

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

36TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
SUNDAY, JULY 18, 1971

Handwritten notes:
1. - [unclear]
2. - [unclear]
3. - [unclear]
4. - [unclear]
5. - [unclear]
6. - [unclear]
7. - [unclear]
8. - [unclear]
9. - [unclear]
10. - [unclear]
11. - [unclear]
12. - [unclear]
13. - [unclear]
14. - [unclear]
15. - [unclear]
16. - [unclear]
17. - [unclear]
18. - [unclear]
19. - [unclear]
20. - [unclear]
21. - [unclear]
22. - [unclear]
23. - [unclear]
24. - [unclear]
25. - [unclear]
26. - [unclear]
27. - [unclear]
28. - [unclear]
29. - [unclear]
30. - [unclear]
31. - [unclear]
32. - [unclear]
33. - [unclear]
34. - [unclear]
35. - [unclear]
36. - [unclear]
37. - [unclear]
38. - [unclear]
39. - [unclear]
40. - [unclear]
41. - [unclear]
42. - [unclear]
43. - [unclear]
44. - [unclear]
45. - [unclear]
46. - [unclear]
47. - [unclear]
48. - [unclear]
49. - [unclear]
50. - [unclear]
51. - [unclear]
52. - [unclear]
53. - [unclear]
54. - [unclear]
55. - [unclear]
56. - [unclear]
57. - [unclear]
58. - [unclear]
59. - [unclear]
60. - [unclear]
61. - [unclear]
62. - [unclear]
63. - [unclear]
64. - [unclear]
65. - [unclear]
66. - [unclear]
67. - [unclear]
68. - [unclear]
69. - [unclear]
70. - [unclear]
71. - [unclear]
72. - [unclear]
73. - [unclear]
74. - [unclear]
75. - [unclear]
76. - [unclear]
77. - [unclear]
78. - [unclear]
79. - [unclear]
80. - [unclear]
81. - [unclear]
82. - [unclear]
83. - [unclear]
84. - [unclear]
85. - [unclear]
86. - [unclear]
87. - [unclear]
88. - [unclear]
89. - [unclear]
90. - [unclear]
91. - [unclear]
92. - [unclear]
93. - [unclear]
94. - [unclear]
95. - [unclear]
96. - [unclear]
97. - [unclear]
98. - [unclear]
99. - [unclear]
100. - [unclear]

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE A PART OF THIS "COUNTY ACHIEVEMENT CONFERENCE" OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES. AS NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY THAT BASES ITS PHILOSOPHY ON INDIVIDUAL ACHIEVEMENT AND RESPONSIBLE LOCAL GOVERNMENT, I HAVE A STRONG APPRECIATION OF THE WORK THAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS DONE -- AND THE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT OF ITS MEMBERSHIP. AT A TIME WHEN THE DEMANDS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT ARE GREATER THAN EVER, BUT THE FISCAL BASE FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY ERODED, YOUR JOB IS NOT AN EASY ONE. AND IT IS AN IMPORTANT ONE -- ONE THAT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SEEKS TO ASSIST IN EVERY WAY THAT IT CAN.

NEW AWARENESS

WHILE THE SITUATION IS FAR FROM PERFECT, I BELIEVE THAT THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEMS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS -- AN AWARENESS THAT GOOD GOVERN-

-2-

MENT MUST BEGIN AT THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL -- NOT IN SOME REMOTE BUREAUCRATIC HAVEN IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE -- AND I HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE WHITE HOUSE TO MAKE THIS POINT HERE TODAY; IT IS THE POINT THAT, IN THE VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION, COUNTY GOVERNMENT IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND WILL BE TREATED ON THAT BASIS.

FOR THAT REASON, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL DEAL EQUALLY WITH THE STATES, COUNTIES AND CITIES IN THE ~~DIS~~SEMINATING OF THE FUNDS OF THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT JUST RECENTLY PASSED BY THE CONGRESS AND SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT.

AS YOU KNOW, THAT BILL AUTHORIZES THE EXPENDITURE OF A BILLION DOLLARS IN THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR, WITH 80 PERCENT OF THAT AMOUNT ALLOCATED DIRECTLY TO STATES AND CITIES AND COUNTIES.

AS YET, THERE HAS BEEN NO APPROPRIATION MADE, BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE MACHINERY IS BEING SET UP ON A CRASH BASIS AND UNDER THE HIGHEST PRIORITY SO THAT WHEN THE MONEY IS MADE AVAILABLE BY THE CONGRESS, ~~DIS~~SEMINATIONS CAN BE MADE VERY QUICKLY.

