

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
NATIONAL TELEPHONE COOPERATIVES
TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1972
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AFTER MORE THAN FIVE YEARS OF LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS, SUPPORTED BY ALL SEGMENTS OF THE TELEPHONE INDUSTRY, A BILL TO ESTABLISH A RURAL TELEPHONE BANK WAS APPROVED BY THE CONGRESS AND SIGNED BY PRESIDENT NIXON ON MAY 7, 1971. I HAD THE UNIQUE PRIVILEGE OF WORKING FOR PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS. I INTRODUCED THE BILL SUBSEQUENTLY PASSED BY THE U. S. SENATE. THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS LEGISLATION IS TO PROVIDE NON-FEDERAL SOURCES OF FINANCING TO SUPPLEMENT THE EXISTING REA TELEPHONE LOAN PROGRAM.

THE EXISTENCE OF THE RURAL TELEPHONE BANK PROVIDES RURAL TELEPHONE SYSTEMS WITH A SECOND PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF FINANCING FOR THEIR GROWING CAPITAL NEEDS. THESE NEEDS HAVE ALREADY RESULTED IN A PILE-UP OF APPLICATIONS IN REA EQUIVALENT TO 5 TIMES THE AMOUNT WHICH THE CONGRESS HAS BEEN APPROPRIATING ANNUALLY FOR REA LOANS.

RURAL SERVICES EXPANDING

ALTHOUGH REA TELEPHONE BORROWERS ARE CURRENTLY ADDING SUBSCRIBERS AT A RATE OF ABOUT 150,000 PER YEAR, 14 PERCENT OF THE FARMSTEADS IN THE

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UNITED STATES ARE STILL WITHOUT TELEPHONE SERVICE. ALSO, ALMOST HALF OF THE SUBSCRIBERS OF REA-FINANCED SYSTEMS STILL SHARE THEIR LINE WITH THREE OR MORE SUBSCRIBERS. BY TODAY'S STANDARDS, THIS IS CONSIDERED INADEQUATE. BUT, WITH THE NEW LEGISLATION, WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS.

WITH REA LOANS OF \$133.5 MILLION AND \$90 MILLION IN TELEPHONE BANK LOANS PROJECTED FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR, THE ADMINISTRATION'S TELEPHONE PROGRAM IS HEADED FOR AN ALL TIME HIGH IN LOANS.

TODAY, THE 237 COOPERATIVES AND 627 COMMERCIAL COMPANIES FINANCED BY REA ARE SUPPLYING THE TELEPHONE NEEDS OF 2.4 MILLION SUBSCRIBERS IN 46 STATES. THIS HAS TAKEN NEARLY \$2 BILLION IN FEDERAL LOAN FUNDS AND THE CLOSE COOPERATION OF THE ENTIRE TELEPHONE INDUSTRY.

TELEPHONE COOPERATIVES, WHICH CONSTITUTE ABOUT 27 PERCENT OF REA BORROWERS, HAVE RECEIVED ABOUT 38 PERCENT OF THE TELEPHONE FUNDS ADVANCED. THEY HAVE INSTALLED ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THE ROUTE MILES OF LINE, AND REPORT SERVING ALMOST 28 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL SUBSCRIBERS ON THE LINES OF REA-FINANCED SYSTEMS.

NEARLY A THIRD OF THE REA-FINANCED SYSTEMS HAVE RECEIVED LOANS TO PROVIDE SYSTEMWIDE ALL-ONE-PARTY SERVICE, AND ABOUT HALF OF THEM HAVE SINGLE-

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PARTY SERVICE ON ONE OR MORE EXCHANGES.

IN TWO DECADES, RURAL TELEPHONY HAS PROGRESSED FROM AN ANTIQUATED, OFTEN UNRELIABLE, SERVICE FOR LITTLE BETTER THAN A THIRD OF THE NATION'S FARM FAMILIES AND OTHER RURAL PEOPLE, TO A HIGHLY SPECIALIZED, MODERN INDUSTRY EQUIPPED TO SERVE THE TOTAL COMMUNICATIONS NEEDS OF RURAL AMERICA. TODAY'S RURAL RESIDENT EXPECTS THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES FOR GOOD TELEPHONE SERVICES AS DOES HIS COUSIN IN THE CITY.

