

*Jim Conway
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REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
AMERICAN DEHYDRATORS ASSOCIATION
BAL HARBOUR, FLORIDA
THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1972

A.D.A.
Dr. [unclear]

IT IS MY GENUINE PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU HERE TONIGHT AND TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEND SOME TIME WITH SO MANY PEOPLE LIKE YOU WHO HAVE TO LIVE WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHAT PEOPLE LIKE ME DO WITH OUR TIME IN WASHINGTON.

I AM PROUD TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO DISCUSS WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE THE VERY SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION OF RICHARD NIXON. SINCE BECOMING GOP NATIONAL CHAIRMAN A LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR AGO, I HAVE HAD THE CHANCE TO CONSIDER THE REPUBLICAN RECORD OF THE LAST THREE YEARS WITH LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF CITIZENS WHO SHARE WITH YOU A SERIOUS AND SINCERE, ENLIGHTENED CONCERN ABOUT THE DIRECTIONS THIS COUNTRY IS -- AND OUGHT TO BE -- TAKING.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT IN THESE PAST THREE YEARS, THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF RICHARD NIXON'S FIRST TERM, THIS COUNTRY HAS TAKEN A NEW COURSE, A DIRECTION THAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA AND RIGHT FOR THE WORLD. IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PEOPLE ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY, I HAVE FOUND THAT MOST OF THEM AGREE WITH ME.

Russell, [unclear]

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH LAST TUESDAY NIGHT MADE CLEAR THAT WE ARE POISED ON THE BRINK OF THE BEST POSSIBILITY FOR ACHIEVING PEACE THAT HAS OCCURRED SINCE THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA BEGAN. A DECISION FOR PEACE IS NOW UP TO NORTH VIETNAM AND ITS PUPPET FORCES IN THE SOUTH.

I DO NOT EXPECT HANOI TO MAKE ANY HASTY DECISIONS, HOWEVER. THEY HAVE DELAYED SETTLEMENT BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD CAVE IN AND SURRENDER. IN A POLITICAL YEAR, THERE IS AN ESPECIALLY STRONG TENDENCY ON THEIR PART TO CLING TO THAT HOPE.

I DO NOT THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO SURRENDER. I HAVE TALKED TO THE PRESIDENT, AND I KNOW HE IS NOT GOING TO SURRENDER.

WE ARE NOT GOING TO BREAK OUR AGREEMENTS, GIVE UP OUR INTERESTS, AND SELL OUT OUR ALLIES. BUT WE ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT. AND HANOI WILL ACCEPT THAT IF AND WHEN IT FEELS THAT THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE TO AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT -- WHEN IT FEELS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT GOING TO CAPITULATE, BUT ARE GOING TO SUPPORT THEIR PRESIDENT IN HIS EFFORT TO WIN THE PEACE.

SO, IN A VERY REAL SENSE, THE QUESTION OF PEACE OR WAR NOW LIES WITH THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION. IF WE ARE TO HAVE PEACE ABROAD, WE MUST HAVE UNITY

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AT HOME. IF WE ARE TO BRING HOME OUR PRISONERS OF WAR, GIVE OUR ALLIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA THE OPPORTUNITY TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE, AND IF WE ARE TO REDEEM THE LOSS OF SO MANY, MANY AMERICAN LIVES, THEN WE MUST STAND BEHIND THE PRESIDENT AND DEMONSTRATE THAT HE IS TAKING THE STRONG AND COURAGEOUS AND HONORABLE STAND BECAUSE HE REPRESENTS A STRONG AND COURAGEOUS AND HONORABLE PEOPLE.

A LONG TIME AGO, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE DEFENSE MINISTER, GENERAL GIAP, SAID HIS NATION WOULD DEFEAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DIDN'T HAVE THE STOMACH TO STAND IN A LONG WAR FOR FREEDOM. I BELIEVE BY OUR ACTIONS NOW WE CAN WRITE AN END BOTH TO THAT DELUSION AND TO THIS LONG AND TRAGIC WAR.