-3-

HOW QUICKLY, I CANNOT TELL YOU, BUT FOR YOU WHO TOO OFTEN HAVE DEALT WITH THE SLOW, CUMBERSOME FEDERAL MACHINERY, I HAVE A PREDICTION -- YOU WILL BE PLEASANTLY SURPRISED.

FOR WHAT THE SALESMEN OF THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY FAILED TO REALIZE, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS SEEN CLEARLY, AND IT HAS ACTED ACCORDINGLY. THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT GRANDIOSE SCHEMES TO WIDEN THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, WON'T WORK. YOU CANNOT BUILD A VAST STRUCTURE ON A FOUNDATION OF QUICKSAND. YOU CANNOT CREATE A BETTER LIFE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY CRUSHING THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNDER AN OPPRESSIVE FEDERAL SUPER-STRUCTURE. YET THIS IS WHAT SOME OF THE ADVOCATES OF BIG GOVERNMENT TRIED TO DO BETWEEN 1961 AND 1969, WITH PERHAPS THE BEST OF INTENTIONS AND THE WORST OF RESULTS.

UNBALANCED POWER MONOPOLY

IN RETROSPECT, IT IS SURPRISING THAT THESE MISDIRECTED EFFORTS LASTED AS LONG AS THEY DID, FOR THEY FLY IN THE FACE OF THE BASIC AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. FROM THE FIRST, PEOPLE CAME TO THESE SHORES TO ESCAPE FROM

-4-

THE DOMINATION OF OMNIPOTENT, UNBENDING CENTRAL AUTHORITIES; FROM THE DESPOTISM THAT INEVITABLY GROWS OUT OF AN UNLIMITED, UNBALANCED POWER MONOPOLY AT THE TOP.

THOSE WHO SEEK THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT CAN FIND IT IN ITS PUREST, MOST UNDILUTED FORM IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD -- IN RUSSIA, IN CHINA, AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, IN THE NATIONAL WELFARE STATES IN SCANDINAVIA, AND ELSEWHERE, WHERE TAXES AND SUICIDE RATES KEEP GOING UP AS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND INITIATIVE ARE ERODED IN THE NAME OF THE COMMON GOOD -- A COMMODITY DEFINED, NOT BY THE PEOPLE, BUT BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRATS.

ROAD TO TOTALITARIANISM

A FEW YEARS AGO OUR COUNTRY WAS STILL HEADING DOWN THAT DISMAL ROAD TO THE CENTRALIZED WELFARE STATE. POLITICIANS STILL CALLED ON THE PEOPLE TO LOOK TO WASHINGTON FOR AN INSTANT SOLUTION TO EVERY PROBLEM. AND AS LONG AS THEY DID, THE PROBLEMS KEPT APPEARING AND GROWING, FASTER AND THICKER.

INCREASING CRIME, INFLATION, URBAN ILLS, CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT, DUPLICATION AND WASTE IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS -- YOU NAME IT AND WE HAD IT.

-5-

REVERSING POWER FLOW

11 BUT THEN IN 1968, WE SAW THE BEGINNING OF SOMETHING NEW. IN HIS CANDIDACY FOR PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON STRUCK A NEW NOTE IN THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE. HE TALKED OF REVERSING THE FLOW OF POWER AWAY FROM THE PEOPLE AND INTO THE HANDS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY. HE TALKED OF RETURNING SOME OF THE POWER AND THE RESOURCES OF GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE'S ELECTED LEADERS ON THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS.

NOW, IN REALITY, THAT IS A CONCEPT AS TESTED AND SOUND AS AMERICA ITSELF. BUT, AFTER THE TIDAL WAVE OF CENTRALISM THAT HAD ENGULFED OUR GOVERNMENT, FIRST DURING THE NEW DEAL AND THE TRUMAN YEARS, AND THEN UNDER PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON, IT SEEMED AN ALMOST REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT.

REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

AND, IN A WAY, IT IS. FOR IT IS THE PHILOSOPHY THAT LIES AT THE ROOT OF OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION -- ONE OF THE FEW REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN HUMAN HISTORY THAT HAS BROUGHT PROGRESS AND HUMAN BETTERMENT IN ITS WAKE, INSTEAD OF TURMOIL, ANARCHY AND EVENTUAL REPRESSION.