LOOKING AHEAD, IT IS EASY TO FORESEE THE YEARS BEFORE US AS THE GREATEST IN THE HISTORY OF THE REA PROGRAM. YOU HAVE ALWAYS HAD THE ABILITY; NOW IT SEEMS YOU WILL BE GETTING A LARGER SHARE OF THE FUNDS NEEDED TO EXERCISE THAT ABILITY.

YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT YOU HAVE THE CAPACITY TO DO YOUR JOB, PROVIDED ONLY THAT THE LEADERSHIP NEEDED TO SUPPLEMENT YOUR EFFORTS IS FORTHCOMING.

AND IT IS PRECISELY THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WE HAVE FOUND IN AGRICULTURE SECRETARY EARL BUTZ.

I AM SURE YOU REMEMBER THE CONTROVERSY THAT SURROUNDED HIS NOMINATION AND CONFIRMATION IN THE SENATE. YOU REMEMBER, I AM SURE, HOW CERTAIN DEMOCRAT SENATORS OPPOSED HIM AND CHARGED THAT HE DID NOT CARE ABOUT FARMERS. THE PASSAGE OF SOME FIVE MONTHS HAS NOT MADE IT ANY LESS INCREDIBLE

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THAT MEMBERS OF THE PARTY THAT GAVE US BIG CITY LAWYER ORVILLE FREEMAN FOR AN AGRICULTURE SECRETARY COULD CRITICIZE THE DEDICATION AND THE COMPETENCY OF EARL BUTZ WHO HAS SPENT HIS LIFE IN AGRICULTURE.

THESE PEOPLE HAVE ALREADY DRAWN A LINE BETWEEN THE URBAN AND THE RURAL AREAS. AND NOW THEY APPARENTLY WANT TO DRAW A LINE DOWN THE CENTER OF AGRICULTURE ITSELF. DIVIDE AND CONQUER IS AN OLD TECHNIQUE AND THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO DIVIDE THE RURAL AND FARM FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY SO THEY CAN REDIRECT AMERICAN EFFORTS TO NEW ENDS AND DO WHAT THEY EUPHEMISTICALLY CALL REORDERING OUR PRIORITIES AS IF THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL INTERESTS GENERALLY WERE SOMETHING LESS THAN A FIRST PRIORITY IN THIS COUNTRY.

THE PASSAGE OF TIME HAS DULLED THE VOICES OF OPPOSITION, HOWEVER, AND IT HAS PROVED THE ABILITY OF BUTZ. HIS POLICIES HAVE BEEN GOOD FOR RURAL AMERICA. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT.

EARL BUTZ UNDERSTANDS THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD PROGRAMS TO PROTECT THE INTEREST OF AMERICA'S RURAL DWELLERS. HE SERVES IN AN ADMINISTRATION THAT UNDERSTANDS THAT FUNDAMENTAL FACT OF AMERICA'S ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

AND SINCE HE ASSUMED THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY, HE HAS ACTED ON THE UNDERSTANDING -- WITH COMPETENCE AND WITH DETERMINATION.

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HE HAS SPOKEN UP LOUDLY FOR THE FARMER ACROSS AMERICA AND IN THE AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT. HE HAS MADE IT KNOWN HOW MUCH THE FARMER HAS LOST -- ONE BILLION DOLLARS -- FROM THE RECENT DOCK STRIKE AND HOW MUCH THE AMERICAN FARMER RISKS LOSING UNLESS HE CONTINUES TO GET THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND YOU AND I KNOW HOW MUCH THE FARMER STANDS TO LOSE IF LEADERSHIP THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS PROVIDED FAILS TO CONTINUE. AND IT IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WE CAN EXPECT THAT LEADERSHIP AT THE TOP TO CONTINUE, NOT JUST IN RURAL AFFAIRS, BUT ACROSS THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF AMERICAN LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THAT LEADS ME TO THE MAIN SUBJECT OF MY REMARKS THIS AFTERNOON.

I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE CHOICE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL MAKE IN NOVEMBER WHEN THEY VOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTS MUCH MORE THAN SIMPLY THEIR DECISION ON WHO WILL OCCUPY THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS.

I TRULY BELIEVE THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE NOW, IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND IN THE FALL ELECTION, IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF THIS COUNTRY -- AND THE WORLD -- DURING THE COURSE OF THE REST OF THIS CENTURY.

