

Pres. said remarks -

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

MISSOURI STATE REPUBLICAN LINCOLN DAY DINNER
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1972

held -- Doc Hall -

Didn't
know
cancel out

IT IS NOW MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED YEARS SINCE THE DEATH OF THE MAN WHOSE LIFE WE ARE HERE TO COMMEMORATE. FROM HIS HUMBLE BEGINNINGS TO HIS HEINOUS DEATH, THE HISTORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S LIFE IS FAMILIAR TO ALL OF US AND TO ALL AMERICANS. BUT IT IS MORE THAN JUST HISTORY. IT IS PART OF THE FABRIC OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE.

THE LINCOLN STORY IS AN ESSENTIAL CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN STORY. THERE ARE THOSE, IN FACT, WHO SAY THAT WITHOUT A PROPER UNDERSTANDING OF LINCOLN, ONE CANNOT REALLY UNDERSTAND AMERICA.

BUT WE CAN LEAVE THAT DETERMINATION TO THE SCHOLARS. IT IS ENOUGH FOR US REPUBLICANS TO ACKNOWLEDGE OUR DEBT TO THE 16TH PRESIDENT. IT WAS HE, OUR FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT, WHO MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE, DEFINED AND FORMULATED THE ESSENCE OF OUR REPUBLICANISM.

FROM ITS VERY BEGINNINGS, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BEEN GUIDED BY A SINGLE AND ENDURING POLITICAL PRINCIPLE. IT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN

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POLITICAL IDEAL THAT ALL MEN DESERVE A FULL AND EQUAL MEASURE OF FREEDOM; THAT THEY ALL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE THEIR OWN WAY IN SOCIETY; AND THAT THEY ALL SHARE THE RIGHT TO DO SO WITHOUT UNDUE INTERFERENCE BY GOVERNMENT OR BY FELLOW CITIZEN.

IN THE TROUBLED CIVIL WAR PERIOD OF THE MID-19TH CENTURY, IT WAS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT RE-DEDICATED THIS COUNTRY TO THAT IDEAL. AND IT WAS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, THROUGH THE PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THAT GAVE AMERICA THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT COULD MAKE OF THAT IDEAL A FORCE STRONG ENOUGH TO PRESERVE THE UNION.

REPUBLICAN LEGACY OF LEADERSHIP

TODAY, IN THE TRADITION OF THAT COMMITMENT, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, UNDER RICHARD NIXON CONTINUES TO BUILD ON THE LEGACY OF THAT LEADERSHIP.

IN THE 1860'S, LINCOLN COULD DEVOTE HIS ENERGIES PRIMARILY TO ONE END ALONE -- THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION. AND IT IS FOR HIS INSPIRED AND INSPIRING LEADERSHIP DURING OUR CIVIL WAR THAT HE IS CHIEFLY REMEMBERED.

BUT IN THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE WAR, WHEN AMERICA'S DESTINY AS ONE NATION SEEMED SECURE, LINCOLN DIRECTED HIS THOUGHTS TO THE FUTURE. ONLY WEEKS BEFORE

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HIS DEATH, HE CHALLENGED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO "BIND UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS" AND TO TURN THEIR ENERGIES AND RE-UNIFIED STRENGTH TO "DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE AND CHERISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS."

A GENERATION OF PEACE AFTER LINCOLN

LINCOLN HAD RESTORED THE NATION'S UNITY AND BROUGHT CIVIL WAR TO AN END. HE GAVE AMERICA WHAT IT NEEDED SO DESPERATELY IN THOSE TROUBLED TIMES OF THE LAST CENTURY. HE GAVE IT LEADERSHIP. HE GAVE IT THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS IN THE LAST THIRD OF THE 19TH CENTURY -- OUR LAST FULL GENERATION OF PEACE.

IT WAS DURING THOSE THIRTY YEARS THAT AMERICA GREW FROM ITS INFANCY. ITS ENERGIES TURNED AWAY FROM THE PURSUIT OF WAR AND WERE DEVOTED TO THE PEACE TIME TASKS OF NATION BUILDING AND THE EXPANSION OF FREEDOM. AND AMERICAN ENERGIES, SO DEVOTED, PRODUCED THE STRONGEST AND PROUDEST NATION IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

RICHARD NIXON'S LEADERSHIP HAS LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR ANOTHER GENERATION OF PEACE IN THE LAST THIRD OF THIS CENTURY. LEFT ONCE MORE TO PEACEFUL PURSUITS, AMERICAN ENERGIES CAN TRANSFORM THE WORLD AS ONCE IT TRANSFORMED THIS CONTINENT.

