

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

TULANE UNIVERSITY  
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA  
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, 1972

AT THE OUTSET, I WOULD LIKE TO PREFACE MY REMARKS WITH THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT I AM HERE AS A STAND-IN. I AM GRATEFUL, OF COURSE, FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK HERE AT TULANE, BUT I DEEPLY REGRET THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO ADDRESS YOU TONIGHT.

CHEERED BY LBJ'S RECOVERY

BUT WE CAN ALL BE ENCOURAGED BY THE GOOD NEWS COMING OUT OF TEXAS, WHERE IT APPEARS THAT FORMER PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON -- WHO WAS TO ADDRESS YOU TONIGHT -- IS MAKING A STRONG RECOVERY.

HE IS A STRONG MAN. HE PROVED THAT WHILE HE WAS IN THE SENATE AND HE PROVED IT DURING HIS FIVE YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE. AND HE IS PROVING IT AGAIN NOW, IN HIS RECUPERATION FROM AN ATTACK THAT MIGHT HAVE OVERCOME MOST MEN.

I HAD MY DIFFERENCES WITH LBJ, OF COURSE. I DISAGREED WITH A NUMBER OF HIS POLICIES AND PROGRAMS. AND THAT, TOO, SHOULD BE NO SURPRISE. HE WAS A DEMOCRAT PRESIDENT, AND AT THE TIME, I WAS A REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATIVE. AND HE HAD A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT THAN I DID OR DO NOW. AS PRESIDENT, HE WAS THE PRODUCT OF A PRE-WORLD

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WAR II, NEW DEAL TRADITION WHILE THE GREATER PART OF MY ADULthood HAS BEEN SPENT IN THE POST-WAR EXPERIENCE OF TRANSITION FROM NEW DEAL TO A NEW GENERATION IN A NEW WORLD.

YES, I HAD MY DISAGREEMENTS WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON MATTERS OF POLICY. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, IT HAS TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED, THAT FOR ALL THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE, THERE WAS A POINT OF CONTACT. AND IT WAS ALWAYS THE SAME POINT OF CONTACT, IN FACT, FOR IF LBJ PROVED HIMSELF A FORMIDABLE FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH, HE WAS ALSO A FORCE TO BE REASONED WITH.

I DON'T MEAN OF COURSE, THAT HE COULD BE EASILY WON OVER TO A DIFFERING POINT OF VIEW. FAR FROM IT. BUT HE IS A MAN WITH WHOM ONE COULD COMMUNICATE. WHILE HE MIGHT NOT ACCEPT THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO DIFFERED WITH HIM, AT LEAST HE COULD UNDERSTAND THEM AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THEM ON A RATIONAL LEVEL.

AND THAT IS QUITE A LOT REALLY TO FIND IN A LEADER, IN A POLITICIAN, IN SUCH CONFUSED TIMES AS THE MIDDLE 1960'S. AND CERTAINLY LYNDON JOHNSON HAD BEEN CALLED TO THE PRESIDENCY IN THE MOST CONFUSED AND DIFFICULT OF TIMES AND UNDER EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES.

RECENT YEARS -- DIFFICULT YEARS

IN FACT, I BELIEVE IT CAN BE SAFELY SAID THAT HE OCCUPIED THE WHITE HOUSE DURING SOME OF THE MOST TRYING YEARS IN THE 20TH CENTURY HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY. IT IS NOT MY CHIEF PURPOSE HERE TONIGHT TO TRY TO DRAW COM-

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PARISONS. YET IT OCCURS TO ME THAT IN THIS ONE THING AT LEAST -- BETWEEN RICHARD NIXON AND LYNDON JOHNSON, AND INDEED ANY MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE DURING THE LAST DECADE AND IN THE REST OF THE PRESENT ONE -- THERE IS A SIMILARITY. THE SIMILARITY HAS MORE TO DO, PERHAPS, WITH THE TIMES THAN WITH THE MEN, AND I THINK IT IS ALL TIED UP WITH NATURE OF THE PRESIDENCY AND OF THE NATION DURING THE SIXTIES AND THE SEVENTIES.