-6-

WHEN YOU EXAMINE THE RECORD OF THE PAST TWO YEARS -- THE CONTROVERSIES, THE CONFLICTS AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION -- THIS IS A FACT THAT BECOMES INCREASINGLY EVIDENT. RICHARD NIXON IS WORKING TO GET AMERICA BACK ON HER COURSE. AND, AS EVENTS HAVE PROVED, IT IS EASIER TO TALK ABOUT IT THAN IT IS TO DO IT.

DISPEL MISCONCEPTIONS

BECAUSE OF THIS, THOSE OF US WHO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT AND BELIEVE IN HIM AND WHAT HE IS DOING SET OUT FROM TIME TO TIME TO TRY TO CORRECT THE MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE MAN AND HIS RECORD -- THE MISCONCEPTIONS THAT HE IS AN EXPEDIENT MAN OR AN EQUIVOCAL MAN; THAT HE IS A MAN WHOSE PROGRAMS CHANGE WITH THE MOOD OF THE TIMES OR THE NEED 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 MANY OF HIS OUTSPOKEN OPPONENTS. 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.

-7-

NOT EXPEDIENT

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 AN INSTANT PULLOUT FROM VIETNAM, REGARDLESS OF WHAT IT MIGHT PORTEND FOR THE FUTURE?

WHO CAN DOUBT THAT THE EASY COURSE WOULD BE TO AGREE TO DISMANTLE OUR DEFENSE STRUCTURE IN THE NAME OF "REORDERED PRIORITIES", REGARDLESS OF THE DANGERS IT WOULD OPEN US UP TO IN THE YEARS AHEAD?

WHO CAN DOUBT THAT THE POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT COURSE IS FOR HIM TO OUTSPEND AND OUT-PROMISE HIS POLITICAL FOES, REGARDLESS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL DISASTERS THESE ACTIONS WOULD SURELY BRING TO AMERICA'S FUTURE?

-8-

RIVALS EXPLOIT CONDITIONS

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THESE COURSES, COULD BE JUSTIFIED AND SUPPORTED AS POLITICALLY WISE AND NECESSARY MOVES. THE PROOF OF THAT IS THAT MOST OF THE PRESIDENT'S LEADING DEMOCRAT CONTENDERS ARE USING JUST SUCH TACTICS TODAY.

AND, UNDENIABLY, THEY ARE MAKING A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SHORT-TERM MILEAGE OUT OF THEM. BUT RICHARD NIXON HAS NOT STOOPED TO SUCH TACTICS, AND I AM CONVINCED THAT HE NEVER WILL. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY NOVEMBER OF 1972, IT WILL BE CLEAR TO A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS THAT HIS WAY WAS NOT ONLY THE MOST HONORABLE WAY, BUT THE BEST WAY FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

X WHAT A CONTRAST WE SEE TODAY WHEN WE LOOK AT THE PRESIDENT AND THEN AT SOME OF THOSE WHO SEEK TO REPLACE HIM.

SEEK SELLOUT

X 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. HAVING SPILT SO MUCH AMERICAN BLOOD AND SPENT SO MUCH AMERICAN TREASURE IN

-9-

VIETNAM, THEY SEEK, IN THE NAME OF EXPEDIENCY, TO MAKE THIS GREAT NATIONAL SACRIFICE MEANINGLESS -- TO BURY IT IN THE GRAVE OF A DISHONORABLE SELL-OUT THAT WOULD ONLY INVITE FUTURE GLOBAL CONFRONTATIONS. THEY SEEK NOT SIMPLY AN END TO AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR, BUT A PRECIPITATE WITHDRAWAL THAT COULD GUARANTEE AN ENEMY VICTORY.

RICHARD NIXON HAS SHOWN US A BETTER WAY TO END AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT. AND IT IS ONE THAT HE HAS CLEARLY AND CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS -- NOT ONE THAT HAS BEEN PATCHED TOGETHER TO MEET THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT.

PROPOSED "VIETNAMIZATION" IN 1968

ON AUGUST 1, 1968, WHILE MEN LIKE EDMUND MUSKIE WERE STILL ADVOCATING THE POLICY OF "ENDLESS INVOLVEMENT" OF THE JOHNSON AND KENNEDY YEARS, RICHARD NIXON SUBMITTED A STATEMENT TO THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION. IN IT, HE SAID THAT, "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.

-10-

"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."

