

*Handwritten notes:*  
L. H. ...  
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REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE  
GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA  
THE GREENBRIER, WEST VIRGINIA  
MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1971

THE THEME I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO DISCUSS HERE TODAY IS "EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP AND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM", A TOPIC I THINK TAKES ON ADDED RELEVANCE AS WE APPROACH THE 1972 ELECTIONS. FOR, OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, WE HAVE WITNESSED NEW STRAINS -- NEW PRESSURES -- ON THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, AND THE BITTER DIVISION OVER THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAS ADDED TO THESE STRAINS AND PRESSURES.

OURS IS STILL A GREAT NATION, AND A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE STILL HAVE THEIR FAITH IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM THAT HAS MADE US GREAT. BUT THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE CHIPPING AWAY AT PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN OUR ELECTED LEADERSHIP, AND THE TWO PARTIES THAT PROVIDE IT. IT HAS BEEN A SLOW, ERO-SIVE PROCESS, AND IT HAS TAKEN ITS TOLL. IT IS A PROCESS THAT CONTINUES AS AMERICANS ARE MADE AWARE OF INFORMATION SUCH AS THE NEW YORK TIMES' RECENT PUBLICATION OF TOP SECRET DOCUMENTS ON VIETNAM.

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SOME LOSE FAITH

THE PROBLEM IS NOT THAT ONE POLITICIAN OR ANOTHER HAS BEEN DISCREDITED, OR THAT ONE ADMINISTRATION OR ANOTHER HAS FALLEN IN PUBLIC ESTEEM. THE NATION, AND BOTH OF THE GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES, CAN RECOVER FROM THAT EASILY ENOUGH. THE PROBLEM IS MUCH MORE BASIC. SOME OF OUR PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO LOSE FAITH IN THE INSTITUTIONS THEMSELVES -- IN THE CONGRESS, IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, IN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES, AND EVEN IN OUR FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

THIS IS TOO OFTEN TRUE OF MANY YOUNG AMERICANS -- AND THERE ARE GOING TO BE 25 MILLION POSSIBLE FIRST VOTERS IN 1972 -- WHO ARE OFTEN LONG ON IDEALISTIC STANDARDS AND SHORT ON PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE. IN FAIRNESS, IT IS HARD TO BLAME SOME OF THEM FOR THEIR MISGIVINGS ABOUT GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY MUST BASE THEIR JUDGMENTS ON SCARE HEADLINES AND SHORT FILM CLIPS ON THE EVENING NEWS. BUT THE FACT THAT SUCH DISENCHANTMENT IS UNDERSTANDABLE DOES NOT MAKE IT ANY THE LESS A SOURCE FOR CONCERN. SOMETHING MUST BE DONE ABOUT IT, AND DONE SOON. AND YOU, AS EXECUTIVES, CAN PLAY A PART IN DOING IT.

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LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES

I HAPPEN TO BE A STRONG BELIEVER IN THE LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE AMERICAN EXECUTIVE. YOU ARE ALREADY PROVEN LEADERS, OR YOU WOULD NOT BE WHERE YOU ARE TODAY. YOU ARE RESPECTED MEMBERS OF YOUR COMMUNITIES. YOU HAVE THE MEANS, THE KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLIGENCE IT TAKES TO KEEP INFORMED IN AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX WORLD. ALL YOU NEED TO ROUND OUT THE PICTURE IS THE INCLINATION -- THE WILLINGNESS -- TO MEET YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.

AND YOU CAN MEET THAT RESPONSIBILITY IN THREE BASIC WAYS. FIRST, BY KEEPING A FIRM GRASP OF THE ISSUES AND THE CANDIDATES -- NOT JUST AS THEY AFFECT THE FOOD INDUSTRY, BUT AS THEY AFFECT THE WELFARE OF THE NATION. SECOND, BY ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTY OF YOUR CHOICE AND BY MAKING YOUR VIEWS KNOWN TO YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. AND, THIRD, BY SUPPORTING, WITH TIME, ENERGY AND CONTRIBUTIONS, THE PARTY AND THE CANDIDATES YOU BELIEVE IN.

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MAKING SYSTEM WORK

WHEN YOU DO THAT, YOU ARE DOING MORE THAN BACKING A GIVEN MAN OR A GIVEN PARTY . YOU ARE HELPING TO MAKE THE OVER-ALL SYSTEM WORK -- THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM THAT IS THE BASIS OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, AND THE FREE ENTERPRISE ECONOMY THAT HAS MADE YOUR CAREERS POSSIBLE.

AND, I BELIEVE THAT SYSTEM NEEDS UPHOLDING TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE -- WHETHER YOU CONSIDER THE PLIGHT OF STATE GOVERNMENTS, THE CONGRESS, OR THE PRESIDENCY ITSELF.