FOR IT OCCURS TO ME THAT IT MAY BE TRUE THAT ONLY IN THE VERY RECENT PAST, ALMOST TWO HUNDRED YEARS AFTER THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, HAVE WE COME TO REALIZE AND TO FULLY APPRECIATE JUST HOW TRULY REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA IS.

AMERICANS REALIZE UNIQUENESS

IT IS A STARTLING REALIZATION -- AND AN UNFORTUNATELY UNSETTLING ONE -- FOR INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS AND FOR THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. "FUTURE SHOCK" IS A NOW FAMILIAR TERM. "CULTURE SHOCK" IS A TERM OF SOMEWHAT OLDER VINTAGE.

BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO US IN AMERICA IN THE LAST DECADE OR SO IS AN EXPERIENCE SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO THESE. WE HAVE DISCOVERED HOW TRULY UNIQUE WE ARE AND HOW MUCH WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED. AND HAVING DISCOVERED THAT -- HOW VERY MUCH WE HAVE DONE -- WE HAVE BEEN ALL THE MORE DISTURBED BY WHAT WE HAVE FAILED TO DO.



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"ALWAYS, SINCE THE RECORDS OF MAN HAVE RUN," WROTE THEODORE WHITE  
IN 1969, "MOST PEOPLE WERE POOR AND ONLY THE FEW WERE COMFORTABLE. TODAY,  
IN AMERICA," HE ~~WENT~~ ON, "MOST PEOPLE ARE COMFORTABLE AND ONLY THE FEW  
ARE POOR."

SURELY THAT IS UNIQUE. THAT IS REVOLUTIONARY.

AND IN AMERICA OF LATE, IT HAS NOT BEEN THE MANY, THE COMFORTABLE,  
WHO HAVE BEEN THE PRIME, OR OFTEN EVEN THE MAJOR CONCERN OF OUR INSTI-  
TUTIONS. IT HAS BEEN THOSE FEW WHO HAVE BEEN LEFT OUT OR LEFT BEHIND WHO  
HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF SOME OF OUR GREATEST CONCERN AND MOST INTENSE  
EFFORT. AND IT HAS BEEN THE MANY, THE COMFORTABLE, WHO HAVE EVIDENCED  
THAT CONCERN.

AND SURELY THAT IS UNIQUE.

SIMILARLY, AMONG MEN AND AMONG NATIONS, THE AVAILABILITY OF FOOD  
HAS ALWAYS BEEN A PRIME CONCERN, WHILE TODAY HUGE FOOD SURPLUSES POSE  
EVERY YEAR A UNIQUELY AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM. AND AMERICA'S  
PROBLEM TODAY IS NO LONGER -- WILL THE EARTH AND THE WATER YIELD NATURAL  
RESOURCES IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITY -- BUT WHETHER WILL THE LAND AND THE SEA  
AND AIR BE ABLE TO ADEQUATELY ABSORB THE ENORMOUS QUANTITY OF WASTES WE  
PRODUCE?

AND SURELY THAT IS UNIQUE.

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AMERICAN STRENGTH UNIQUE

AND TO A LARGE DEGREE, I BELIEVE IT WAS BECAUSE AMERICA WAS SO UNIQUE, THAT SHE EMERGED SO STRONG. IN THIS CENTURY, WITHOUT REALLY SEEKING IT, WE BECAME A WORLD LEADER, FOREMOST AMONG FREE NATIONS. AND HERE AGAIN, I BELIEVE WE PROVED OURSELVES TO BE REVOLUTIONARY, A UNIQUE SORT OF SUPERPOWER.

WE HAVE FOUGHT FOUR WARS IN THE 20TH CENTURY. SOMETIMES WE HAVE MADE MISTAKES IN THE USE OF OUR POWER. SOMETIMES WE MAY HAVE ERRED IN ITS UTILIZATION. BUT, NONETHELESS, WE NEVER STARTED THOSE WARS, WE NEVER FOUGHT THEM FOR THE USUAL REASONS OF TERRITORIAL GAIN OR EXPANSION OF EMPIRE.