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I AM SURE THAT SOUNDS LIKE JUST ANOTHER POLITICAL STATEMENT AND THAT BY NOW YOU ARE ALL WELL ACCUSTOMED TO HEARING POLITICIANS REFER TO ELECTIONS THIS WAY. EVERY ELECTION IS SAID TO BE CRUCIAL BY ITS PARTICIPANTS. AND EVEN IF IT WERE NOT, ONE CAN HARDLY EXPECT TO BE TOLD BY POLITICIANS THAT IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE WHOM YOU VOTE FOR OR WHICH PARTY YOU SUPPORT.

SO PHRASES LIKE "FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY" AND "CRITICAL TEST" AND "AMERICAN DESTINY" SEEM TO POP UP IN THE NEWSPAPERS AND POP OUT OF POLITICIANS' MOUTHS WITH INCREASING EASE AND FREQUENCY EVERY FOUR YEARS ABOUT THIS TIME.

VOTERS CHOICE IN NOVEMBER A FUNDAMENTAL ONE

BUT THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT CLICHED AS THESE TERMS MAY BE, THEY TAKE ON, IN MY VIEW, A NEW URGENCY AND SPECIAL MEANING IN THIS CAMPAIGN OF 1972.

CRUCIAL AS OUR CHOICE OF PRESIDENT IS, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS IN THE FALL GOES FAR BEYOND OUR DESIGNATION OF ONE MAN TO HEAD OUR GOVERNMENT AND LEAD OUR NATION. EVEN NOW, BEFORE THE DEMOCRATS HAVE SETTLED ON A SINGLE, AGREED-UPON CANDIDATE, IT HAS BECOME APPARENT THAT THE AMERICAN VOTER WILL FACE A CHOICE NOT JUST BETWEEN TWO OPPOSING CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT, BUT BETWEEN TWO OPPOSING PHILOSOPHIES OF GOVERNMENT AND TWO DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICA, OF ITS GREATNESS AND OF ITS POTENTIAL.

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AND THE REAL TEST OF THESE PHILOSOPHIES AND THESE PERCEPTIONS LIES NOT SO MUCH IN WHAT MAY BE SAID HERE TODAY OR WHAT MAY BE SAID DURING THE CAMPAIGN, AS IT LIES IN WHAT IS BEING DONE BY THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HEADED BY RICHARD NIXON AND HOW THAT COMPARES WITH THE PAST PERFORMANCE OF RECENT DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS.

DEMOCRAT PHILOSOPHY FLAWED

IN THE SIXTIES, A PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT HELD SWAY OVER TWO ADMINISTRATIONS THAT ACCEPTED THE UNQUESTIONED WISDOM AND SUPERIORITY OF WASHINGTON AS THE FIRST PREMISE FOR ALL OF THEIR POLICIES, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC. IT WAS A PHILOSOPHY THAT PERCEIVED THE WORLD AS SUSCEPTIBLE TO AMERICAN CONTROL AND PERCEIVED THE COUNTRY AS THE PROPER PRESERVE OF FEDERAL DOMINATION.

THE SINGLE ASSUMPTION UNDERPINNING ALL OF THE POLICIES OF THOSE ELECTED DEMOCRAT LEADERS WHEN THEY WERE IN CHARGE OF GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON WAS THAT THEY ALONE KNEW, AND THAT THEY ALONE COULD BE EXPECTED TO DO WHAT WAS BEST FOR US FOR THE REST OF THE COUNTRY AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.

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NIXON ADDRESSES REAL ISSUE -- LEADERSHIP

TAKE A LOOK AT THE RECORD OF THIS REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT AND OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. THERE IS A PATTERN OF REPEATED SUCCESS AND THERE EMERGES, AS WELL, A COHERENT PHILOSOPHY TO EXPLAIN THAT PATTERN.

ON THE FOREIGN POLICY FRONT, THERE HAS BEEN A PATTERN OF PEACE AND OF EFFORTS TO SECURE FURTHER PEACE, AND THAT PATTERN ALLOWS US NOW TO DARE TO HOPE -- AND REALISTICALLY TO WORK -- TOWARD A GOAL WE ALL SHARE -- A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND.