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FOR THE LAST SEVENTY YEARS, MANKIND HAS KNOWN LITTLE BUT WAR OR THE THREAT OF WAR. DURING ALL THAT TIME, PEACE HAS BEEN A RECURRING DREAM. TODAY, WE CAN SAY WITH CONFIDENCE, THAT IT IS NO LONGER JUST A DREAM. IT IS NOT A CERTAINTY, OF COURSE. AND WE WILL NOT ATTAIN PEACE JUST BY WISHING IT WERE SO, IN SPITE OF WHAT THE DEMOCRATS MAY THINK.

BUT RICHARD NIXON'S LEADERSHIP OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS HAS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US NOW TO SAY THAT PEACE IS A REALISTIC POSSIBILITY. THAT IS FAR MORE THAN WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SAY ABOUT THE SUBJECT IN MY LIFETIME.

NIXON WORKS FOR PEACE

FROM THE MIDDLE EAST TO INDOCHINA, IN BERLIN AND IN VIENNA, THE CHALLENGE OF BRINGING PEACE TO AN APPREHENSIVE WORLD HAS BEEN MET SQUARELY. AND WE ARE SEEING RESULTS.

ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO, AMERICAN INITIATIVES SET IN MOTION BY SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS OBTAINED A CEASE-FIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT ENDURES TO THE PRESENT DAY. WE HAVE REACHED AN HISTORIC AGREEMENT ON BERLIN.

THE HORRIBLE THREAT OF A WAR INVOLVING BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS HAS BEEN REMOVED.

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AND THE SALT TALKS PROGRESS, OFFERING THE HOPE THAT THE FUTURE WILL BRING REDUCTIONS IN THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AS WELL. THESE TALKS HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE AND ENCOURAGING. AND THERE IS REASON TO HOPE THAT PRESENT PROGRESS ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION MAY PRESAGE AN EVENTUAL STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION.

AMERICA'S EFFORTS FOR PEACE HAVE BEEN CEASELESS. WE LOOK FORWARD NOW, TO THE PRESIDENT'S HISTORIC TRIP TO PEKING, ONLY TWO SHORT WEEKS AWAY. AND THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY HIS JOURNEY TO MOSCOW IN MAY. IT IS WHAT HAS GONE BEFORE THESE TRIPS -- WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED IN THE LAST THREE YEARS -- THAT HAS MADE THEM POSSIBLE. THEY CAN BE UNDERTAKEN NOW WITH CONFIDENCE. NO ONE NEED FEAR THAT OUR MOTIVES WILL BE MISINTERPRETED. FOR THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE IT PLAIN HOW STRONG IS OUR DESIRE FOR PEACE.

BUT NEITHER WILL OUR STRENGTH BE UNDERESTIMATED NOR OUR RESOLVE BE QUESTIONED. FOR THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE IT PLAIN THAT HE IS DETERMINED TO KEEP AMERICA STRONG AND TO MAINTAIN THE STRENGTH THAT COMES WITH SOLID PARTNERSHIP WITH OUR ALLIES.

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TO END THE WAR AND WIN THE PEACE

OUR DESIRE FOR PEACE AND OUR RESOLVE THAT THE PEACE SHOULD BE AN HONORABLE ONE HAS BEEN NOWHERE SO CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED AS IN THE NIXON POLICIES ON VIETNAM. THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN, FROM ITS INCEPTION, HAS BEEN DESIGNED NOT ONLY TO END OUR AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THAT WAR, BUT TO END THAT WAR ITSELF. THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENT WITH RESPECT TO THAT WAR AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE OFFER A FRESH PERSPECTIVE ON THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES FOR PEACE. AND AS WELL, THEY CAST NEW LIGHT ON THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THOSE POLICIES.

THE FACTS ARE THESE. IN 1969, WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE, ALMOST 550,000 AMERICAN SERVICEMEN WERE ON DUTY, IN COMBAT OR COMBAT SUPPORT ASSIGNMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THAT WAS THE SITUATION THIS PRESIDENT INHERITED FROM HIS DEMOCRAT PREDECESSORS.