TO BE SURE, WE ALWAYS PERCEIVED IT TO BE IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO FIGHT, BUT I SUPPOSE THE DIFFERENCE I AM TALKING ABOUT LAY REALLY IN THE WAY WE UNDERSTOOD THAT TERM, NATIONAL INTEREST. WE ALWAYS INCLUDED IN OUR CALCULATIONS THE TRADITIONAL NOTIONS OF THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LIVES AND PROPERTY, OF COURSE. AND OFTEN WE HAVE JUSTIFIED AN INVOLVEMENT IN WAR ON THAT BASIS. BUT JUST AS OFTEN, WE HAVE JUSTIFIED IT ON THE BASIS OF THE NEEDS OF OTHERS. WE CONSIDERED OUR INTERESTS TO BE THE INTERESTS OF OUR FREE ALLIES, IN A SENSE.

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EVEN BEFORE INTERCONTINENTAL WARFARE -- WHICH SHRANK THE DEFENSE POTENTIAL OF OUR TWO OCEAN FRONTIERS -- WAS A GLEAM IN THE DEVIL'S EYE, WE CONSIDERED A THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF OUR ALLY TO BE A THREAT TO OUR OWN FREEDOM.

AND SURELY THAT IS UNIQUE.

// WHILE I AM NO HISTORIAN, I THINK IT WOULD BE ACCURATE TO ADD THAT OFTEN WE HAVE GONE EVEN FURTHER, ASSISTING OUR ALLIES AND EVEN OUR FORMER ENEMIES TO RECOVER FROM THE DEVASTATIONS OF WAR.

AND SURELY THAT IS UNIQUE.

// TODAY WE ARE INVOLVED IN WHAT WILL HOPEFULLY BE THE LAST OF THE FOUR WARS IN THIS CENTURY. AND TODAY, WE ARE COMING TO THE END OF THAT INVOLVEMENT WHICH HAS ENDURED LONGER THAN ANY WAR IN OUR HISTORY.

TOWARD THE END OF WAR

THERE ARE THOSE, I KNOW, AND THERE MAY BE MANY AMONG YOU, WHO VIEW THE RECENT BOMBING RAIDS BY THE UNITED STATES ON TARGETS IN NORTH VIETNAM AS AN INDICATION TO THE CONTRARY -- AS A PROOF, EVEN, THAT THE WAR IS WIDENING AGAIN AND THAT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IS RE-INTENSIFYING.

I HAVE SPOKEN WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THIS MATTER, AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE PRESIDENT UNDERSTANDS THAT THE RECENT AMERICAN AIR ACTIVITY OVER THE NORTH MIGHT BE MISUNDERSTOOD



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AND ESPECIALLY THAT HE SYMPATHIZES WITH THOSE WHO OPPOSE IT AND WHO SEEK NOTHING SO MUCH AS AN END, ONCE AND FOR ALL, TO THE KILLING.

BUT I DO NOT ASK THAT YOU SIMPLY ACCEPT MY ASSURANCES ON THE MATTER. I THINK THERE IS PROOF FAR MORE COMPELLING THAN THAT. <sup>L</sup>THE BOMBINGS, IN RESPONSE TO NAKED AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH WILL CONTINUE AT LEAST UNTIL THE COMMUNIST<sup>S</sup> SHOW SOME SERIOUS INTEREST TO NEGOTIATE, BUT THERE IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT THE INCREASED INTENSITY OF THE AIR WAR IS NOT INTENDED AS A PERMANENT CONDITION, BUT RATHER AS A TEMPORARY MEASURE TO ACHIEVE A SPECIFIC GOAL.

THE QUESTION IS: WHAT IS THAT GOAL PRECISELY? AND HAS IT BEEN ACHIEVED? AND AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE SIMPLE ANSWER, TO THE LATTER QUESTION, "NO"; THE FACT IS THAT BOMBING WAS UNDERTAKEN PRECISELY BECAUSE THE ENEMY HAS CHOSEN TO MAKE HIS ANSWER IN THE NEGATIVE.

THE GOAL WE SEEK IN VIETNAM, THE "ONE IRREDUCIBLE OBJECTIVE" TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE FREQUENT REFERENCE, IS THE CONTINUED SECURITY OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE -- THEIR CONTINUED FREEDOM TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN POLITICAL FUTURE, FREE FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. OUR IMMEDIATE ANSWER NOW IS THE SAFETY OF OUR WITHDRAWING FORCES AND CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD MEETING THAT GOAL.

