

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
PEPPERDINE UNIVERSITY FORUM XIII
LOS ANGELES HILTON
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
TUESDAY, MAY 4, 1971

REDEEMING THE AMERICAN PROMISE

IT IS ALWAYS A LITTLE DIFFICULT TO COME AND SPEAK BEFORE A GROUP SUCH AS THIS BECAUSE, ON THE ONE HAND YOUR INTERESTS ARE WIDE AND VARIED, AND ON THE OTHER, THERE ARE A NEARLY UNLIMITED NUMBER OF SUBJECTS TO TALK ABOUT TODAY AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, WHETHER THEY BE IN THE FIELD OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, OR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OR NATIONAL SECURITY OR POLITICS.

I SHALL TOUCH ON SEVERAL OF THESE TOPICS BEFORE I AM THROUGH TODAY, BUT I WANT TO CONCENTRATE LARGELY ON THE RECORD OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WHAT HE HAS PROPOSED, AND WHAT HE HAS DONE.

I WANT TO DO THIS LARGELY BECAUSE THE REAL STORY OF RICHARD NIXON NEVER SEEMS TO FILTER SUCCESSFULLY THROUGH THE VARIOUS NEWS MEDIA AND DOWN TO THE PEOPLE.

BECAUSE OF THIS, THOSE OF US WHO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT AND BELIEVE IN HIM AND WHAT HE IS TRYING TO DO SET OUT FROM TIME TO TIME TO TRY TO CORRECT THE MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT RICHARD NIXON -- THE MISCONCEPTIONS THAT

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HE IS AN EXPEDIENT MAN OR AN EQUIVOCAL MAN, THAT HE IS A MAN WHO CHANGES WITH THE MOOD OF THE TIMES OR TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE MOMENT.

THESE ARE CHARGES THROWN RECKLESSLY BY RICHARD NIXON'S ENEMIES AND REPORTED TOO CASUALLY BY SOME MEMBERS OF THE NEWS MEDIA. FOR THE FACT IS, THESE CHARGES SIMPLY ARE NOT TRUE. RICHARD NIXON IS A CONSISTENT MAN, FAR MORE CONSISTENT THAN MOST POLITICIANS AND PUNDITS. HE IS A MAN OF WELL-THOUGHT-OUT AND LOGICAL VIEWS AND OPINIONS WHICH HE CHANGES ONLY AS HE FINDS THEM TO BE WRONG OR OUTDATED, OR WHEN A BETTER IDEA COMES ALONG.

HE DOES NOT SUCCUMB TO THE EXPEDIENCY OF THE CURRENT NATIONAL FAD, THE PRESSURES OF STREET DEMONSTRATIONS OR THE LURE OF POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. AND ALL THE WRITINGS OF ALL THE LIBERAL COLUMNISTS AND THE PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE LIBERAL TELEVISION COMMENTATORS WILL NOT CHANGE THAT FACT.

✕ WHO CAN DOUBT, FOR INSTANCE, THAT THE PRESIDENT'S POPULAR COURSE TODAY WOULD BE TO AGREE TO A RAPID, ALMOST IMMEDIATE PULLOUT FROM VIETNAM, REGARDLESS OF WHAT IT MIGHT PORTEND FOR THE FUTURE?

✕ WHO CAN DOUBT THAT THE EASY COURSE IS TO AGREE TO DISMANTLE OUR MILITARY, REGARDLESS OF THE LESSONS OF THE PAST?

THOSE WHO LED US INTO A WAR THEY REFUSED TO WIN ARE NOW WILLING, EVEN EAGER, TO SETTLE FOR DEFEAT FOR AMERICA AND DISASTER FOR OUR ALLIES. THOSE WHOSE GUNS AND BUTTER ECONOMICS LED US INTO AN INFLATION THAT HAS ROBBED THE PURSE OF EVERY PERSON IN THE NATION CONTINUE TO CALL FOR THE KINDS OF PROGRAMS AND SPENDING THAT WILL ONLY REFUEL THAT INFLATION.

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NO, IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL OPPONENTS, NOT THE PRESIDENT,
WHO ARE EXPEDIENT, EQUIVOCAL AND INCONSISTENT.