SAVES ALLIED LIVES

IT IS A POLICY THAT HAS ALREADY SAVED COUNTLESS AMERICAN LIVES AND IS ENDING OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM IN A DECISIVE AND HONORABLE WAY. THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN TROOPS ARE BEING PHASED OUT, JUST AS THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBED IN 1968. MORE THAN HALF OF THEM HAVE COME HOME ALREADY. AMERICAN COMBAT DEATHS IN VIETNAM HAVE BEEN REDUCED BY APPROXIMATELY 90 PERCENT BELOW THE LEVEL OF THE LAST YEAR OF THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION. IN FACT, COMBAT DEATHS FOR ALL ALLIED FORCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA -- NOT JUST AMERICAN TROOPS -- HAVE, IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1971, BEEN REDUCED TO 50 PERCENT OF WHAT THEY WERE IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1968, THE LAST YEAR OF THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT'S VIETNAM POSITION

YET, IMAGINE YOURSELF IN THE PRESIDENT'S SHOES RIGHT NOW. HAVING DEESCALATED THE WAR IN VIETNAM DRASTICALLY IN TERMS OF TROOP STRENGTH, CASUALTIES AND COMBAT ACTIVITY, YOU ARE ANXIOUS TO SALVAGE WHAT YOU CAN FOR ALL THE SACRIFICES THAT WERE MADE THERE. YOU WISH AT THE VERY LEAST TO GIVE THE

-11-

SOUTH VIETNAMESE A REASONABLE CHANCE OF SURVIVAL. ALTHOUGH YOU HAVE TRIED YOUR BEST TO STIMULATE MOVEMENT AT THE PARIS PEACE TALKS, YOU HAVE IMPLEMENTED AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY LEADING TO DISENGAGEMENT -- VIETNAMIZATION. YOU HAVE WITHDRAWN CLOSE TO 300,000 TROOPS DOWN FROM A TOTAL OF 540,000 WHEN YOU ASSUMED OFFICE, AND YOU ARE WITHDRAWING MORE TROOPS AT THE RATE OF 14,000 PER MONTH. MOST IMPORTANTLY, YOU BELIEVE, BASED ON BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS THAT THE ENEMY IS BEGINNING TO APPRECIATE THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY, SINCE THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEY WILL GET A BETTER DEAL FROM THE AMERICANS THAN THEY WOULD FROM THE EVER-STRONGER SOUTH VIETNAMESE.

ON TOP OF ALL THIS, YOU HAVE CUT MILITARY SPENDING TO FREE UP MONEY FOR DOMESTIC PURPOSES. YOU ARE SPENDING LESS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT, BOMBS AND THE LIKE, THAN YOU ARE ON DOMESTIC NEEDS. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE SO SINCE THE 1940'S. YOU HAVE MADE A DRAMATIC, ALTHOUGH POLITICALLY COSTLY, EFFORT TO CURB INFLATION THAT WAS THREATENING THE VERY ECONOMIC SURVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD MARKETPLACE. WHILE YOU WERE DOING ALL THIS, YOU DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM SUBORDINATING THE NATIONAL INTEREST TO POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP BY REFUSING TO ATTACK THE OPPOSITION.

-12-

LIBERAL CRITICISM

NOW ENTER THE ELITE CORPS OF LIBERALS, BOTH FORMER ADVISERS AND POLITICAL CANDIDATES, CRITICIZING YOU AND ATTEMPTING TO FRUSTRATE YOUR EFFORTS AT EVERY TURN. THE VERY MEN WHO GOT US INTO THE VIETNAM WAR AND COULD NOT FIGURE OUT HOW TO GET US OUT, ARE NOW ZINGING YOU FROM EVERY DIRECTION. CLASSIFIED PAPERS ARE BEING PEDDLED ON THE STREETS. PUBLIC STATEMENTS, CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS AND AD HOC COMMITTEES ARE INCESSANTLY SIGNALING THE ENEMY IN HANOI THAT AMERICA IS READY TO QUIT AND THROW IN THE TOWEL AT A TIME WHEN OUR POSITION IS THE STRONGEST. DEMOCRATS LIKE HUMPHREY, KENNEDY AND MUSKIE, ALL UNSWERVING SUPPORTERS OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON WAR MACHINES, ARE BERATING YOU ON A DAILY BASIS, ACCUSING YOU OF BEING A WAR-MONGER, INSENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF OUR OWN PEOPLE HERE AT HOME.