IN MY VIEW, THERE IS ONLY ONE REAL ISSUE IN THIS CAMPAIGN -- LEADERSHIP. HAS THIS PRESIDENT GIVEN AMERICA THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP IT WANTS AND DESERVES IN THE SEVENTIES, OR NEED WE LOOK ELSEWHERE? TO MY MIND, THE QUESTION ANSWERS ITSELF.

RICHARD NIXON, BY HIS RECORD OF PERFORMANCE OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS OR SO, HAS IN A VERY REAL AND RESPONSIBLE WAY, PRE-EMPTED THAT ISSUE OF LEADERSHIP.

PAINSTAKING EFFORTS FOR PEACE

THE HISTORY OF OUR POLICY IN VIETNAM SINCE PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE IN 1969, HAS BEEN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN EFFORTS TO WIN THE PEACE. THROUGH VIETNAMIZATION, THROUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS, AND THROUGH THE EXTRAORDINARY PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED FOR THIRTY MONTHS BY FOREIGN

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POLICY ADVISER HENRY KISSINGER, THIS PRESIDENT HAS MOVED THE SITUATION IN THAT WAR-TORN AND TROUBLED AREA OF THE WORLD CLOSER AND CLOSER TO ITS ONLY ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION -- AN END TO THE CONFLICT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND HONORABLE PEACE.

IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT BOMBINGS ORDERED BY THE PRESIDENT IN REACTION TO THE STEPPED UP AGGRESSION OF THE ENEMY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, THERE HAVE BEEN THOSE WHO HAVE OFFERED US MORE OF THE PIOUS POLITICAL PRONOUNCEMENTS WE HAVE BEEN HEARING FROM SOME POLITICIANS SINCE RICHARD NIXON TOOK OFFICE.

SENATORS KENNEDY AND MC GOVERN AND MUSKIE -- YOU REMEMBER ED MUSKIE -- AND THE FELLOW WHO WOULD BE THEIR LEADER, DEMOCRAT NATIONAL CHAIRMAN LARRY O'BRIEN, HAVE ALL BEEN PUTTING UP A BARRAGE OF SIMPLISTIC RHETORIC, TRYING TO TELL THE PRESIDENT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE CURRENT BOMBING RAIDS ON THE NORTH, OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG, ARE WRONG.

JUSTIFIED ON SEVERAL COUNTS

THAT THE BOMBING HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN, IN PART, TO PROTECT THOSE AMERICAN SERVICEMEN STILL REMAINING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN LOST ON THESE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY. I WOULD REMIND THEM, PARENTHETICALLY, THAT TODAY THERE ARE ALMOST HALF A MILLION FEWER AMERICANS THERE THAN THERE WERE WHEN THEIR PARTY WAS IN POWER.

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BUT STILL THEY SAY THE BOMBING IS WRONG. THOUGH IT PROTECTS THE SAFETY OF AMERICAN MEN WHO ARE THERE AFTER ALL, BECAUSE OF THE POLICIES OF DEMOCRATS.

RAIDS SUPPORT VIETNAMIZATION

AND, TOO, THE BOMBINGS HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN TO PRESERVE THE NIXON POLICY OF VIETNAMIZATION -- A POLICY TO ENABLE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE WITH CONFIDENCE AND WITH COMPETENCE -- A POLICY WHICH SEEMS TO BE SUCCEEDING IN DOING JUST THAT AS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE DEMONSTRATE THEIR ABILITY IN AN LOC AND THROUGHOUT THEIR COUNTRYSIDE TO MEET THE ONSLAUGHT OF RENEWED COMMUNIST AGGRESSION.

YET, SENATORS MUSKIE AND KENNEDY AND MC GOVERN SAY THE BOMBING IS WRONG. RESPONSIBLE VOICES FROM MANY FORUMS ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE POINTING OUT THAT IT WAS THE COMMUNIST OFFENSIVE THAT WAS WRONG. BUT THAT SEEMS TOO FINE A POINT FOR THE DEMOCRAT CRITICS OF THE PRESIDENT TO APPRECIATE. MANY OBSERVERS SEEM TO AGREE THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ASKED FOR WHAT THEY GOT.