INDEED, IT IS THEY WHO HAVE MADE A VIRTUE OUT OF POLITICAL PRAGMATISM, WHICH AFTER ALL, IS ONLY ANOTHER WORD FOR OPPORTUNISM, WHILE IT IS THE PRESIDENT WHO HAS SHUNNED THAT ROLE, SEEKING INSTEAD TO BRING US FIRST AN HONORABLE PEACE AND THEN A GENERATION OF PEACE FOR US AND FOR OUR CHILDREN; SEEKING INSTEAD TO CHECK THE INFLATION OF THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY YEARS WITHOUT PLUNGING US INTO A MAJOR DEPRESSION. AND IT IS HE WHO HAS SOUGHT CONSTANTLY AND CONSISTENTLY TO LIVE UP TO THE PROMISES OF HIS CAMPAIGN IN ORDER TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF AMERICA. IT HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY TASK, BUT IT HAS BEEN ONE THAT HAS BEEN EASILY AND CONVENIENTLY OVERLOOKED BY THOSE, WHO FOR THEIR OWN REASONS, SEEK TO FIND AND REPORT ONLY THE FAILURES, ONLY THE FAULTS, AND ONLY THE FRUSTRATIONS OF RICHARD NIXON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

BUT, DESPITE THIS, IT IS A TASK WHICH HE IS SLOWLY AND SURELY ACCOMPLISHING, AND FROM WHICH AMERICA IS SLOWLY BUT SURELY BENEFITTING.

-1 IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO GO BACK ANY FURTHER THAN TO OCTOBER 2 OF 1968 TO SHOW THE CONSISTENCY OF THE MAN WHO IS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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THAT DAY THE PRESIDENT SPOKE AT WILLIAMSBURG, THE COLONIAL CAPITAL OF VIRGINIA, ON "THE AMERICAN SPIRIT".

HE WAS NOT PRESIDENT THEN, BUT THE THINGS HE SAID THAT DAY HAVE HAD A PROFOUND EFFECT ON HIS ADMINISTRATION AND ON THE COURSE OF THIS NATION. HE SPOKE OF FREEDOM, OF HOW AMERICA HAS LOST SOME OF ITS PRECIOUS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS TO THE ONSLAUGHT OF BIG GOVERNMENT AND THE COLLECTIVE WELFARE STATE. AND HE SPOKE, TOO, OF HOW WE MUST RETRIEVE THAT FREEDOM.

"WE CANNOT TURN BACK THE CLOCK," HE SAID. "WE MUST NOT UNDO ALL THE GOOD WE HAVE DONE AS WE TRY NOW TO REGAIN THE FREEDOM WE HAVE LOST. NOR CAN WE THROW UP OUR HANDS AND SAY THAT ONE MAN DOES NOT COUNT ANY MORE -- THAT WE'VE TRADED PERSONAL FREEDOM AWAY FOR THE SECURITY OF A BIG, PATERNAL GOVERNMENT."

"WE HAVE," HE SAID, "ANOTHER CHOICE. WE MUST FIND A WAY TO MAKE GOVERNMENT WORK FOR ALL OF US, WITHOUT DOMINATING ANY ONE OF US. WE HAVE TO ESTABLISH NEW RESPECT FOR THE QUALITIES OF INITIATIVE, PERSONAL SACRIFICE AND READINESS TO SEIZE OPPORTUNITY, THAT MADE THE INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN THE WONDER OF THE WORLD."

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HE THEN MADE SOME SPECIFIC POINTS, AND I WOULD LIKE TO REMAKE TWO OF THEM HERE ~~FOR~~ BECAUSE THE THINGS HE SAID THEN ARE THE THINGS HE IS ATTEMPTING TO DO TODAY.

X IN LATE 1969, THE PRESIDENT FIRST PROPOSED TO REFORM OUR WELFARE SYSTEM IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE WORKING POOR WOULD FIND IT MORE PROFITABLE TO WORK THAN TO GO ON RELIEF. FOR A YEAR AND A HALF, THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN WORKING TO PERSUADE THE CONGRESS TO JOIN HIM IN THAT KIND OF WELFARE REFORM. IN THAT WILLIAMSBURG SPEECH, RICHARD NIXON SAID, "WELFARE IS TOO IMPORTANT TO BE LEFT TO THE WELFARE STATERS. WE ARE GOING TO CHANGE OUR WELFARE SYSTEM TO MAKE IT FIT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM, TO PROVIDE EACH PERSON WITH A MEANS TO ESCAPE FROM WELFARE INTO DIGNITY."