MUSKIE CONFUSING

SENATOR MUSKIE, WHO WAS THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S LEADING APOLOGIST DURING THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, STATES PUBLICLY IN 1971 THAT: "SILENT AMERICANS ARE ASSUMING THAT MR. NIXON IS REALLY GETTING US OUT OF VIETNAM. THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS THAT HE IS PINNING US DOWN." IF THAT DOESN'T MAKE SENSE TO YOU, HOW ABOUT THIS ONE: IN JANUARY OF 1968, SENATOR MUSKIE PUBLICLY PROCLAIMED HIS SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S WAR POLICIES, SEEING AS ONE OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THE WAR, "THE USE OF THE SO-CALLED NATIONAL WARS OF LIBERATION AS A TECHNIQUE OF COMMUNIST EXPANSION."

-13-

YET ONLY LAST WEEK, MUSKIE, SPEAKING IN DALLAS STATED THE FOLLOWING:

"WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO INSIST ON A COALITION GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON THAT WOULD NEVER BE TAKEN OVER BY THE COMMUNISTS....AND I THINK WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT, EVEN IF A COMMUNIST REGIME DID EVOLVE FROM A COALITION GOVERNMENT, THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNISM, AND THAT SOME ARE BETTER THAN OTHERS."

THAT NOT ONLY SOUNDS LIKE GROSS INTELLECTUAL INCONSISTENCY, BUT ALSO SELF-SERVING POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY. IN SHORT, IT SOUNDS LIKE MUSKIE.

HUMPHREY TURNAROUND

HUBERT HUMPHREY HAS ALSO JOINED THE "I KNEW IT ALL ALONG" CLUB OF POLITICIANS. WHEN INFORMED OF THE REVELATIONS CONTAINED IN THE PENTAGON PAPERS, THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS AS "SHOCKED" AND "SURPRISED" AS ANY CITIZEN. HAVING SAT IN THE LAP OF L.B.J. FOR ALL THOSE YEARS, AND HAVING PUBLICLY SUPPORTED THE WAR'S ESCALATION FROM BEGINNING TO END, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT MR. HUMPHREY WILL BE TAKEN AT HIS WORD. AFTER ALL, HE WAS A PART OF THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION -- OR WAS HE?

-14-

KENNEDY SWITCHES

WE MUST NOT LEAVE OUT SENATOR KENNEDY IN THIS MATTER EITHER. THE SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS WHO WORKED AND PLAYED WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA FROM THE EAST MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED TO FORGET HIS ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE REGIMES THAT LED THIS NATION TO WAR. THOSE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY WHO BELIEVE THAT SENATOR KENNEDY'S RECENT VIEWS ON THE WAR BEAR ANY RESEMBLANCE TO HIS VIEWS DURING THE TWO PREVIOUS DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS ARE SADLY MISTAKEN. IT DOES NOT TAKE A LONG MEMORY TO RECALL HIS REMARKS AT THE LOWELL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE WHEN HE STATED: "ARE WE TO SAY TO 17 MILLION PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM THAT BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL IDENTITY THAT YOU ARE GOING TO BE TAKEN OVER BY A STRONG AGGRESSIVE FORCE?" HOW THE SENATOR'S TUNE HAS CHANGED!! COULD IT HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE FACT THAT THERE IS NOW A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT IN OFFICE? OR, MIGHT IT BE THAT TED IS PLANNING A RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY?

PAST ADMINISTRATION TO BLAME

THE VIETNAM WAR, THE NATION'S SECOND COSTLIEST IN HISTORY, CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE HIGHHANDED POLICY-DEALINGS OF A FEW SELF-ASSURED MEN.

-15-

AN IMMENSE TRAGEDY GROWING OUT OF THIS WAR WOULD OCCUR IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE ARROGANCE AND DECEPTIVENESS OF THOSE WHO INVOLVED US IN IT.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT MEANS MUST BE FOUND TO GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A VIEW INTO THE POLICY-MAKING APPARATUS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IF WE ARE TO PREVENT THIS KIND OF DECEPTION IN FUTURE ADMINISTRATIONS.

ARTISANS OF DECEPTION

AND HERE, LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ONE PRESIDENT WHO HAS LEVELED WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS RICHARD NIXON. HE HAS SAID WHAT HE WILL DO, AND HE HAS DONE AS HE HAS PROMISED. AND ALL THE RANTINGS OF OUR NATION'S ENEMIES ABROAD AND HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS AT HOME CANNOT CHANGE THOSE FACTS.