ESSENTIAL POINT ESCAPES DEMOS

BUT MANY OBSERVERS APPARENTLY HAVE MADE A LEAP OF UNDERSTANDING THAT SEEMS OUT OF THE REACH OF THESE DEMOCRAT SENATORS. THEY HAVE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE ENEMY, THE COMMUNISTS IN THE NORTH, ARE THE AGGRESSORS. IT IS THEY WHO STEPPED UP THE WAR. JUST AS IT HAS BEEN THEY ALL ALONG WHO HAVE KEPT THE WAR GOING.

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STILL, SENATORS MUSKIE AND KENNEDY AND MC GOVERN SAY THE BOMBING IS WRONG. BUT, I ASK, WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES TAKING THE PROPER ACTION NECESSARY TO KEEP THE POLICY OF VIETNAMIZATION -- THE POLICY THAT HAS PROVED IT CAN WORK -- TO KEEP THAT POLICY VIABLE.

SOME HOPE FOR TALKS

YOU KNOW, IT IS PRECISELY THESE THREE SENATORS I HAVE MENTIONED WHO HAVE TRIED TO PUT THEMSELVES IN THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE CALLING FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR.

SENATOR KENNEDY AT ONE POINT SUGGESTED THAT IF HE WERE PRESIDENT, HE WOULD CONSIDER CRAWLING BEFORE THE COMMUNISTS IF THAT MEANT SETTLING THE ISSUES.

SENATOR MC GOVERN HAS SAID MORE THAN ONCE THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT THE TERMS THE COMMUNISTS HAVE SUGGESTED -- TERMS THAT WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND THEIR SUBJUGATION BY THE COMMUNISTS.

AND SENATOR MUSKIE, BACK IN WHAT FOR HIM WERE HAPPIER DAYS, WHEN HE WAS THE FRONT-RUNNER, OFFERED HIS OWN PLAN TO ACHIEVE WHAT HE CONSIDERS PEACE IN VIETNAM. IT WAS A PLAN SO TRANSPARENTLY INEFFECTUAL THAT ONLY A FEW DAYS LATER, XUAN THUY, THE CHIEF NEGOTIATOR FOR THE NORTH VIETNAMESE IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW POINTED OUT THAT THE TERMS OF MUSKIE'S TWO-POINT PLAN, WITHOUT

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REFERRING TO THEM AS SUCH, HAD ALREADY BEEN VIEWED AS INADEQUATE BY THE ENEMY.

AND YET, THESE MEN PERSIST IN THEIR PAVLOVIAN REACTIONS TO THE EFFORTS OF RICHARD NIXON TO END THIS WAR IN THE ONLY SATISFACTORY WAY -- GIVING OUR SOUTH VIETNAMESE ALLIES A CHANCE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN POLITICAL FUTURE.

THEY WANT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. AND THEY SAY THAT THE BOMBING IS WRONG. YET THE BOMBING WAS UNDERTAKEN, IN PART, TO CONVINCE THE ENEMY THAT THEIR ONLY RATIONAL COURSE WAS TO AGREE TO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO RETURN TO THE TABLE AT PARIS THIS TIME WITH SERIOUS INTENTIONS.

AND WHILE IT IS STILL TOO SOON TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF THIS, I NOTE THAT YESTERDAY'S PAPERS BROUGHT NEWS OF INDICATIONS THAT THEY MAY JUST HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THAT GOAL. THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE GIVEN SIGNS THAT THEY ARE GIVING SOME SECOND THOUGHT TO THE VALUE OF NEGOTIATIONS. SO FAR, THEY HAVE MADE THE OFFER TO RETURN TO THE TABLE IF WE WILL END THE BOMBING. IT IS A TENTATIVE OFFER, AND I WOULD THINK WE MIGHT TAKE THEM UP ON IT IF THEY WILL THROW AN END TO THEIR CURRENT OFFENSIVE INTO THE BARGAIN.

HOW SOON LARRY FORGETS

IN THE MEANTIME, I BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT HAS SHOWN THE KIND OF PRUDENT BUT FORCEFUL LEADERSHIP THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECT FROM THEIR CHIEF EXECUTIVE. HE HAS NOT GIVEN IN TO THE PRESSURES OF PARTISAN POLITICIANS JUST AS HE HAS REFUSED TO SHRINK FROM THE CHALLENGE

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OF THE RENEWED ENEMY OFFENSIVE WHEN TO DO SO WOULD BE TO ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND OUR COMMITMENT TO KEEP FAITH WITH THE THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN THEIR DEFENSE.