YOU MIGHT NOT AGREE WITH HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL. BUT NONE CAN DOUBT THAT HE IS CARRYING OUT A CAMPAIGN PROMISE.

THIS YEAR THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED A PROGRAM OF REVENUE SHARING WITH THE STATES AND LOCALITIES...A PROGRAM THAT HAS WON THE SUPPORT OF MOST GOVERNORS, MOST MAYORS AND MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE.

IT IS A PROGRAM THAT WILL RETURN MONEY AND THE AUTHORITY TO USE IT TO THE STATES AND CITIES.

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AT WILLIAMSBURG, THE PRESIDENT HAD SAID, "WE ARE GOING TO REVERSE THE FLOW OF POWER TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON AND CHANNEL MORE POWER BACK TO THE STATES AND LOCALITIES. TAX SHARING; BLOC GRANTS; DECENTRALIZATION; LOCAL OPTION; COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION; THIS IS THE DIRECTION I BELIEVE AMERICA IS ABOUT TO CHOOSE."

YOU MIGHT NOT AGREE WITH ALL THE DETAILS OF REVENUE SHARING, BUT YOU CANNOT DOUBT THAT THE PRESIDENT IS LIVING UP TO HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISE. NOR WAS WILLIAMSBURG THE ONLY PLACE WHERE RICHARD NIXON MADE A PROMISE HE IS KEEPING OR ANNOUNCED A POLICY HE IS FOLLOWING.

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH TALK IN RECENT WEEKS ABOUT THE RELAXING OF TENSIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MAINLAND CHINA. SOME HAVE FOUND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT A HARD-LINE, ANTI-COMMUNIST SUCH AS RICHARD NIXON WOULD PROBE FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE. YET IN A SPEECH ON CBS RADIO ON OCTOBER 19, 1968, RICHARD NIXON SAID, "IN THE SHORT RUN WE SHOULD NOT REWARD CHINA'S PRESENT TACTICS WITH OFFERS OF TRADE OR RECOGNITION; BUT TAKING THE LONG VIEW WE SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD TO LEAVE CHINA FOREVER OUTSIDE THE FAMILY OF NATIONS, THERE TO NURTURE ITS FANTASIES, CHERISH ITS HATES AND THREATEN ITS NEIGHBORS.

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THERE IS NO PLACE ON THIS SMALL PLANET FOR A BILLION OF ITS POTENTIALLY MOST ABLE PEOPLE TO LIVE IN ANGRY ISOLATION."

✕ (TO THOSE WHO DID NOT HEAR, THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVES COME AS A SURPRISE. TO THOSE WHO WERE LISTENING, THE CONSISTENCY OF THE MAN IS CLEAR.

IT IS CLEAR, TOO, ON VIETNAM.

ON AUGUST 1, 1968, RICHARD NIXON SUBMITTED A STATEMENT TO THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION. IT SAID IN PART: "WE NEED FAR GREATER AND MORE URGENT ATTENTION TO TRAINING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES AND EQUIPPING THEM WITH THE BEST OF MODERN WEAPONS. AS THEY ARE PHASED IN, AMERICAN TROOPS CAN -- AND SHOULD -- BE PHASED OUT.....IT IS ESSENTIAL IF SOUTH VIETNAM IS TO DEVELOP BOTH THE MILITARY STRENGTH AND THE STRENGTH OF SPIRIT TO SURVIVE NOW AND IN THE FUTURE.

"IT IS A CRUEL IRONY THAT THE AMERICAN EFFORT TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH VIETNAM HAS PRODUCED AN EVER-INCREASING DEPENDENCY IN OUR ALLY. IF SOUTH VIETNAM'S FUTURE IS TO BE SECURE, THIS PROCESS MUST NOW BE REVERSED."

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TODAY WE CALL THIS PROPOSAL "VIETNAMIZATION". IT IS A PROPOSAL THAT IN PRACTICE IS WORKING. AMERICAN TROOPS ARE BEING PHASED OUT. MORE THAN HALF HAVE COME HOME. THE DEPENDENCY OF SOUTH VIETNAM ON AMERICA IS RAPIDLY DECREASING. WE ARE QUICKLY REACHING THE POINT WHERE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE CAN AND WILL DEFEND THEMSELVES. WE ARE QUICKLY COMING TO THE DAY WHEN THE CASUALTY FIGURES THE PENTAGON RELEASES EVERY THURSDAY WILL READ ZERO OR NEAR ZERO. WE ARE QUICKLY ENDING AMERICA'S COMBAT ROLE IN VIETNAM.