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NOT THAT THEY ARE ALL REPUBLICANS. NOT THAT THEY ALL VOTED FOR RICHARD NIXON OR ARE EVEN CERTAIN THAT THEY WILL VOTE FOR HIM IN NOVEMBER. THEY ARE CERTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN TURNED AROUND AND THEY ARE HAPPY TO HAVE BEHIND THEM THE UNCERTAINTIES AND CHAOS OF THE SIXTIES.

I AM SURE THAT YOU NEED NO REMINDERS OF WHAT IT WAS LIKE IN THOSE DAYS. THEY WERE AFTER ALL, NOT SO VERY LONG AGO. BUT WHAT A DIFFERENCE A FEW SHORT YEARS HAVE MADE. THEN, THE COUNTRY WAS BADLY DIVIDED. RACE AGAINST RACE. YOUTH AGAINST THEIR ELDERS. STUDENTS AGAINST WHAT THEY CALLED THE ESTABLISHMENT. AND EACH OF THESE DIVISIONS BROUGHT VIOLENCE AND EVEN DEATH IN THOSE DESPERATE DAYS IN THE SIXTIES.

THERE WAS INFLATION, BROUGHT ON BY WAR-TIME SPENDING. AND THERE WAS FISCAL MISMANAGEMENT BASED ON THE UNREALISTIC PREMISE THAT WE COULD HAVE GUNS AND BUTTER. THE SIXTIES LEFT US AN ECONOMIC LEGACY OF RISING INFLATION THAT WOULD TOP 6 % BEFORE IT COULD BE CONTROLLED.

IN THE PAST DECADE, AMERICA ENCOUNTERED A CRISIS OF THE SPIRIT MORE PROFOUND THAN ANY SINCE THE CIVIL WAR. SELF-DOUBT REPLACED SELF-ASSURANCE AND CONFIDENCE GAVE WAY TO A CYNICISM THAT AFFECTED ALMOST ALL AMERICANS. THE GREATNESS

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OF THEIR COUNTRY SEEMED TO MOST ONLY A MEMORY OF OUR HAPPIER PAST, RATHER THAN A STILL VIABLE BASIS OF OUR STRENGTH.

AND OVERSHADOWING ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS, THOUGHOUT MOST OF THAT TROUBLED DECADE, WAS THE LONG AND UNFORTUNATE WAR IN VIETNAM.

THIS WAS THE SITUATION --- AND THE CHALLENGE --- FACING RICHARD NIXON IN 1969. YOU ALL REMEMBER IT, I AM SURE. INDEED, HOW COULD WE FORGET IT?

RICHARD NIXON HAD NO EASY ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS FACING US THEN. THERE WERE NO EASY ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS OF WAR, OF INFLATION, AND DOMESTIC TURMOIL. BUT HE DID HAVE A SIMPLE PLAN.

AND I WOULD SUBMIT THAT HIS PLAN IS WORKING. THE EFFECTS CAN BE SEEN IN VIETNAM, IN OUR CITIES, ON OUR COLLEGE CAMPUSES AND IN YOUR FAMILY BUDGETS. THE PLAN INVOLVED ONLY ONE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT. IT INVOLVED, IN FACT, THE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT THAT IN LARGE MEASURE HAD BEEN MISSING FROM THE AMERICAN SCENE IN THOSE UNHAPPY YEARS FROM 1961 TO 1968. IT WAS LEADERSHIP. NOTHING MORE -- AND NOTHING LESS -- THAN THAT.

IT WAS THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP, I SUBMIT, THAT IS WILLING, AS THE PRESIDENT STATED TUESDAY NIGHT, TO GO THE EXTRA MILE FOR PEACE. THE DISCLOSURES OF TWO NIGHTS AGO SHOULD PROVE TO ALL CONCERNED THE FIRMNESS AND SINCERITY OF RICHARD NIXON'S RESOLVE TO END THE INDOCHINA CONFLICT.