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STEPPED UP FIGHTING FAULT OF NORTH

// MOST CRITICS OF AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE INDOCHINA WAR -- EVEN SUCH LONG TIME CRITICS AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SENATOR FULBRIGHT -- AGREE THAT THE PRESENT RENEWED INTENSITY OF THE FIGHTING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WAS INITIATED BY AN INVASION BY THE NORTH. THAT INVASION WAS AN UNPRECEDENTED ATTACK BY REGULAR FORCES FROM THE NORTH, AND ACCORDING TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS, WAS IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH PRECEDED THE BOMBING HALT CALLED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN 1968.

// MANY OBSERVERS OF THE INDOCHINA SITUATION HAVE SAID THAT THE NORTH FULLY UNDERSTOOD -- OR AT LEAST SHOULD HAVE FULLY UNDERSTOOD -- THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES TO THEM OF SUCH AN INVASION.

U. S. WITHDRAWALS CONTINUE

TO THOSE WHO STILL FEEL THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE BOMBINGS REPRESENT A MAJOR SHIFT IN AMERICAN POLICY IN VIETNAM, I WOULD ASK, HOW CAN THAT BELIEF BE SQUARED WITH THE FACT THAT EVEN DURING THIS OFFENSIVE AND IN RESPONSE TO THE STRONGEST INITIATIVE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE LAUNCHED SINCE TET IN 1968, OUR PROGRAM OF WITHDRAWAL OF IN-COUNTRY GROUND FORCES HAS CONTINUED EXACTLY ON SCHEDULE.



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NOTABLE IN ITSELF AND PERHAPS MORE NOTABLE IN ITS ABSENCE FROM MEDIA COVERAGE DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS IS THE FACT THAT IN EACH OF THESE TWO WEEKS, IN THE MIDST OF RENEWED LEVELS OF FIGHTING -- THE UNITED STATES HAS WITHDRAWN NO LESS THAN FIVE THOUSAND AMERICAN SERVICEMEN. TEN THOUSAND MEN HAVE COME HOME FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA IN SPITE OF WHAT MANY SEE AS -- AND WHAT MANY IN THE LIBERAL PRESS WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE AS -- A CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLICY IN VIETNAM. THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WAS CAREFULLY DESIGNED IN PART TO BRING AMERICAN MEN HOME. THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT THE BOMBINGS PROVE THE FAILURE OF THAT POLICY -- AND YET, EVEN AS THE BOMBINGS WERE BEING PLANNED AND EXECUTED, AMERICAN MEN WERE RETURNING HOME.

#### ARVN FIGHTS EFFECTIVELY

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WAS ALSO DESIGNED, IN PART, TO GIVE TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THE CAPABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES -- TO ASSUME THEMSELVES, THE MAJOR SHARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONDUCT OF GROUND COMBAT OPERATIONS. CRITICS OF THOSE POLICIES SAY THE BOMBINGS HAVE PROVEN THAT POLICY WAS A FAILURE. IN THE PRESS AND IN THE BROADCAST NEWS, WE HEAR THAT VIETNAMIZATION IS A FAILURE AND THAT THE BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG ARE PROOF OF THAT FAILURE.

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AND YET THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES -- IN THEIR RESPONSE TO THIS VERY OFFENSIVE -- TO BE A CAPABLE FORCE OF EFFECTIVE SOLDIERS. THE POLICIES OF THE PRESIDENT HAVE MADE THEIR EFFECTIVENESS POSSIBLE. NO AMERICAN POLICY OF ITSELF COULD MAKE OF THEM A DETERMINED FORCE. THEY HAD TO DO THAT THEMSELVES AND THAT IS WHAT THEY HAVE DONE AND PROVEN THEMSELVES TO BE. AND THEIR DETERMINATION IN THE PRESENT FIGHT, TO HOLD AN LOC, FOR EXAMPLE, AGAINST A PROLONGED SEIGE BY THE COMMUNISTS -- IS PROOF THAT THE POLICY IS WORKING AND IS, TO MY MIND, COMPELLING PROOF THAT IT WAS THE RIGHT POLICY. ALL ALONG.