AND THIS IS COMING ABOUT BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS HELD CONSISTENTLY TO A PATH THAT MEANS PEACE WITH HONOR, PEACE FOR OUR GENERATION AND PEACE FOR OUR CHILDREN'S GENERATION. HE HAS DONE THIS DESPITE THE GROWING SHRILLNESS OF WOULD-BE PRESIDENTS WHO SEE THE WAR FADING AS AN ISSUE AND SEEK TO CAPITALIZE ON IT WHILE THEY CAN.

I COULD GO ON AND ON, CITING EXAMPLE AFTER EXAMPLE. FOR THE FACT IS, RICHARD NIXON IS LIVING UP TO HIS PROMISES; HE IS LIVING UP TO HIS COMMITMENTS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE; HE IS LIVING UP TO HIS TRUST, BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND ON THE FOREIGN SCENE.

WHICH OF HIS CRITICS COULD DO MORE? WHICH OF HIS CRITICS WOULD YOU OR I TRUST TO DO MORE?

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BUT, NEVERTHELESS, YOU WILL CONTINUE TO HEAR THESE CRITICS, AND THEY WILL BE LOUDER AND MORE VOCIFEROUS AS ELECTION TIME GROWS NEAR.

AS YOU KNOW, ALMOST EVERY DEMOCRAT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, ALONG WITH A FEW IN THE HOUSE AND SEVERAL IN PRIVATE LIFE, WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT.

EACH, IN PURSUING THAT GOAL, HAS BECOME LOUDER AND MORE SHRILL IN AN EFFORT TO BE HEARD ABOVE THE PACK, IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE HIS FACE FLASHED FOR A FEW SECONDS ON THE TELEVISION SCREEN, IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE HIS NAME MENTIONED IN THE PROMINENT JOURNALS OF FACT AND OPINION.

UNFORTUNATELY, AS EACH ONE SPEAKS OUT IN BLIND PROTEST, AS EACH SEEKS FAVOR WITH THIS BLOC OF VOTERS OR THAT, AS EACH SEEKS TO STAKE OUT AN UNDUPLICATED POSITION OR A NEW POLICY WITHOUT REGARD TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST, THAT INTEREST SUFFERS.

AND THERE IS LITTLE THE PRESIDENT CAN DO EXCEPT TO SPEAK THE TRUTH AND PRACTICE THE TRUTH AND PRAY THAT THE TRUTH PREVAILS.

WE SEE HIS WOULD-BE SUCCESSORS TODAY, THE JUNIOR SENATOR FROM MAINE IN PARTICULAR, SPEAKING OUT AGAINST THE F.B.I., PAINTING IT AS AN AMERICAN GESTAPO SEEKING TO INSTILL FEAR IN THE HEARTS OF LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS. I AM SURE THAT THE SENATOR, SEEKING TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE NEW LEFT, HAS PICKED THE WRONG ISSUE AND THE WRONG WHIPPING BOY, BUT I AM EQUALLY SURE

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THAT HE HAS HURT THE CAUSE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN AMERICA.

X WE SEE OTHERS OF THEM ENDORSING THE WAR PROTESTS OF VARIOUS GROUPS, PIOUSLY PROCLAIMING THE RIGHT OF PEACEFUL DISSENT, BUT MAINTAINING A DISCREET SILENCE WHEN SOME OF THOSE GROUPS ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, BAR THE RIGHT OF ACCESS TO THE CITY, AND HALT THE WORKINGS OF THE CONGRESS ITSELF.

WE WATCH AS THEY SEEK OUT, ALMOST GLEEFULLY, NEW EVIDENCE OF AMERICAN ATROCITIES AND INNOCENT CASUALTIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM. BUT WE HEAR NO MENTION OF VIET CONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE ATROCITIES, EVEN THOUGH EVERY EXPERT TELLS US THEIR ATROCITIES ARE A PART OF OFFICIAL POLICY WHILE OURS ARE ISOLATED INSTANCES OF TOTAL VIOLATION OF AMERICAN POLICY.