HE DID NOT INHERIT A PLAN FOR BRINGING THEM BACK. HE DID NOT INHERIT A PLAN FOR ENDING THE WAR. THE DEMOCRATS WHO HAD GOTTEN US INTO THE CONFLICT -- AND WHO ARE NOW ADVISING SEVERAL DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS -- HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO CONCEIVE OF A WAY TO TERMINATE THAT WAR. IT WAS LEFT TO RICHARD NIXON TO DO THAT. BUT IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1968, THE PRESIDENT HAD PROMISED THAT HE HAD SUCH A PLAN.

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AND SHORTLY AFTER HE TOOK OFFICE, HE PRODUCED THAT PLAN AND PUT IT INTO OPERATION.

THE PLAN WAS VIETNAMIZATION. AND IT IS WORKING.

PRIOR TO VIETNAMIZATION, AMERICAN CASUALTIES WERE AVERAGING SOME 300 MEN A WEEK. SOMETIMES EVEN MORE. THIS WEEK, FOR THE 17TH WEEK IN A ROW, THAT FIGURE HAS BEEN LESS THAN TEN. THAT IS STILL TOO MANY. ONE AMERICAN'S DEATH IN COMBAT IS TOO MANY. WITH VIETNAMIZATION, HOWEVER, THE NUMBER HAS BEEN ON A STEADY DECLINE, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT SOON, PERHAPS NOT THIS WEEK OR THE NEXT, BUT VERY SOON AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM WILL BE REDUCED TO ZERO.

JUST AS OUR CASUALTIES HAVE DROPPED, SO HAS OUR INVOLVEMENT. BY JULY OF 1971, OUR TROOP COMMITMENT IN VIETNAM HAD BEEN REDUCED TO HALF OF ITS PEAK 1968 LEVEL. BY THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR, IT HAD BEEN REDUCED TO A THIRD OF THAT. AND BY MAY 1, SOME 480,000 AMERICAN SERVICEMEN WILL HAVE BEEN BROUGHT HOME, CUTTING OUR FORCE THERE TO LESS THAN A SEVENTH OF ITS FORMER SIZE.

VIETNAMIZATION WAS AND IS MORE THAN A POLICY MERELY TO GET OUR MEN OUT OF COMBAT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IT IS MORE THAN A POLICY TO BRING AMERICANS HOME. IT IS A PLAN TO DO THAT WITH AMERICAN HONOR AND VIETNAMESE INTEGRITY INTACT. AND IT IS SUCCEEDING. IT IS A PLAN TO STRENGTHEN THE CAPABILITY OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES -- TO GIVE THEM THE ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND TO

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STAND FIRMLY AGAINST THE AGGRESSION OF THE NORTH. AND A STRONG AND SELF-RELIANT SOUTH VIETNAM IS OUR GREATEST HOPE FOR AN END TO THE WAR. AND THAT PLAN IS WORKING.

BUT THE PRESIDENT HAS DESCRIBED VIETNAMIZATION AS THE LONG ROUTE TO PEACE. AND AT THE SAME TIME THAT HE HAS PURSUED THAT CAREFULLY DESIGNED POLICY, HE HAS ALSO BEEN MAKING VIGOROUS EFFORTS TO WIN PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS AT PARIS.

HIS DRAMATIC DISCLOSURES ABOUT THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED BY DR. KISSINGER OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAST THIRTY MONTHS HAVE REVEALED JUST HOW VIGOROUS AND COMPREHENSIVE AND UNREMITTING THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN.

DISCLOSURES SOURCE OF HOPE AND PRIDE

THEY REVEALED THE LENGTHS TO WHICH RICHARD NIXON HAS GONE -- SINCE THE VERY START OF HIS ADMINISTRATION -- TO TRY TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND A FAIR SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM. THE EIGHT POINT PEACE PLAN OFFERED FIRST IN PRIVATE AND NOW MADE PUBLIC BY THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN HAILED ALMOST UNIVERSALLY AS FAIR AND, BY SOME, AS AN EVEN GENEROUS PROPOSAL.

FOR THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS, THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS THE CAUSE OF HOPE AND OF PRIDE. FOR THOSE WHO STILL HAD FELT THAT THERE WAS SOME

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REASON TO DOUBT, IT OFFERED THE FINAL PROOF OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S RESOLVE TO GO "THE EXTRA MILE FOR PEACE."