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X I AM SURE THAT DURING THE LONG COURSE OF THIS LONGEST WAR IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY, MANY OF US HAVE HAD CAUSE TO QUESTION IN ONE ASPECT OR ANOTHER THE WISDOM OF OUR POLICIES IN VIETNAM. SOME OF US MAY HAVE FOUND FAULT WITH THE WAY IN WHICH THE WAR WAS PROSECUTED. FOR SOME, OUR INVOLVEMENT THERE MAY HAVE SEEMED TOO WEAK; FOR OTHERS, IT MAY HAVE SEEMED TOO STRONG. X BUT FOR THOSE WHOSE PRIMARY CONCERN WAS WITH THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR, THERE WAS ONE AREA, AT LEAST, OF ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT. THE WAR, THEY SAID, WAS WORTH THE FIGHT. OUR COMMITMENT, THEY AGREED, WAS RIGHT.

AND THESE, WE CALLED HAWKS.

X FOR OTHERS, THE QUESTION THEY ASKED ABOUT VIETNAM WAS NOT HOW TO FIGHT THERE, BUT WHY FIGHT THERE. THEY DOUBTED THE WISDOM OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF THAT LITTLE COUNTRY ON THE EDGE OF ASIA AND THEY RAISED SINCERE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THEY FORCED THIS COUNTRY TO CONFRONT THOSE QUESTIONS. AS THE WAR ESCALATED, AND OUR INVOLVEMENT GREW, THE POPULARITY OF THEIR POSITION SEEMED TO GROW WITH IT.

AND THOSE WHO TOOK THIS POSITION WERE CALLED DOVES.

AMONG BOTH GROUPS, THERE WERE THOSE WHO WENT TO EXTREMES, BUT, AS WELL, THERE WERE THOSE WHO RESPONSIBLY AND SINCERELY OUTLINED THEIR MODERATE POSITION.

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I HAVE NEVER AGREED WITH THE DOVES, BUT I CANNOT DENY THAT MANY HAVE MADE A
REAL PURPOSE OF CONTRIBUTION TO A RATIONAL DEBATE ON THE CHARACTER OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR.

IT IS DISTRESSING NOW, IN THIS CAMPAIGN YEAR, THAT A THIRD POSITION
HAS EMERGED. IT IS ONE THAT APPEARS TO BE MOTIVATED BY NOTHING MORE LOFTY THAN
THE POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF ITS ADHERENTS. AND IT IS A POSITION THAT COUNSELS
NOTHING MORE THAN A CUT AND RUN POLICY IN VIETNAM. WE CAN NOW ADD TO THE POLITICAL MENAGERIE OF HAWKS AND DOVES A NEW CATEGORY AND A NEW SPECIES.

IN THE FIELD OF CURRENT DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION OF THEIR PARTY, THERE ARE THOSE WHOSE POLITICAL AMBITIONS SET THEM APART FROM THE HAWKS AND THE DOVES. IN FACT, THEY RESEMBLE THAT UNGAINLY BEAST -- THE OSTRICH -- WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN KNOWN TO CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING OF LASTING VALUE TO THE WORLD AND IS PERHAPS BEST NOTED FOR ITS ABILITY TO EITHER HIDE FROM DANGER OR TO RUN FROM IT.

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IT IS THESE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES WITH THEIR HEADS IN THE SAND WHO HAVE COUNSELED AN IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM INDOCHINA AND A TOTAL RENUNCIATION OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO OUR ALLIES THERE. AND ONE, INCREDIBLY, HAS EVEN ADVANCED THE NOTION THAT WE HAVE SOMEHOW FAILED TO LIVE UP TO OUR DUTIES THERE BY NOT DOING MORE TO BRING ABOUT THE FALL OF THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT. SO SAYS TED KENNEDY.