VIETNAMIZATION SUCCESS OVERLOOKED

HERE, TOO, THE COVERAGE BY THE MEDIA OF THE BATTLEFIELD SUCCESS OF THE VIETNAMESE HAS BEEN SPARSE. WHAT COVERAGE THERE HAS BEEN HAS BEEN, IN THE MAIN, I THINK FAIR, BUT IT HAS SEEMED, AT THE SAME TIME TO BE OFFERED GRUDGINGLY. SOUTH VIETNAMESE SUCCESSES ARE COVERED ALMOST IN PASSING AND GIVEN SO LITTLE ATTENTION THAT ITS COVERAGE IS ALL OUT OF PROPORTION TO ITS IMPORTANCE.

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARE STANDING UP TO THE AGGRESSION OF THE NORTH. THEY ARE STRIKING BACK AT THREATS TO THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND THEIR OWN TERRITORY WITH A DETERMINATION AND WITH A LEVEL OF COMPETENCE INCONCEIVABLE, IN THE WAR'S UNHAPPIER PAST.



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THE DEARTH OF REPORTING ABOUT THAT ASPECT OF THE WAR GIVES THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT IT IS REGRETTED BY THOSE WHO ARE DOING THE REPORTING. THE FACT THAT IT IS GETTING ANY COVERAGE AT ALL ONLY UNDERSCORES THE DIMENSIONS OF ITS IMPORTANCE. THE FACT IS, I BELIEVE, THAT THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT PRESS HAS FOUND ITSELF FOR SO LONG PREDICTING THE FAILURE OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES -- FOR SO LONG SNICKERING UP ITS SLEEVE AND ALL OVER ITS PAGES ABOUT WHAT THEY PERCEIVED AS THE FOLLY OF A COMMITMENT TO DEVELOPING A STRONG INDIGENOUS DEFENSE FORCE IN VIETNAM MADE UP OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES -- THAT THEY HAVE FOUND IT TO BE IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF THE CREDIBILITY OF THE DEFENSE ANALYSTS ON THEIR EDITORIAL POLICIES -- THAT VIETNAMIZATION FAIL.

MEDIA SHOULD "HONORABLY" ADMIT MISTAKE

THOSE SAME ANALYSTS WHO WERE FOR SO LONG URGING THE UNITED STATES TO DO WHAT THEY CALLED THE HONORABLE THING -- TO SIMPLY ADMIT THAT IT HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN GETTING INVOLVED IN THE VIETNAM WAR -- NOW FIND EXCRUCIATING THE PROSPECT OF ADMITTING THAT THEY WERE WRONG ABOUT VIETNAMIZATION.

THE FACTS OF THE MATTER, I AM CONVINCED, WILL EVENTUALLY OVERTAKE THEM. BUT UNTIL THEY DO, I WOULD CAUTION YOU AGAINST PUTTING TOO MUCH STOCK IN THE NEWS ACCOUNTS COMING FROM VIETNAM TODAY. DON'T DISCOUNT THEM, BUT I THINK IT WOULD BE SAFE TO SAY THAT YOU WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO LOOK UPON THEM AS ONLY A PART OF THE WHOLE.



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AND THIS, I THINK MIGHT WELL APPLY TO A GREAT DEAL MORE THAN SIMPLY THE HOSTILITIES IN VIETNAM.

I AM HERE, UNABASHEDLY AS A PARTISAN OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION OF RICHARD NIXON. THAT, TOO, OUGHT TO COME AS NO SURPRISE. BUT I BELIEVE, AS WELL, THAT THE REASONS FOR SUPPORTING THIS PRESIDENT, IN MATTERS BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, ARE NOT RESTRICTED TO PARTISANSHIP.