BUT IF THE PRESIDENT'S DISCLOSURES REVEALED ALL OF THIS, THEY ALSO REVEALED THE LENGTHS TO WHICH SOME MEN MAY BE DRIVEN BY POLITICAL AMBITION. SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S PLAN CAME FROM ALL SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION. MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE, BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS, LENT THEIR SUPPORT TO THE PLAN. AND THIS IS NOT SURPRISING. IT IS, AFTER ALL, A SENSIBLE PLAN. IT IS A REALISTIC PLAN. AND IT IS A RESPONSIBLE AND A FAIR PLAN TO SECURE PEACE IN AN AREA OF THE WORLD THAT HAS BEEN TORN BY WAR FOR THREE DECADES.

PEACE NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS IN THIS COUNTRY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN HARD FOUGHT AND HOTLY CONTESTED. DISAGREEMENT IS THE BASIS OF THESE CAMPAIGNS. REASONED AND RESPONSIBLE DISAGREEMENT, INDEED, IS THE BASIS OF OUR SYSTEM. BUT PEACE IN VIETNAM IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE. THE EIGHT POINT PEACE PROPOSAL IS NOT A REPUBLICAN PEACE PLAN. IT IS AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL FOR PEACE IN INDOCHINA AND IT DESERVES THE BI-PARTISAN SUPPORT OF ALL AMERICANS SINCERELY SEEKING PEACE.

THE NATIONAL PRESS WAS ALMOST UNANIMOUS IN ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE PLAN. LET ME QUOTE BRIEFLY FROM AN EDITORIAL WHICH APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES

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OF JANUARY 27. "IT WOULD BE THE HEIGHT OF IRRESPONSIBILITY," SAYS THE TIMES, "TO WRITE OFF THE NEW NIXON PROPOSALS BEFORE THESE AND OTHER POSSIBLE OPENINGS TOWARD PEACE HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY EXPLORED."

I DO NOT ALWAYS FIND MYSELF IN AGREEMENT WITH THE EDITORIAL POLICY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES. WITH THIS POSITION, HOWEVER, FEW COULD FIND FAULT. IN FACT, I KNOW OF NO ONE WHO DID, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE FEW WHO HAVE FALLEN SO HOPELESSLY CAPTIVE TO THEIR OWN POLITICAL AMBITIONS THAT THEY SEE EVERY ISSUE AS A POLITICAL ISSUE. TO SOME OF THE CURRENT DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT, IT SEEMS, NOTHING -- NOT THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE, NOT THE SAFETY OF SERVICEMEN, BOTH VIETNAMESE AND AMERICAN, NOT OUR MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR ALLY IN SAIGON, NOTHING AT ALL -- IS SO IMPORTANT AS THEIR OWN POLITICAL SELF-INTEREST.

NO MUSKIE LEADERSHIP

ENTER ED MUSKIE. LESS THAN A WEEK AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT -- QUICKER ALMOST THAN YOU COULD SAY GALLUP POLL -- THE SENATOR FROM MAINE, IN A PUBLIC FORUM, TOOK IT UPON HIMSELF TO DENOUNCE AND REJECT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL. APPARENTLY, THE SENATOR FROM MAINE HAS FEWER QUALMS ABOUT REJECTING A REALISTIC CHANCE FOR PEACE THAN DOES THE ENEMY; FOR HIS REJECTION CAME BEFORE ANY SUCH MOVE BY THE ENEMY.

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NO ONE EXPECTS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE SUDDENLY TO ACCEPT A PUBLIC PLAN WHICH THEY WOULD NOT AGREE TO IN PRIVATE. BUT SENATOR MUSKIE WOULD DO WELL TO NOTE THE DEVELOPMENTS OF LAST THURSDAY. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE CERTAINLY NOT ACCEPTED WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL, NOR HAVE THEY OFFERED AN ACCEPTABLE COUNTER PROPOSAL. WHAT THEY HAVE DONE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN TO MODERATE THEIR PREVIOUS DEMANDS. THEY ARE BEGINNING TO FEEL THE PRESSURE OF WORLD OPINION THAT THE JANUARY 26 DISCLOSURES HAVE SET IN MOTION. IN SPITE OF THE NAYSAYING OF SENATOR MUSKIE, THERE IS CAUSE NOW FOR CAUTIOUS HOPE.