AND IT IS NO LESS INCREDIBLE THAT MEN CAN URGE UPON THIS COUNTRY SUCH A BANKRUPT POLICY AND AT THE SAME TIME FAULT THE PRESIDENT FOR IGNORING WHAT THEY CALL THE MORAL CONSIDERATION INVOLVED IN THE WAR. PRESUMABLY, SENATOR MC GOVERN WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT IT IS MORAL FOR AMERICA TO START A WAR UNDER A DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION, BUT IT IS IMMORAL FOR A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION TO END THAT WAR IN A WAY THAT GUARANTEES THE SECURITY OF THAT SMALL COUNTRY.

NO ONE WILL DENY THAT THERE SHOULD BE OPEN DEBATE ON ALL MATTERS OF PUBLIC POLICY IN THIS COUNTRY. AS THE VICE PRESIDENT IS FOND OF SAYING -- AND I THINK HE IS RIGHT -- THIS COUNTRY IS BASED ON AN ADVERSARY SYSTEM IN WHICH ARGUMENTS ARE LAID OUT BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND MAY THE BEST ARGUMENT WIN.

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BUT FOR SUCH A SYSTEM TO WORK, THE ARGUMENTS MUST BE RATIONAL AND THE ADVERSARIES COMMITTED TO REASON. IN SUCH A SYSTEM, DEBATE CAN TAKE PLACE ON THE MERITS OF POLICIES AND NOT ON THEIR POLITICS OR ON THEIR EMOTIONAL APPEAL.

~~X~~ AND IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT I FIND THE WAY DEMOCRATS ARE CAMPAIGNING ON THIS ISSUE MOST DISTURBING. I LEAVE, OF COURSE, THE FINAL JUDGMENT TO YOU AS CITIZENS AND AS VOTERS. BUT, I ASK YOU WHETHER IT IS PROPER TO BASE A CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY ON A CALCULATED EFFORT TO IMPUGN THE MOTIVES OF THE PRESIDENT, WHOEVER HE IS AND WHATEVER HIS PARTY?

I ENCOURAGE ANY MAN TO OPPOSE THOSE POLICIES WHICH HIS REASON LEADS HIM TO OPPOSE. ALL OF US DIFFER ON THE WISDOM OF DIFFERENT POLICIES. WE CAN CALL THEM UNWISE OR IMPRUDENT. BUT IT IS A DIFFERENT MATTER ALTOGETHER TO CALL THEM IRRESPONSIBLE. AND THAT, MY FRIENDS, IS WHAT THE MC GOVERNS AND THE KENNEDYS ARE DOING IN THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN. IN FACT, IT IS THE BASIS OF THEIR CAMPAIGN. THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF RUNNING THE WAR ON THE BASIS OF AN ELECTION TIMETABLE. COMING FROM GEORGE MC GOVERN, WHO MUST FIND HIMSELF A CAPTIVE OF HIS OWN CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE, THE CHARGE WOULD BE LAUGHABLE IF IT WERE NOT SO INEXCUSABLE AND INDEFENSIBLE A LIBEL ON THE PERSONAL INTEGRITY OF RICHARD NIXON

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AND SO SLANDEROUS AN ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENCY ITSELF.

I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE DISCLOSURES MADE BY THE PRESIDENT LAST TUESDAY NIGHT HAVE MADE CLEAR THE GOOD FAITH OF RICHARD NIXON IN HIS QUEST FOR A LASTING PEACE IN INDOCHINA.

IT SHOULD HAVE MADE IT CLEAR FOR ALL OF THOSE WHO STILL FELT THAT THERE WAS REASON FOR DOUBT THAT THE INTRANSIGENCE OF HANOI AND NOT THE ALLEGED INEFFECTIVENESS OF SAIGON OR THE SUPPOSED IRRESPONSIBILITY IN WASHINGTON HAS CAUSED THIS WAR TO CONTINUE.