IF I HAVE BEEN HARSH TOWARD THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO FAIL TO SEE THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CONTINUED AMERICAN SUPPORT OF THE VIETNAMESE, IT IS BECAUSE THEY SURELY OUGHT TO KNOW BETTER. I AM NOT ACCUSTOMED, GENERALLY TO QUOTING MY DEMOCRAT COUNTERPART, MR. O'BRIEN, BUT I WILL MAKE AN EXCEPTION TODAY BECAUSE THE WORDS I AM ABOUT TO READ -- HIS WORDS IN 1966 -- PROVE THAT HE AT LEAST ONCE DID KNOW BETTER AND AT THE SAME TIME, IRONICALLY, THEY STATE WELL MY OWN VIEWS ON THE MATTER.

AT A TIME WHEN THE WAR WAS STILL CONSIDERED INAPPROPRIATE MATTER FOR PARTISAN CARPING, AND WHEN DEMOCRATS WERE RUNNING IT -- AND SENDING THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN TO FIGHT IT -- O'BRIEN SAID THAT: "IF WE ABANDON SOUTH VIETNAM TO NAKED COMMUNIST AGGRESSION, WE DO MORE THAN JUST BREAK A COMMITMENT TO AN ALLY. WE BREAK FAITH WITH ALMOST 200 YEARS' COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM; WE BREAK FAITH WITH OURSELVES."

I WOULD ADD THAT IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT OF ESCALATING RHETORIC ON THE PART OF THE DEMOCRAT CRITICS OF THE PRESIDENT, WE ARE SEEING THE PROOF THAT THE DEMOCRAT PARTY HAS ITSELF BROKEN FAITH WITH THE COUNTRY IT WOULD HOPE SOME DAY TO LEAD.

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THE FOREIGN POLICY RECORD OF THIS PRESIDENT HAS BEEN A HISTORY OF PURSUING THE PEACE, IN VIETNAM AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE PRESIDENT'S HISTORIC TRIP TO CHINA ALONE WOULD HAVE BEEN ADEQUATE PROOF OF HIS COMMITMENT TO "GO THE EXTRA MILE FOR PEACE". BUT IT IS NOT ALONE.

AND, TOO, IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THERE IS TODAY A TENUOUS BUT ENDURING CEASEFIRE ESTABLISHED AT THE INITIATIVE OF SECRETARY ROGERS.

IN BERLIN, WE ACHIEVED A MOMENTOUS FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT.

IN VIENNA AND HELSINKI, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORLD'S TWO GREATEST NUCLEAR POWERS -- POTENTIAL ENEMIES THOUGH THEY ARE -- HAVE MET IN HISTORIC NEGOTIATIONS TO DISCUSS WAYS TO LIMIT THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONRY. THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN SOME LIMITED SUCCESSES THERE AND GOOD REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES FOR A SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENT WHEN THEY RESUME DISCUSSIONS IN MAY.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS TERMINATED THE MANUFACTURE OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS OF WAR AND HAS BEGUN TO ELIMINATE THE STOCKPILES OF THESE MENACING MATERIALS.

WE HAVE A NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND AN AGREEMENT TO BAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE OCEAN FLOOR.

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PARTNERSHIP ASSURES STRENGTH

AND ALL OF THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AGAINST A BACKDROP OF CONTINUED AMERICAN STRENGTH AND THE RENEWED STRENGTH OF OUR DEFENSE ALLIANCES. PRESIDENT NIXON UNDERSTANDS THE NECESSITY TO STAY STRONG NOT JUST IN TIMES OF CONFLICT, BUT IN TIMES OF LESSENING CONFLICT AND DIMINISHING TENSIONS AS WELL.