WE ARE ASKED TO TRUST MUSKIE. I ASK WHY? WHAT SHALL WE TRUST HIM TO DO? HE HAS PROVEN **HIS** ABILITY TO PILE MISREPRESENTATION UPON BANALITY, AND HE WOULD HAVE US CALL THAT STATESMANSHIP. SHALL WE ENTRUST TO HIM THE FOREIGN POLICY NEEDS OF THE SEVENTIES?

HIS AMBITION HAS PROVEN OVERPOWERING AND HE WOULD HAVE US CALL IT LEADERSHIP. SHALL WE ENTRUST TO HIM THE HOPES OF THIS NATION AS IT ENTERS ITS 200TH YEAR?

MUSKIE OFFERED HIS OWN PLAN TO ACHIEVE WHAT HE WOULD CALL PEACE IN VIETNAM. IT IS A TWO POINT PLAN THAT CALLS FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL

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AMERICAN MEN IN COMBAT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND ALSO URGES THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION WITH ALL POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. WHEN PRESSED FOR FURTHER DETAILS, MUSKIE DECLINED TO PROVIDE THEM. WHAT IF THE COMMUNISTS REFUSE TO RETURN OUR PRISONERS, HE WAS ASKED. AND HE DIDN'T HAVE AN ANSWER.

WHAT IF SAIGON FAILS OR REFUSES TO COME TO AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE VIET CONG, HE WAS ASKED. AND HE DIDN'T HAVE AN ANSWER.

THIS, THE SENATOR FROM MAINE WOULD HAVE US CALL FOREIGN POLICY.

IT IS NOT FOR ME. AND I AM SURE YOU DON'T WANT IT. I AM CONFIDENT AS WELL, THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NEVER ACCEPT IT.

THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING ON OLD AND BANKRUPT POLICIES THAT WERE PROVEN WRONG IN THE SIXTIES. WHEN CONFRONTED WITH THE IMAGINATIVE LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON, LEADERSHIP THAT IS RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF A VASTLY CHANGED WORLD, THEY ARE ONLY BEWILDERED AND CONFUSED. FOR THEY UNDERSTAND NEITHER IMAGINATION NOR LEADERSHIP.

THE TOTAL BANKRUPTCY OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS IS BEST EXEMPLIFIED BY THE RESPONSE OF GEORGE MC GOVERN WHO PROMISES THAT, WERE HE

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PRESIDENT, HE WOULD ACCEPT THE VIET CONG PROPOSAL OF LAST AUGUST. NO CHANGES, NO MODIFICATIONS. THAT IS THE BEST WE ARE GOING TO GET, SAYS MC GOVERN.

IF HE WERE PRESIDENT, I THINK HE WOULD BE RIGHT.

BUT WE HAVE A PRESIDENT, AS YOU WELL KNOW, WHO IS CONCERNED WITH LEADERSHIP. HE IS A MAN WHO TAKES ACTION. WHO LIVES UP TO HIS RESPONSIBILITIES, BOTH TO OUR ALLIES AND TO OUR CITIZENS HERE AT HOME. WHO WILL NOT SETTLE ON THE TERMS DICTATED BY THE ENEMY.

NIXON RESTORES PEACE AT HOME

IT IS THE CONTINUING TASK OF REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE SEVENTIES TO SECURE A LASTING PEACE WITH ALL NATIONS. BUT IT WAS THE FIRST TASK OF RICHARD NIXON AFTER HE ASSUMED THE PRESIDENCY TO RESTORE THE PEACE AMONG OURSELVES.

HE HAD A PLAN TO END THE WAR ABROAD, AND HE HAD A PLAN TO END THE VIOLENCE AT HOME.

TO BE SURE, THE LATTER WAS A PLAN LESS EASILY SUSCEPTIBLE TO ANALYSIS AND COMMENT THAN THE POLICY OF VIETNAMIZATION. BUT IT WAS A PLAN THAT WAS NO LESS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED AND NO LESS CAREFULLY PLANNED THAN THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE PLAN. IT WAS, IN FACT, A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN THAT CHARACTERIZES

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ALL THE ACTIVITY AND ALL THE INITIATIVES AND ALL THE RHETORIC OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION.