THE CURIOUS PREOCCUPATION OF SOME OF THE CURRENT CANDIDATES WITH THE MOTIVES OF PRESIDENT NIXON RAISES IN MY MIND THE QUESTION OF WHY A MAN RUNNING FOR THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD BASE HIS CAMPAIGN ON RHETORIC THAT ONLY RUNS DOWN THIS COUNTRY, OR ON FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS THAT AMOUNT TO NOTHING LESS THAN RUNNING UP THE WHITE FLAG OF RETREAT FROM OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP. WHEN THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS VIETNAM ANNOUNCEMENT TWO NIGHTS AGO, HE ANNOUNCED AN EIGHT POINT PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR IN INDOCHINA THAT, HE ASSURED US, COULD END THE WAR AND END IT NOW.

THE COMMUNISTS WERE QUICK TO ANNOUNCE THEIR INITIAL REJECTION OF THAT PROPOSAL -- A PROPOSAL THAT THE WORLD WILL RECOGNIZE AS JUST AND FAIR TO ALL

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PARTIES CONCERNED. WHY DID THEY REJECT IT?

COULD IT BE THAT THE CONTINUED OPPOSITION IN THIS COUNTRY TO THE RESPONSIBLE POLICIES OF RICHARD NIXON HAS GIVEN THE FALSE HOPE THAT AT SOME VAGUE POINT IN THE FUTURE, THEY WILL GET A BETTER BREAK FROM SOME FUTURE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENT? AGAIN, THIS IS A QUESTION TO WHICH I DO NOT HAVE THE ANSWER. BUT, I RAISE THE QUESTION AS ONE WORTHY OF YOUR CONSIDERATION AND AS ONE WORTHY OF THOUGHTFUL CONSIDERATION BY THOSE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES THEMSELVES.

PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW

YOU MAY KNOW THAT I HAVE JUST RECENTLY CALLED FOR A THOROUGH CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY AND EVALUATION OF THE ORIGINS OF THE VIETNAM WAR. WITH ALL THE LEAKS AND ALL THE INSIDE STORIES THAT ARE GETTING ATTENTION THESE DAYS, I BELIEVE SUCH AN INVESTIGATION IS ESSENTIAL IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE EVER TO KNOW WHAT IT IS THEIR RIGHT TO KNOW -- THE FULL STORY ON VIETNAM.

AT PRESENT, THEY CAN BE CERTAIN OF ONLY ONE THING WITH RESPECT TO THAT WAR. THEY DON'T KNOW HOW IT STARTED, BUT THEY KNOW FULL WELL HOW IT IS ENDING. AND THEY KNOW WHO IS ENDING IT. RICHARD NIXON IS THE MAN WHO IN 1968, MADE A RESPONSIBLE AND REALISTIC NEW BEGINNING TOWARD ENDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

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BUT STILL THE DEMOCRATS ISSUE CALLS FOR A FRESH START. PRESUMABLY THEY WOULD HAVE US FORGET WHAT THEY DID THE LAST TIME THEY HAD THAT OPPORTUNITY. THEY GAVE US A NEW BEGINNING ALL RIGHT. THEY STARTED A NEW WAR FOR AMERICA AND BROUGHT US NEW PROBLEMS TO FACE.

ONE OF THOSE PROBLEMS, I DON'T HAVE TO REMIND YOU, WAS THE RUNAWAY INFLATION THAT WAR-TIME SPENDING AND FISCAL MISMANAGEMENT PRODUCED.

WHAT MIGHT IT TAKE TO CONVINCE AMERICA THAT THEY NEED ANOTHER NEW BEGINNING WITH A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE? IF THE PRESIDENT HAD TAKEN NO ACTION TO BRING INFLATION UNDER CONTROL THEY MIGHT BE SO CONVINCED. IF RICHARD NIXON HAD BEEN COMPLACENT ABOUT THE FALSE PROSPERITY THAT CAME WITH THE WAR, THEY MIGHT JUSTIFIABLY BE SO CONVINCED.