YET, DESPITE THIS, THOSE SAME ARTISANS OF DECEPTION WHO BROUGHT US THE WAR IN ASIA ARE NOW TURNING ON PRESIDENT NIXON AT A TIME WHEN HE IS EFFECTIVELY GETTING US OUT. NOT ONLY DO THEIR ACTIONS HINDER THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS, THEY ALSO MOTIVATE THE ENEMY TO CONTINUE THE CONFLICT. AS UNFORTUNATE AS THE RELEASE OF THE PENTAGON PAPERS WAS, I BELIEVE SOME GOOD CAN COME OF IT. FOR NOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE LEARNING THE TRUTH ABOUT THE

-16-

SO-CALLED FAR-SIGHTED MEN WHO CAME TO WASHINGTON IN THE '60'S TO MAKE AMERICA RIGHT UNDER THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY. I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED TO KNOW THEM AND WON'T BRING THEM BACK AGAIN NEXT YEAR.

END TO AMERICAN CASUALTIES

FOR ONE THING, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS GOING TO BE AN ISSUE FOR THE DEMOCRATS NEXT YEAR. I AM CONVINCED THAT LONG BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR, AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM WILL BE AT OR NEAR THE ZERO POINT, WITHOUT ENDANGERING THE SAFETY OF AMERICAN POW'S OR ABANDONING OUR ALLIES TO THE TENDER MERCIES OF THE COMMUNISTS AS SOME POLITICAL CANDIDATES ARE URGING US TO DO TODAY.

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.

I THINK YOU WILL AGREE THAT IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S EARNEST DESIRE FOR PEACE THAT HAS LED HIM TO OPEN THE DOOR TO COMMUNICATIONS WITH MAINLAND CHINA.

-16 a-

SURELY, IF WE ARE TO HAVE THE FULL GENERATION OF PEACE THAT IS THE PRESIDENT'S DREAM, THE CHANCES ARE BETTER IF CHINA IS ENCOURAGED TO VIEW THE OUTSIDE WORLD AS IT REALLY IS AND NOT THROUGH THE COLORED GLASSES OF MARXIST DOGMA.

IT IS FOOLISH TO BELIEVE THAT THE FREE WORLD CAN LIVE PEACEFULLY INDEFINITELY WITH THE WORLD'S LARGEST NATION IF THAT NATION CONTINUES TO SIT APART FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD IN ANGRY ISOLATION.

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN JUST A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE AN EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO ESTABLISH COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN 800 MILLION CHINESE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. AND NOW THE INEVITABLE HAS HAPPENED -- AND SOONER THAN SOME THOUGHT POSSIBLE.

THERE WILL BE MUCH SPECULATION IN THE DAYS AND MONTHS AHEAD ABOUT THE LONG AND SHORT RANGE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MOVE VIS A VIS OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS, OUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND OUR DEALINGS WITH NORTH VIETNAM.

I DO NOT INTEND TO JOIN IN THAT SPECULATION BECAUSE I DO NOT BELIEVE IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO THE PRESIDENT'S DEALINGS WITH OTHER NATIONS.

-16 b-

BUT I WOULD LIKE AGAIN TO MAKE TWO POINTS THAT I MADE ON FRIDAY BECAUSE I BELIEVE THESE POINTS WILL HELP KEEP THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE.

FIRST, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ALWAYS DEALT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. HIS APPROACHES TO WORLD PEACE AND TO PEACE IN VIETNAM HAVE BEEN CONCILIATORY, BUT HAVE NOT BEEN TIMID OR WEAK. HE HAS NOT MADE THE MISTAKES OF SOME PAST PRESIDENTS IN OFFERING CONCESSIONS BEFORE THEY WERE SOUGHT OR WITHOUT ASKING A QUID PRO QUO.

SECONDLY, THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT MADE THIS MOVE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONALIST CHINA. HE CONTINUES TO LIVE UP TO OUR NATIONAL COMMITMENTS.

I DO NOT AGREE WITH SOME WHO BELIEVE THAT EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE RED CHINESE IS A BETRAYAL OF OUR PRINCIPLES OR AN INDICATION THAT THE PRESIDENT IS SOFT ON COMMUNISM.