PRESIDENT'S INTEGRITY

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, I AM PARTICULARLY AWARE OF THESE PROBLEMS -- PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATE TO THE PRESIDENCY AND THE MAN WHO FILLS THAT OFFICE. MY DUTIES KEEP ME IN REGULAR CONTACT WITH PRESIDENT NIXON. I KNOW WHAT HE IS TRYING TO DO FOR THE COUNTRY, AND I KNOW THE ODDS HE IS UP AGAINST.

CHARGES ABOUT THE MAN AND HIS OFFICE ARE THROWN ABOUT RECKLESSLY BY HIS ENEMIES AND BY THE ENEMIES OF OUR FREE SYSTEM. SOMETIMES THEY ARE ECHOED AND AMPLIFIED BY SENSATION-HUNGRY MEDIA. CREDIBILITY IS THE PRIME TARGET, AND, ALL TOO OFTEN, IT IS THE FIRST CASUALTY.

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YET I KNOW RICHARD NIXON, AND I KNOW HE IS A CONSISTENT MAN, FAR MORE CONSISTENT THAN MOST POLITICIANS AND PUNDITS. HE IS A MAN OF WELL-THOUGHT-OUT AND SINCERELY-HELD VIEWS AND OPINIONS, WHICH HE CHANGES ONLY AS HE FINDS THEM TO BE WRONG OR OUTDATED, OR WHEN A BETTER IDEA COMES ALONG.

NIXON NOT EXPEDIENT

HE IS READY AND WILLING TO CONSIDER ALL ARGUMENTS AND ASSESS ALL VIEWPOINTS. BUT 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 FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE POPULAR COURSE TODAY WOULD BE TO AGREE TO A RAPID, ALMOST IMMEDIATE PULLOUT FROM VIETNAM, REGARDLESS OF WHAT IT MIGHT PORTEND FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD OR OF OUR OWN NATION?

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WHO CAN DOUBT THAT THE EASY COURSE WOULD BE TO ALLOW OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITY -- REGARDLESS OF THE LESSONS OF THE PAST -- TO BECOME OBSOLETE AND OUTMODED IN THE CAUSE OF GOVERNMENT ECONOMY AND "HIGHER PRIORITIES"?

WHO CAN DOUBT THAT THE POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT COURSE WOULD BE TO OUTSPEND AND OUT-PROMISE ONE'S POLITICAL FOES, REGARDLESS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL DISASTERS THESE ACTIONS WOULD SURELY BRING?

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SUCH COURSES COULD BE JUSTIFIED AND SUPPORTED AS POLITICALLY WISE AND TACTICALLY SHREWD. BUT UNDER RICHARD NIXON, I AM CONVINCED THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ADOPTED. TO THE CONTRARY, HE HAS SHUNNED THE EXPEDIENT COURSE, THE POPULAR MOVE AND THE SHREWD DECISION IN HIS FIRM DETERMIANTION TO DO WHAT HE BELIEVES IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA -- REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES AND PERSONAL RISKS THOSE BELIEFS , ENTAIL.

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SETTLE FOR DEFEAT

THESE POLICIES AND THIS LEADERSHIP STAND OUT IN SHARP CONTRAST TO OTHERS IN THE POLITICAL ARENA TODAY. 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 FIRED AN INFLATION THAT HAS ROBBED THE PURSE OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL IN THE NATION CONTINUE TO CALL FOR THE KINDS OF PROGRAMS AND SPENDING THAT WILL ONLY REFUEL THAT INFLATION.

THOSE WHO FOSTERED A DOMESTIC CLIMATE OF PERMISSIVENESS AND APPEASEMENT THAT LED TO CRIME, TO RIOTS, AND TO EPIDEMICS OF DRUG ABUSE, HAVE SHIFTED BACK AND FORTH WITH THE WIND. FIRST, THEY REEMBRACED LAW AND ORDER IN THE 1970 CAMPAIGN, AND TODAY, ONLY A FEW MONTHS LATER, THEY HAVE DELIBERATELY SET OUT TO DESTROY THE CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WORLD'S MOST OUTSTANDING AND DISTINGUISHED LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY -- THE F. B. I.

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

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NIXON SHUNS OPPORTUNISM

INDEED, IT IS THEY WHO HAVE MADE A VIRTUE OUT OF POLITICAL PRAGMATISM, WHICH, AFTER ALL, IS ONLY ANOTHER WORD FOR OPPORTUNISM. 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. IT IS HE WHO IS 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 PROMISE OF HIS CAMPAIGN: TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF AMERICA. IT HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY TASK, BUT IT HAS BEEN ONE THAT HAS BEEN 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.

NIXON CONSISTENT

BUT, DESPITE THIS, HE IS SLOWLY AND SURELY ACCOMPLISHING HIS TASK, AND AMERICA IS BENEFITTING FROM HIS WORK.