NIXON PLAN FOR PROSPERITY

BUT RICHARD NIXON WAS NOT CONTENT WITH THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY THAT HE INHERITED FROM EIGHT YEARS OF PRIOR DEMOCRAT POLICIES. AND HERE AGAIN, HE HAD A PLAN -- A NEW ECONOMIC PLAN -- AND IT, TOO, IS WORKING. IN 1971, THE RATE OF INFLATION DECLINED. IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS OF LAST YEAR, IT HELD STEADY AT 1.5 PERCENT. AND AT THE SAME TIME THAT INFLATION WAS ON THE

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WANE, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, CONSUMER SPENDING, RETAIL SALES, PERSONAL INCOME AND HOUSING STARTS WERE ON THE RISE. BY THE END OF 1971, THE SIGNS WERE GOOD FOR A COMPLETE RECOVERY AND A STABLE TRANSITION FROM A WAR-TIME ECONOMY TO PEACE-TIME PROSPERITY.

CONTROLLED INFLATION AND INCREASED PRODUCTION ARE TWO ELEMENTS NECESSARY TO MAKE 1972 THE GREAT YEAR FOR THE AMERICAN ECONOMY THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PROMISED. THERE IS, OF COURSE, ANOTHER ELEMENT, AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT AS THE OTHER TWO. 1972 WILL BE A GREAT YEAR ECONOMICALLY ONLY IF UNEMPLOYMENT DECLINES. IT IS NOW AT SIX PERCENT. IT IS TRUE THAT, AS THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE LAST THURSDAY, THAT THIS RATE WOULD BE LOWER -- MUCH LOWER -- "IF TWO MILLION MEN RELEASED FROM THE ARMED FORCES AND DEFENSE-RELATED INDUSTRIES WERE STILL ON THEIR WAR-TIME JOBS."

BUT YOU KNOW AND I KNOW AND THE PRESIDENT KNOWS THAT IF THAT WERE THE CASE, THEN AMERICA WOULD STILL HAVE TO BE AT WAR AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY WOULD STILL HAVE TO BE ON A WAR-TIME FOOTING.

AND THE PRESIDENT KNOWS AS WELL THAT IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT MERELY TO POINT THIS OUT. THE GOAL HE HAS SET FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION -- A GOAL HE RE-ITERATED IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE -- IS FULL EMPLOYMENT IN PEACE TIME.

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HISTORIC AGREEMENTS ON MONETARY POLICY

THIS IS A GOAL THAT RICHARD NIXON IS DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE. IT IS A GOAL I AM CONFIDENT THAT RICHARD NIXON WILL ACHIEVE. A BEGINNING HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE. MAJOR DOMESTIC ACTION TO PRODUCE MORE JOBS AND STIMULATE INCREASED DEMAND FOR WORKERS HAS BEEN TAKEN. THE RECENT AND HISTORIC INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AGREEMENTS WILL INCREASE THE COMPETITIVE STATUS OF AMERICAN GOODS IN WORLD MARKETS, INCREASING THE DEMAND FOR THOSE GOODS AND THEREBY CREATING THE MARKET FOR MORE WORKERS TO PRODUCE THOSE GOODS.

THE DEMOCRATS, I REPEAT, ARE CALLING FOR AMERICA TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO MAKE A NEW BEGINNING. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REMEMBER -- INDEED HOW COULD THEY FORGET -- THAT THE LAST TIME THE DEMOCRATS HAD THAT OPPORTUNITY THE ONLY NEW THING THEY BEGAN WAS ANOTHER INFLATIONARY SPIRAL. AND THEY GAVE US A NEW APPROACH TO EMPLOYMENT POLICIES THAT MADE THE JOB SECURITY OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS DEPENDENT UPON A WAR IN WHICH THEIR FELLOW COUNTRY MEN WERE DYING.

NIXON BRINGS US HOME

IT IS POSSIBLE, TOO, AND EVEN LIKELY, THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD BE

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CONVINCED OF THE NEED TO THROW IN THEIR LOT WITH THE DEMOCRATS, IF THIS PRESIDENT HAD BEEN COMPLACENT ABOUT THE DIVISIONS IN THIS COUNTRY THAT REGULARLY ERUPTED INTO VIOLENCE DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE DEMOCRAT SIXTIES. THEY WOULD BE SO CONVINCED, AND WITH GOOD REASON, IF UNDER THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION THAT DANGEROUS SITUATION -- SO ALIEN TO THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE -- HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.