I DO BELIEVE THAT HIS INITIATIVE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT MUCH BETTER CHANCES FOR WORLD PEACE AND WORLD STABILITY AND IS A REALISTIC FACING-UP TO THE WORLD SITUATION AS IT EXISTS TODAY.

I SUPPORT HIS ACTIONS.

-17-

PEACE NOT ONLY GOAL

BUT, WHILE SEEKING AN HONORABLE AND LASTING PEACE IS THE GREAT CORNERSTONE OF RICHARD NIXON'S LEADERSHIP, IT IS NOT HIS ONLY ACHIEVEMENT.

FOR IN SEEKING PEACE, HE SEEKS THE OPPORTUNITY TO REBUILD THE AMERICAN SYSTEM FROM WITHIN -- THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVITALIZE AND RENEW THE CREATIVE FORCES OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, AND THE CHERISHED TRADITION OF GOVERNMENT OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE.

THAT IS WHY TWO OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S MAJOR DOMESTIC GOALS HAVE BEEN WELFARE REFORM AND REVENUE SHARING -- PROGRAMS THAT ARE AIMED AT HELPING LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO DO A BETTER JOB BY GIVING THEM A FAIRER SHARE OF THE RESOURCES AND ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO MEET THE NEEDS IN THESE TWO CRITICAL FIELDS.

-18-

GRATEFUL FOR NACO SUPPORT

LET ME INTERJECT HERE THAT THE STEADY, ENERGETIC SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES FOR BOTH OF THESE PROGRAMS IS RECOGNIZED AND APPRECIATED. YOUR GROUP, AND OTHERS LIKE IT, SHARE WITH THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION A DETERMINATION TO MAKE OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WORK -- TO MAKE NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN. FOR, AS YOU AND I WELL KNOW, GOOD GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE BEGIN AT HOME, IN STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. IF THEY DO NOT EXIST THERE, SOONER OR LATER THEY WILL CEASE TO EXIST HIGHER UP THE LINE.

IF LOCAL GOVERNMENT CANNOT MEET ITS DAY-TO-DAY RESPONSIBILITIES COPING WITH LOCAL PROBLEMS, WE CAN HARDLY EXPECT THAT NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, WITH ITS INFINITELY MORE COMPLEX DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, WILL DO ANY BETTER.

NIXON STATES NEEDS

WHAT WE NEED TODAY -- AND WHAT I BELIEVE THIS ADMINISTRATION IS GIVING US -- IS THE KIND OF CLEAR-SIGHTED, MORAL LEADERSHIP THAT WILL SEE US THROUGH A TURBULENT PRESENT TO A MORE SECURE FUTURE. THE PRESIDENT

-19-

SUMMED THIS UP IN HIS OWN WORDS DURING HIS RECENT BROADCAST ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL.

"TO LOOK AT AMERICA WITH CLEAR EYES TODAY," HE SAID, "IS TO SEE EVERY REASON FOR PRIDE AND LITTLE FOR SHAME, GREAT CAUSE FOR GRATITUDE AND LITTLE FOR REGRET, STRONG GROUNDS FOR HOPE AND NONE AT ALL FOR DESPAIR. THE CRUCIAL CHALLENGE NOW IS TO HOLD THE HIGH GROUND OF CONFIDENCE, COURAGE AND FAITH THAT IS RIGHTLY OURS, AND TO AVOID THE QUICKSAND OF FEAR AND DOUBT."

THIS CAN BE DONE, AND, WITH THE HELP OF GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS LIKE YOU, IT WILL BE DONE. IN THE BUILDING PRESSURES AND TEMPTATIONS OF AN APPROACHING NATIONAL ELECTION, WE MUST NOT LET POLITICS OBSCURE THE REAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROGRESS THAT AMERICA HAS MADE OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS.

BUILDING A BETTER FUTURE

WE CAN AND MUST STRENGTHEN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT AT EVERY LEVEL, FROM THE WHITE HOUSE IN WASHINGTON, TO THE SMALLEST COUNTY COUNCIL IN THE RURAL SOUTH OR MIDWEST.

-20-

TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE GOVERNMENT BETTER SERVE THE PEOPLE, AND
IN SO DOING, WE WILL BE BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA AND A BETTER WAY OF
LIFE FOR THIS AND FUTURE GENERATIONS.

①
Communication

↳ Lions

↳ Wilson

==

2. Chm. Rums, Roman.
How. Why.

2- Bear Story
Bar Story.

4. Senate. Ted your Memorial.

5. Politics.
'Headstrong