IT WAS, SIMPLY, A PLAN OF LEADERSHIP THAT DICTATED THAT PROMISES WOULD BE MADE ONLY IF THEY COULD BE FULFILLED. IT WAS A PLAN TO REJECT THE BANKRUPTCY OF DEMOCRAT PHILOSOPHY THAT ASSUMED THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE OMNIPOTENCE OF AMERICA.

RICHARD NIXON REPLACED THESE REMINDERS OF A TROUBLED AMERICAN PAST WITH A REALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHANGING NEEDS OF AMERICA AND THE WORLD.

AS A RESULT, THE DISRUPTION ON CAMPUS, AND THE CHAOS IN OUR CITIES THAT WERE SO MUCH A PART OF THE AMERICAN SCENE WHEN RICHARD NIXON WAS INAUGURATED, NOW ARE HAPPILY A THING OF THE PAST. VIOLENT HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE RACES AND BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS IN AMERICA NO LONGER DOMINATES THE HEADLINES IN THE AMERICAN PRESS, AND IT NO LONGER THREATENS TO DEPRESS AND EVEN DESTROY THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND CAPACITY FOR WORKING TOGETHER IN PARTNERSHIP.

RICHARD NIXON'S PLAN WAS TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP THIS NATION NEEDS IN THESE TROUBLED BUT PROMISING TIMES. WITH IT, AMERICA HAS WELL BEGUN THE JOB OF AVOIDING THE TROUBLE AND FULFILLING THE PROMISE OF THE SEVENTIES.

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IN HIS 1972 STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT STATED A SINGLE INSIGHT ON WHICH HIS LEADERSHIP AND THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF THIS NATION ARE BASED. "THE SECRET OF MASTERING CHANGE IN TODAY'S WORLD," HE SAID, "IS TO REACH BACK TO OLD AND PROVEN PRINCIPLES, AND TO ADAPT THEM, WITH IMAGINATION AND INTELLIGENCE, TO NEW REALITIES OF A NEW AGE."

THOSE OLD AND PROVEN PRINCIPLES MOTIVATED ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND INSPIRED IN HIM THE LEADERSHIP THAT SHAPED OUR PARTY AND PRESERVED OUR NATION. THOSE OLD AND PROVEN PRINCIPLES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, OF INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE, BUILT THIS NATION AND FORMED IT IN GREATNESS. REAPPLIED TO OUR CHANGING NEEDS, WITH COMPASSION AND WISDOM, THESE PRINCIPLES WILL WORK TODAY AS THEY WORKED IN LINCOLN'S TIME AND AS THEY WORKED FOR OUR FOUNDING FATHERS.

THIS IS NOT THE EASIEST WAY. BUT IT IS THE SUREST WAY. AND IT IS RICHARD NIXON'S WAY. SOME WILL OFFER A SIMPLER ROUTE. SOME WILL TRY TO TAKE US BACK TO THE DAYS WHEN AMERICANS CAME TO EXPECT THEIR GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON TO MAKE THEIR DECISIONS FOR THEM AND FOR THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

AND I FEAR THAT SOME -- ONLY THOSE, I HOPE, WHO CAN BE FOOLED ALL OF THE TIME -- MAY WANT TO FOLLOW. AND THAT, OF COURSE, IS WHERE WE COME IN.

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IT IS OUR JOB, HERE IN ST. LOUIS, IN THE STATE OF MISSOURI, AND THROUGHOUT THESE UNITED STATES, TO MAKE SURE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE POSSIBILITIES THAT LIE BEFORE THEM. IT IS NOT "A LIFE OF UNINSPIRING EASE," IN THE WORDS OF THE PRESIDENT. AND NOT "A LIFE OF GRIM SACRIFICE." WHAT RICHARD NIXON'S LEADERSHIP OFFERS US IS AN ADVENTURE IN RECLAIMING FOR AMERICANS THE PRECIOUS KNOWLEDGE THAT THIS IS A GREAT COUNTRY, WITH STILL UNFINISHED TASKS AND YET UNFULFILLED POTENTIALS. THAT IS THE CHALLENGE BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND THE ADVENTURE -- AS RICH AS HUMANITY ITSELF AND AS EXCITING AS THE TIMES WE LIVE IN -- IN WHICH RICHARD NIXON WOULD ENLIST US ALL.