BUT RICHARD NIXON HAD A PLAN TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM AS WELL. IT WAS A PLAN PERHAPS LESS EASILY SUSCEPTIBLE TO ANALYSIS THAN VIETNAMIZATION OR THE NEW ECONOMIC PLAN THAT WE HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED. BUT IT WAS A PLAN THAT WAS NO LESS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED, NO LESS THOROUGHLY THOUGHT OUT. IT WAS A PLAN THAT WAS COMPREHENSIVE IN SCOPE THAT INCLUDED THE KINDS OF ACTION TAKEN UNDER THOSE OTHER PLANS OF PUBLIC POLICY THAT ARE ENDING WAR AND ENDING INFLATION.

MASTERING CHANGE

AND IT WAS A PLAN THAT HAS MET WITH THE SAME HIGH DEGREE OF SUCCESS THAT HAS ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THIS ADMINISTRATION. IT WAS A PLAN, QUITE SIMPLY, OF LEADERSHIP. IT WAS A PLAN THAT DICTATED THAT PROMISES SHOULD BE MADE ONLY IF THEY COULD BE FULFILLED. IT WAS A PLAN THAT REJECTED THE BANKRUPT DEMOCRAT PHILOSOPHY

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OF FEDERAL INFALLIBILITY AND AMERICAN OMNISCIENCE AND REPLACED THEM WITH A REALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHANGING NEEDS FOR OUR CHANGING COUNTRY IN THIS CHANGING WORLD. IT WAS A PLAN THAT WAS BASED ON THE INSIGHT THE PRESIDENT STATED SO SUCCINCTLY IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE WHEN HE SAID THAT "THE SECRET OF MASTERING CHANGE IN TODAY'S WORLD IS TO REACH BACK TO OLD AND PROVEN PRINCIPLES, AND TO ADAPT THEM, WITH IMAGINATION AND INTELLIGENCE TO THE NEW REALITIES OF A NEW AGE."

FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS, WE HAVE MADE OUR NEW BEGINNING BASED ON OLD, UNFAILING PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES RESPONSIVE TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES AND TO NEW NEEDS. AND THIS PLAN OF LEADERSHIP WHICH THE PRESIDENT BASED ON HIS SIMPLE BUT PROFOUND INSIGHT HAS SOLVED THAT PROBLEM THAT I SAID WAS SO ALIEN TO AMERICA -- THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS, AND OF VIOLENT DISRUPTION ON OUR CAMPUSES AND OF VIOLENT HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE RACES AND BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY.

LEADERSHIP IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON HAS EXERCISED THE POWER OF HIS LEADERSHIP TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN AMERICA AND RESTORE OUR CITIES AND COLLEGE CAMPUSES TO PEACE.

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IF IT WAS THE FIRST TASK OF LEADERSHIP AT THE START OF THE SEVENTIES TO RESTORE THE PEACE AMONG OURSELVES, IT IS THE CONTINUING TASK OF LEADERSHIP DURING THE SEVENTIES TO SECURE THE PEACE WITH ALL NATIONS. AND THAT TASK RICHARD NIXON HAS SET FOR HIMSELF IN A REALISTIC, IF NOT ALSO DRAMATIC, AND HISTORIC WAY.

HIS COMING TRIPS TO CHINA LATE NEXT MONTH AND TO THE SUMMIT IN MOSCOW NEXT MAY OFFER US OUR FIRST REAL HOPE SINCE WORLD WAR II FOR WHAT WE HAVE NOT HAD SINCE THE LAST CENTURY -- A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE.