WE LISTEN AS THEY TALK TO DESTROY CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS TO RIGHT THE ECONOMY EVEN THOUGH THEY KNOW THAT CONFIDENCE IS THE KEY INGREDIENT OF AN EXPANDING ECONOMY.

X AND SOME OF US -- AND I HOPE NOT TOO FEW OF US -- PROTEST AS THEY WORK TO DISMANTLE AMERICA'S MILITARY MIGHT IN THE NAME OF RE-ORDERING AMERICA'S PRIORITIES.

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THEY HAVE NOT LEARNED OR THEY DO NOT CARE ABOUT THE LESSONS OF HISTORY AS THEY SEEK LITERALLY TO DISARM AMERICA IN THE FACE OF AN EVER GROWING SOVIET MILITARY MACHINE.

A YEAR AGO I BELIEVED -- AND MANY OF US BELIEVED -- THIS GROWING EFFORT TO REDUCE AMERICA'S DEFENSE CAPABILITY WAS THE RESULT OF A NEO-ISOLATIONIST "FORTRESS AMERICA" SYNDROME. BUT IT IS BECOMING MORE DIFFICULT DAILY TO THINK THAT. I BELIEVE WE HAVE INSTEAD A "FORT-LESS AMERICA" SYNDROME. A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT PEACE AT ANY PRICE, A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A WORLD DOMINATED BY THE MIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION. A WILLINGNESS TO BELIEVE IN THE INNATE GOOD WILL OF THE LEADERS OF A TOTALITARIAN PHILOSOPHY THAT DOES NOT NOW AND NEVER HAS KNOWN THE MEANING OF GOOD WILL. AND THAT IS ONE OF THE TWO REASONS THAT I AM HERE TODAY.

THE FIRST WAS TO TELL YOU THAT PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING HIS PROMISES TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP THEM.

THE SECOND IS TO WARN YOU THAT THOSE PROMISES AND THEIR FULFILLMENT ARE MEANINGLESS IF AMERICA DOES NOT REMAIN STRONG.

MANY, PROBABLY MOST OF US, HERE IN THIS ROOM HAVE FOUGHT IN ONE WAR OR ANOTHER FOR AMERICA'S FREEDOM AND FOR THE FREEDOM OF OTHERS IN THIS WORLD WHO SEEK TO BE FREE.

NOW, THERE ARE THOSE IN AMERICA WHO ARE WILLING TO RISK THE FREEDOM OF AMERICA AND AMERICANS IN THE NAME OF RE-ORDERING PRIORITIES, IN THE NAME

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OF SOCIOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND IN THE NAME OF POLITICAL AMBITION.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LET THIS HAPPEN, NOT IN OUR TIME, NOT IN OUR CHILDREN'S TIME.

PRESIDENT NIXON SEEKS A GENERATION OF PEACE FOR US AND FOR OUR CHILDREN. BUT HE IS AWARE THAT IN THE REAL WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE, WE CANNOT HAVE REAL PEACE, JUST AS WE CANNOT HAVE REAL FREEDOM, UNLESS WE ALSO HAVE REAL STRENGTH.

IN THAT SPEECH IN WILLIAMSBURG ON OCTOBER 2, 1968, CANDIDATE RICHARD NIXON SAID THE "NEXT PRESIDENT WILL LEAD THIS NATION IN ITS REACH FOR GREATNESS ONLY IF HE SUMMONS A NEW "SPIRIT OF '76."

I REMIND YOU TODAY THAT THE "SPIRIT OF '76" WAS A SPIRIT THAT CALLED NOT FOR CREATURE COMFORTS OR FOR AN EASY LIFE. THE SPIRIT OF '76 SOUGHT ONLY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN DOMINATION AND TYRANNY.

THAT SPIRIT IS NOT YET DEAD, BUT UNLESS AMERICANS FASTEN ONTO IT AND RENEW IT IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD, THE PERSONAL AMBITIONS OF LITTLE MEN THREATEN TO TEAR OUR COUNTRY APART ON THE INSIDE AND RENDER IT VULNERABLE FROM THE OUTSIDE.

WE MUST NOT LET THAT HAPPEN.

Student - Mr. Brock -

Dr. Gasmin - Cong. Carl.

ended with Oregon Today.