CHANGING AMERICA NEEDS NIXON LEADERSHIP

I SAID AT THE BEGINNING OF MY REMARKS THAT I BELIEVE WE HAVE ONLY JUST COME TO REALIZE HOW TRULY REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA IS. AND I BELIEVE THAT REALIZATION GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD EXPLAINING THE DISORIENTATION OF OUR PEOPLE AND OF OUR SOCIETY WHICH WE EXPERIENCED SO INTENSELY IN THE LAST DECADE AND WHICH, SOMEWHAT LESS INTENSELY, PERHAPS, WE ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO EXPERIENCE IN THE REST OF THIS ONE.

THE PACE OF CHANGE HAS PICKED UP IN AMERICA AND IN THE WORLD DURING THE LAST FEW DECADES AND IN THAT TIME, WE HAVE COME TO APPRECIATE NEW THINGS ABOUT OURSELVES AND OUR POTENTIALS.

AND I BELIEVE THAT RICHARD NIXON SHARES THAT UNDERSTANDING AND HAS PROVEN HIMSELF QUALIFIED TO LEAD IN SUCH TIMES.

HE WAS THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO UNDERSTAND THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGING WORLD SITUATION, WHERE THE BI-POLARISM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WAS GIVING WAY TO A DIFFERENT WORLD IN WHICH THE EMERGENCE OF JAPAN AND CHINA'S INCREASING SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND ASSERTIVENESS AND THE

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GROWTH OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY -- WHERE ALL OF THESE FORCES WERE COMBINING TO CREATE A WORLD MARKED NO LONGER BY TWO, BUT BY FIVE GREAT POWERS.

NIXON POLICY FIT CHANGING WORLD

AND HE HAS GIVEN US A NEW FOREIGN POLICY; IT HAS COME TO BE CALLED THE NIXON DOCTRINE -- WHICH ADAPTS TO THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS CHANGING WORLD. AND THE RESULTS OF THE NEW ORIENTATIONS OF AMERICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS WERE, I THINK, OBVIOUS TO ANYONE WITH A TELEVISION OR A NEWSPAPER IN THE LAST WEEK OF FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR. THE TRIP TO CHINA WAS THE MOST DRAMATIC IF NOT THE ONLY EVIDENCE OF THE REALITIES BEHIND THE RHETORIC OF RICHARD NIXON'S OBJECTIVE TO BRING US FROM AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION TO AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION.

THE TRIP TO CHINA BY THE PRESIDENT DID NOT RESOLVE ALL THE DIFFERENCES THAT HAVE DIVIDED OUR TWO COUNTRIES FOR THE LAST 22 YEARS. NOR WILL THE TRIP TO MOSCOW IN MAY MAKE US FAST FRIENDS WITH THE SOVIETS. THE SEABED TREATY, BARRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE OCEAN FLOOR DID NOT END THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WARFARE, NOR DID THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY SIGNED BY PRESIDENT NIXON NOR THE AGREEMENTS REGARDING BIOLOGICAL WARFARE NOT OUR UNILATERAL ACTION TO ELIMINATE OUR STOCKPILES OF THESE WEAPONS -- NONE OF THESE HAVE MADE WAR IMPOSSIBLE.



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BUT ALL OF THEM TOGETHER -- ALL OF THESE INITIATIVES BY PRESIDENT NIXON -- HAVE MADE IT LESS LIKELY. BY DEGREES, UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP, WE MAY BE SEEING THE BEGINNING OF THE GENERATION OF PEACE HE HAS TALKED ABOUT.

AND THAT WOULD BE THE START, I AM SURE I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU, OF SOMETHING BIG. IT WOULD BE ENTIRELY FITTING, I THINK, THAT THIS AMERICA OF OURS, THIS TRULY REVOLUTIONARY SYSTEM, MIGHT TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO BRING TO THE WORLD A TRULY REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE -- THE EXPERIENCE OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION AMONG NATIONS.

AND I BELIEVE THAT THIS PRESIDENT HAS PROVEN THAT HE HAS THE CAPACITY TO LEAD THIS NATION IN THAT ENDEAVOR.

NEW AMERICAN SELF-UNDERSTANDING

YES, IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST DECADE, WE IN AMERICA HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND NEW THINGS ABOUT OURSELVES AND OUR POTENTIALS.