RICHARD NIXON HAS DONE MORE THAN ANY OTHER PRESIDENT IN HISTORY IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE. HE HAS RAISED THE HOPES OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA AND OF THE WORLD THAT PEACE -- GENUINE AND LASTING -- CAN BE ACHIEVED AND MAINTAINED. AND HE HAS GIVEN THEM A REALISTIC BASIS FOR THEIR HOPE. NOT JUST SOME EMPTY AND VAGUE FAITH IN THE ULTIMATE PERFECTIBILITY OF MAN. NOT JUST SOME SIMPLISTIC RELIANCE ON A MUCH-HOPED-FOR, BUT AS YET UNPROVEN, ABILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ARGUE THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD INTO FORGETTING ABOUT THEIR SELF INTERESTS AND UNDERSTANDABLE IF NOT ALWAYS LEGITIMATE, NATIONAL NEEDS.

RICHARD NIXON HAS GIVEN US THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA AS A BASIS FOR OUR HOPE FOR LASTING PEACE. THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA, THE STRENGTH OF ITS RESOLVE

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IN CONCERT WITH ITS ALLIES TO PREVENT WAR, THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE EVERY AVAILABLE AVENUE TO PEACE. THIS IS THE BASIS OF OUR HOPE, THIS AND THE SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS THAT HAVE ALREADY PRESAGED A NEW DIRECTION FOR THE WORLD, A NEW DIRECTION AWAY FROM CONFLICT AND TOWARD PEACE.

WORLD TENSIONS REDUCED

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AMERICAN RESOLVE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A CEASE-FIRE BEGUN MORE THAN A YEAR AND A HALF AGO ON THE INITIATIVE OF SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS. AND THAT CEASE-FIRE ENDURES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

AND AT THE SALT TALKS, THERE ARE SIGNS OF REAL PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO LIMIT STRATEGIC WEAPONS AND THIS PROGRESS PRESAGES AN EVENTUAL REDUCTION IN THOSE WEAPONS.

WE HAVE EASED TENSIONS WITH CHINA, WE HAVE REACHED A NEW AND HISTORIC AGREEMENT ON BERLIN, WE HAVE BANNED NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE OCEAN FLOOR, AND WE HAVE ENDED THE THREAT OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE.

THESE ARE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THIS PRESIDENT AND OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. THEY ARE THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS THAT HAVE LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR FURTHER

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PROGRESS IN 1972. AND THAT BRINGS ME BACK TO THE QUESTION OF THE POLITICAL
OUTLOOK FOR THE YEAR AHEAD.

VICTORY IN '72

1972 WILL BE A REPUBLICAN YEAR. IT WILL BE A YEAR IN WHICH WE WILL SEE
THE REELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE ELECTION OF REPUBLICANS TO LOCAL, STATE
AND NATIONAL OFFICES ALL OVER THIS LAND.

THE REASON FOR MY CONFIDENCE IS CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS. THE PERFORMANCE
OF THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS GIVEN US A RECORD OF UNPARALLELED ACCOMPLISHMENT.
AT A TIME WHEN THIS COUNTRY COULD NOT LOOK ANY FARTHER AHEAD THAN NEXT WEEK'S
CASUALTY TOTAL IN VIETNAM OR NEXT DAY'S OUTBREAK OF DEATH DEALING VIOLENCE IN
OUR CITIES, RICHARD NIXON TOOK OFFICE AS THE 37TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

HIS LEADERSHIP IN THAT OFFICE HAS TURNED THIS COUNTRY AWAY FROM ITS MOR-
BID PREOCCUPATIONS WITH ITS FAILURES. RICHARD NIXON HAS RECALLED THIS COUNTRY
TO LIFE AND RESOTRED ITS FAITH IN ITS GREATNESS. AND IT IS ON THE BASIS OF
THAT RESTORED FAITH THAT AMERICA AND THE WORLD CAN LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUED
PROGRESS TOWARD PRESIDENT NIXON'S GOALS OF A BETTER NATION IN A MORE PEACEFUL
WORLD.