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IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO GO BACK ANY FURTHER THAN OCTOBER 2, 1968,  
TO SHOW THE CONSISTENCY OF THE MAN WHO IS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.  
THAT DAY, THE PRESIDENT SPOKE AT WILLIAMSBURG, THE COLONIAL CAPITAL OF  
VIRGINIA, ON THE SUBJECT OF "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 NA-  
TION. HE SPOKE OF FREEDOM, OF HOW AMERICA HAS LOST SOME OF ITS PRECIOUS  
INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS TO THE ONSLAUGHT OF BIG GOVERNMENT AND TO THE COLLEC-  
TIVE WELFARE STATE. AND HE SPOKE, TOO, OF HOW WE MUST RETRIEVE THAT FREE-  
DOM.

"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."

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"WE HAVE," HE SAID, "ANOTHER CHOICE. WE MUST FIND A WAY TO MAKE GOVERNMENT WORK FOR ALL OF US, WITHOUT DOMINATING ANY 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."

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

PROPOSES WELFARE REFORM

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. X FOR MORE THAN 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."

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YOU MIGHT NOT AGREE WITH HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL, BUT NO ONE CAN DOUBT THAT HE IS CARRYING OUT A CAMPAIGN PROMISE.

y 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 MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE.

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

x 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."

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NIXON KEEPS PROMISES

YOU MIGHT NOT AGREE WITH ALL THE DETAILS OF THE PRESIDENT'S REVENUE SHARING PLANS, BUT YOU CANNOT DOUBT THAT HE IS LIVING UP TO HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISE. NOR WAS WILLIAMSBURG THE ONLY PLACE WHERE RICHARD NIXON MADE A PROMISE HE IS KEEPING OR WHERE HE 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. THERE IS NO PLACE ON THIS SMALL PLANET FOR A BILLION OF ITS POTENTIALLY MOST ABLE PEOPLE TO LIVE IN ANGRY ISOLATION."

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

CONSISTENT ON VIETNAM

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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VIETNAMIZATION WORKING

TODAY WE CALL THIS PROPOSAL "VIETNAMIZATION". IT IS A PROPOSAL THAT IN THEORY SOUNDED GOOD AND WHICH IN PRACTICE IS WORKING. AMERICAN TROOPS ARE BEING PHASED OUT. MORE THAN HALF HAVE COME HOME.

SOUTH VIETNAM'S DEPENDENCE 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 THAT DAY WHEN THE CASUALTY FIGURES THE PENTAGON RELEASES EVERY THURSDAY WILL REACH ZERO. WE ARE QUICKLY ENDING AMERICA'S COMBAT ROLE IN VIETNAM.

AND THIS IS COMING ABOUT BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS HELD TO A PATH THAT WILL LEAD TO PEACE WITH HONOR, PEACE FOR OUR GENERATION, AND PEACE FOR OUR CHILDREN'S GENERATION. HE HAS DONE SO 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.

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

MANY DEMO CANDIDATES

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 HOPE THE TRUTH PREVAILS.

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VC ATROCITIES UNHEEDED

WE WATCH AS HIS CRITICS 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 THEIR ATROCITIES ARE A PART OF OFFICIAL POLICY, WHILE OURS ARE ISOLATED INSTANCES OF TOTAL VIOLATION OF AMERICAN POLICY.

WE LISTEN AS THEY TRY 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.

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

FORGET HISTORY'S LESSONS

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.

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THERE WAS A TIME WHEN I BELIEVE -- AND MANY OF US BELIEVED -- THAT THIS GROWING EFFORT TO REDUCE AMERICA'S DEFENSE CAPABILITY WAS THE RESULT OF A NEO-ISOLATIONIST "FORTRESS AMERICA" SYNDROME. BUT, DAILY, IT IS BECOMING MORE DIFFICULT TO THINK THAT. I BELIEVE WE ARE SEEING 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 GOODWILL OF THE LEADERS OF A TOTALITARIAN PHILOSOPHY THAT DOES NOT NOW AND NEVER HAS KNOWN THE MEANING OF GOODWILL.

AND THAT IS ONE OF TWO REASONS I AM HERE TODAY.

THE FIRST IS 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; AND IF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AND RESPECT FOR OUR INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT PRESERVED.

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MANY FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM

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 ITS PEOPLE IN THE NAME OF REORDERING PRIORITIES, IN THE NAME OF SOCIOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND IN THE NAME OF 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'."

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SPIRIT OF FREEDOM

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 IT DEPENDS ON ALL OF US TO KEEP IT ALIVE. AND IT WILL BE FACING NEW TESTS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, AS THE DEMOGOGUES AND THE OPPORTUNISTS SEEK TO EXPLOIT AND DESTROY IT.

EACH OF YOU CAN HELP TO PRESERVE OUR SYSTEM, AND TO BRING OUT ITS BEST. I URGE YOU TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY -- TO MEET THE RESPONSIBILITY. IF EACH OF YOU DOES HIS PART, OUR SYSTEM, THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA, AND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, WILL BE STRENGTHENED AND RENEWED.