WE HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND HOW MUCH WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED BY BUILDING A SOCIETY IN WHICH, IN WHITE'S TERMS, THE MANY ARE COMFORTABLE. BUT WE HAVE FOUND, THAT IN SUCH A SOCIETY, THE FEW WHO ARE POOR ARE ALL THE MORE VISIBLE AND ALL THE MORE DESERVING OF OUR HELP. POVERTY ITSELF HAS BECOME ALL THE MORE ANOMOLOUS IN THE ABUNDANT SOCIETY.

BUT I HOPE WE HAVE LEARNED IN ADDITION, AND THERE ARE SIGNS THAT WE HAVE, THAT IT TAKES MORE THAN EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN ABOUT THE POOR, NO MATTER HOW ELOQUENTLY STATED, AND MORE THAN FEDERAL PROGRAMS, NO MATTER



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HOW LAVISHLY FUNDED, TO DIMINISH THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY.

RICHARD NIXON HAS LIVED THROUGH THE LAST DECADES OF AMERICAN HISTORY. EVEN AS YOU AND I, HE HAS LIVED THROUGH THEM AND WATCHED THE GROWTH OF CONCERN IN THIS COUNTRY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO BACK UP THAT CONCERN. AND HE HAS LEARNED, AS YOU AND I SHOULD HAVE LEARNED, THAT THE PROGRAMS THEMSELVES ARE NOT ENOUGH AND THE CONCERN ITSELF IS NOT ENOUGH UNLESS THE PROGRAMS BRING RESULTS AND THE CONCERN BEARS FRUIT.

PROGRAM RESULTS FINAL TEST

AND SO HE HAS SET ABOUT THE TASK OF DEVELOPING A POLICY THAT CAN PRODUCE THESE RESULTS. HE HAS GONE BEYOND THE OLD ARGUMENTS ABOUT HOW MUCH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO DO FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE OLD AND WASTEFUL -- AND FREQUENTLY IRRATE ORAL ARGUMENTS ABOUT HOW MUCH IT OUGHT TO CARE, OR WHO CARED MOST.

HE HAS ASSUMED THE CONCERN OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS WE FACE. AND ON THAT ASSUMPTION, HE HAS TRIED TO DEVELOP A POLICY THAT COULD ENLIST THAT CONCERN AND DISTRIBUTE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS.

THAT, FOR EXAMPLE, IS THE MEANING OF REVENUE SHARING. THAT, FOR ANOTHER EXAMPLE, WAS THE METHOD HE EMPLOYED TO BRING ABOUT MORE DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS HERE IN THE SOUTH THAN HAD OCCURRED IN THE ENTIRE, PREVIOUS FIFTEEN YEAR PERIOD SINCE THE BROWN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

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HE CALLED UPON THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH, THOSE MOST IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED WITH THE PROBLEM TO SOLVE WITH THE HELP OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, NOT UNDER ITS COERCION.

THIS WEEK IS EARTH WEEK, AND ITS DESIGNATION AS SUCH IS JUST ANOTHER INSTANCE OF HOW OUR PERCEPTIONS OF OUR POTENTIAL IN AMERICA HAS CHANGED. WE HAVE ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD HOW MUCH WE COULD PRODUCE -- HOW MUCH WE COULD ACCOMPLISH. BUT WE HAVE ONLY RECENTLY UNDERSTOOD HOW MUCH HARM WE COULD DO TO OUR ENVIRONMENT IN THE PROCESS.

AND I THINK THAT RICHARD NIXON HAS SHOWN THAT HE, TOO, UNDERSTANDS THE DANGEROUS POTENTIALS HERE UNLESS ACTION -- VIGOROUS ACTION -- IS TAKEN SOON. AND SO HE HAS BECOME THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO DECLARE THE PROTECTION OF OUR NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AS A NATIONAL PRIORITY. AND IF THERE HAVE BEEN OBJECTIONS TO HIS POLICIES, THEY HAVE BEEN OBJECTIONS THAT HIS ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY HAS PROCEEDED TOO VIGOROUSLY, AN INDICATION OF THE STRENGTH OF HIS COMMITMENT TO ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH.