LET US THEN RESOLVE TO WORK TOGETHER IN PARTNERSHIP IN THIS GREAT EFFORT. MAKE YOUR FRIENDS AND THE PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMUNITIES AWARE OF WHAT IS AT STAKE IN NOVEMBER. THE RECORD OF RICHARD NIXON WILL STAND ON ITS OWN IF ONLY IT IS MADE KNOWN. IF ONLY WE TELL IT OFTEN ENOUGH.

IF WE DO OUR PART, AS A TEAM, THEN 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.

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RICHARD NIXON HAS TURNED THIS COUNTRY AND THIS WORLD AROUND. HE IS RESTORING THE PEOPLE'S FAITH IN THEIR GREATNESS AS A NATION. AND IT WILL BE BECAUSE OF THE RESTORATION OF THAT FAITH AND NATIONAL SELF-CONFIDENCE THAT AMERICA -- AND THE WORLD -- CAN HOPE FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS.

WHEN HE ANNOUNCED HIS CANDIDACY FOR REELECTION IN JANUARY, THE PRESIDENT SAID, "WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT BEGINNINGS IN THESE PAST THREE YEARS. I WANT TO COMPLETE THE WORK WE HAVE BEGUN."

ALL OF US OWE IT TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE COUNTRY, AS WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES, TO WORK AS HARD AS OUR ENERGIES WILL ALLOW TO GIVE HIM THAT CHANCE.

U.S. SENATOR ROBERT DOLE --CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

EXCERPTS FROM HIS SPEECH OF FEBRUARY 5TH, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI BEFORE
THE MISSOURI ASSOCIATION OF REPUBLICANS: LINCOLN DAY DINNER.

PRESIDENT NIXON ON JANUARY 25TH REVEALED TO THE WORLD THE ESSENTIALS
OF A JUST AND WORKABLE PEACE PROPOSAL WHICH HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO HANOI.
THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT HAS NOT REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL. ONE OF THE
DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIALS CANDIDATES DID REJECT IT HOWEVER. INTENTIONALLY
OR THROUGH A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING, SENATOR MUSKIE ON FEBRUARY 2ND MAY
HAVE SEVERLY UNDERMINED THE CHANCES FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE IN SOUTHEAST
ASIA THIS YEAR.

THE SENATOR HAS APPARENTLY ATTEMPTED TO REDUCE THE PEACE PROPOSAL TO
SOMETHING HE UNDERSTANDS. HE HAS OFFERED A TWO-POINT PLAN:

IF ELECTED HE PROMISES PRECIPITATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OUR
FORCES AND THE LAST MAN OUT WILL BE ASSIGNED TO DRAG
PRESIDENT THIEU ALONG BEHIND HIM.

I CALL UPON SENATOR MUSKIE WHO IS IN ST. LOUIS TONIGHT, TO WITHDRAW
HIS ILL ADVISED STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 2ND AND TO DISAVOW ANY INFERENCE
THAT HE WILL CAPITULATE TO NORTH VIET NAM IF ELECTED PRESIDENT.

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ONLY IN THIS FASHION CAN HE UNDO THE DAMAGE HE MAY HAVE DONE
TO THIS NATION'S NEGOTIATING POSITION AND RESTORE THE VERY
SUBSTANTIAL POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED PEACE BROUGHT ABOUT BY
PRESIDENT NIXON.

memorandum 10/1 - 10/1 - 10/1
200.1 - 10/1 - 10/1
I DO NOT BELIEVE THE SENATOR WOULD KNOWINGLY DAMAGE THIS NATION'S
HOPES FOR PEACE BUT APPARENTLY HE FAILED TO UNDERSTAND ALL THAT IS
INVOLVED IN THIS PROBLEM; AND THOSE WHO ADVISE HIM ARE EQUALLY
ILL-INFORMED.

CLARK CLIFFORD AND AVERELL HARRIMAN, TWO OF THE SENATOR'S CHIEF ADVISORS,
ARE ALSO OF COURSE TWO OF THE ARCHITECTS OF THE WAR. THE LIKELIHOOD
THAT THOSE WHO CREATED THE WAR WILL NOW BE ABLE TO END IT -- WHEN THEY
HAD EIGHT YEARS TO DO SO AND FAILED -- THAT LIKELIHOOD SEEMS SMALL.

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