HE UNDERSTANDS, IN FACT, THAT HIS MOVES IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE NOT IN SPITE OF THAT STRENGTH, BUT PRECISELY BECAUSE OF IT. AND HE UNDERSTANDS, AS HAS NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT IN THE PAST DOZEN YEARS, HOW IMPORTANT TO THAT STRENGTH IS THE CREDIBILITY AND THE VIABILITY OF OUR ALLIANCES. STRENGTH THROUGH PARTNERSHIP AND COOPERATION IS A KEYSTONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICIES. THE SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THSOE POLICIES IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, AND ESPEICALLY IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS AND DAYS, IS COMPELLING TESTIMONY TO THE LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON, TO HIS UNDERSTANDING OF WORLD REALITIES AND TO THE VALIDITY OF THE THEME OF PARTNERSHIP IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

THE PRESIDENT IS WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION. HE IS DOING IT THE ONLY REALISTIC WAY IT IS POSSIBLE -- WITH THE SUPPORT OF AMERICANS ACROSS THIS LAND. WHEN HE INVOKED WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS, HE REFUSED TO TAKE A

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COURSE OF ACTION THAT MANY PEOPLE HAD URGED UPON HIM. HE REFUSED TO ESTABLISH A MASSIVE ARMY OF FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS TO ENFORCE THE CONTROLS. INSTEAD, HE CALLED UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT LARGE TO FUNCTION AS AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY OF INTERESTED CITIZENS AND TO MAKE, BY THEIR GOOD WILL AND COOPERATION -- BY THEIR PARTNERSHIP -- A VICTORY FOR US ALL AGAINST THE RAMPANT INFLATION THAT FOR TOO LONG HAS ROBBED THE POCKETS OF ALL AMERICANS.

NIXON'S GOALS ARE AMERICA'S GOALS

AND, TOO, PRESIDENT NIXON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAS DESEGREGATED MORE SCHOOLS THAN ANY PRESIDENT IN HISTORY. THIS WAS DONE PEACEFULLY AND WITH ALMOST NONE OF THE DISRUPTION THAT HAD MARKED SIMILAR EFFORTS OF PREVIOUS CHIEF EXECUTIVES. AND THE ONE THING THAT MADE THIS POSSIBLE WAS THE DETERMINATION OF THE PRESIDENT TO ENLIST AND RELY UPON THE COOPERATION OF LOCAL PEOPLE AND LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN THIS EFFORT.

I BELIEVE THAT THE APPEAL OF THIS PRESIDENT FOR THE SUPPORT AND ACTIVE COOPERATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, FOR THEIR PRAYERS IN WHAT THEY CANNOT BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN AND FOR THEIR WORK IN WHAT THEY CAN, IS THE ONLY PROPER POSTURE FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO TAKE. IT IS, INDEED, THE ONLY POSTURE CONSISTENT WITH OUR AMERICAN TRADITION.

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AND IT IS THE ONLY WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN ACHIEVE THE GOALS THEY HAVE SET FOR THEMSELVES -- A BETTER AMERICA AND A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS OF A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE AND OF REAL PROSPERITY WITHOUT INFLATION. THESE ARE THE GOALS HE HAS SET FOR HIMSELF AND FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION. BUT THEY ARE NOT GOALS HE HAS IMPOSED ON AMERICA. THEY ARE THE VERY GOALS WHICH HAVE EMERGED FROM THE CONSENSUS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY ARE WHAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WANT AND HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT THEIR ELECTED LEADERS TO WORK FOR.

GOOD BEGINNINGS DESERVE AMERICA'S SUPPORT

THOSE WHO WOULD DISCOUNT THEM AS UNREALISTIC OR UNATTAINABLE, THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO WOULD TRY TO DISCREDIT THEM AS POLITICAL RHETORIC, FAIL TO PERCEIVE THE NEEDS AND DESIRES OF OUR PEOPLE JUST AS THEY FAILED TO PERCEIVE THE NEEDS AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF A CHANGING WORLD WHEN -- IN THE SIXTIES -- THEY HAD A CHANCE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

THIS PRESIDENT -- RICHARD NIXON -- HAS DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS, DONE MORE ABOUT IT -- DONE MORE TO WIN THE PEACE AND RESTORE PEACE-TIME PROSPERITY -- THAN ANY PRESIDENT IN THIS CENTURY.

HE HAS MADE A GOOD BEGINNING IN THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF HIS FIRST TERM TOWARD THE ATTAINMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES. HE DESERVES OUR SUPPORT, THIS FALL IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION, SO THAT HE CAN CONTINUE IN THE WORK HE HAS BEGUN AND CONTINUE THE PROGRESS HE HAS MADE.