CONCERNED PRESIDENT ENLISTS CONCERNED CITIZENS

IN ALL THE INITIATIVES HE HAS TAKEN IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS DURING THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS, THE PRESIDENT HAS SOUGHT TO ENLIST THOSE CITIZENS WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS HE PERCEIVES IN AMERICA. IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION FOR EXAMPLE, HE WAS URGED BY MANY POWERFUL INTERESTS TO ESTABLISH A MASSIVE BUREAUCRACY TO ENFORCE THE WAGE

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AND PRICE CONTROLS. BUT INSTEAD, HE ASSUMED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN THAT FIGHT. AND HE ASSUMED RIGHT. IF THERE HAVE BEEN EXCEPTIONS, AS IN THE CASE OF THE PAY BOARD WALK-OUT BY LEADERS OF THE AFL-CIO AND UAW UNIONS, THESE HAVE BEEN ALL THE MORE NOTABLE BECAUSE THEY WERE EXCEPTIONS TO A GENERAL RULE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE DIFFICULT CHALLENGE OF BRINGING INFLATION UNDER CONTROL.

SYSTEM PROVES RESPONSIVE

FROM DRAFT REFORM, WHICH YOUNG PEOPLE HAD DEMANDED, AND UNDER RICHARD NIXON RECEIVED, TO POSTAL REORGANIZATION AND WELFARE REFORM, EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION AND REVENUE SHARING, RICHARD NIXON HAS SOUGHT TO RE-ESTABLISH THE NOTION IN AMERICA THAT THIS SYSTEM IS RESPONSIVE.

DRAFT REFORM WAS AN INDICATION OF THAT. THE 26TH AMENDMENT WAS ANOTHER. THE HEIGHTENED INITIATIVE AGAINST THREATS TO THE ENVIRONMENT STILL ANOTHER. THESE HAVE OCCURRED AT THE INITIATIVE -- OR WITH THE SUPPORT -- OF A PRESIDENT WHO HAS ASSUMED THE CONCERN OF THE PEOPLE TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS AND WHO, ON THAT ASSUMPTION, HAS SOUGHT TO ENLIST THEIR SKILLS AND THEIR TALENTS AND THEIR ENERGIES IN THAT PROBLEM SOLVING EFFORT.



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TO MY WAY OF THINKING , IN FACT, HE HAS -- TO A DEGREE MATCHED BY NO OTHER PRESIDENT IN MODERN TIMES -- SOUGHT TO BASE OUR PROGRESS ON THE SINGLE ELEMENT OF AMERICAN LIFE THAT STANDS OUT AS THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY OF ALL -- ITS NATURE AS A REPUBLIC IN WHICH THE PEOPLE -- ALL THE PEOPLE REALLY DO COUNT.

'PEOPLE POWER' AMERICAN ESSENTIAL

IT WAS NOT SO VERY LONG AGO SOME PEOPLE WERE SHOUTING "POWER TO THE PEOPLE" AS A REVOLUTIONARY SLOGAN. I BELIEVE THAT RICHARD NIXON VIEWS IT MORE AS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA AND I BELIEVE HE HAS SET ABOUT TO RENEW THAT PROMISE.

FOR "PEOPLE POWER" IS THE ESSENCE OF AMERICA. IT IS THE NOTION THAT EVERY CITIZEN HAS A STAKE IN THE AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT -- AND MORE THAN THAT -- HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THEM THAT DISTINGUISHES THIS COUNTRY.

AND SURELY -- AT THE RISK OF REPEATING MYSELF -- THAT IS A UNIQUE AND EVEN A REVOLUTIONARY DISTINCTION.

BECAUSE HE UNDERSTANDS THAT DISTINCTION AND BECAUSE OF THE LEADERSHIP HE HAS ALREADY SHOWN, HE DESERVES THE SUPPORT OF THOSE CONCERNED AMERICANS HE HAS SOUGHT TO ENLIST IN HIS FIRST TERM SO THAT IN HIS SECOND, HE CAN DEVELOP ON THE STRONG BEGINNINGS HE HAS MADE TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE GOALS WE HAVE SET FOR OURSELVES AND WHICH HE HAS ARTICULATED -- A BETTER AMERICA IN A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.