD NIXON HAS GIVEN THEM. AND THAT IS WHY I AM CONFIDENT ABOUT BOTH THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY, AND THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY.