

# Nixon on Stump: 5-Part Theme

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By MAX FRANKEL  
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FORT WAYNE, Ind., Oct. 20—It is delivered without text, stream-of-consciousness style, but there is nothing unconscious or accidental in the design of the message that President Nixon brought here last night and plans to carry into every close Senate race across the country.

**The Talk of the Campaign**

Each of the major slogans comes out with the same choreography of gesture, from Grand Forks, N. D., to Johnson City, Tenn., and the alert listener can almost hear the Roman numeral cadences beside each point of the President's speech outline: I—PEACE. II—POWER. III—PRICES. IV—PROGRAMS. V—PERMISSIVENESS.

Mr. Nixon surveys every setting, looking for the end-of-war chanters in the crowd (or outside the hall if tickets are scarce). He listens for an obscenity or two from the chorus, which is always audible but never really disrupting. This brings up the war in a way he wants it brought up and leads, logically, to an appeal for the silent majority "to stand up and be counted."

When the dissenters do not shout quite loudly enough, as in North Dakota on Monday, the President himself exhorts them: "I can handle it. Don't worry about it. Go right ahead."

The President begins by explaining that he has come not for himself or his party but for the sake of the country—always called the United States of America. The things that every citizen favors, he says, hang in Washington by the slender thread of a single vote. So the fate of the nation rides on the election of ———.

Now for Number I—Peace ("I believe in handling the tough, high, hard ones and here we go right now on the major one." Two years ago, there were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam with no plans to bring them home. the Presi-

a cease-fire, "the most generous peace settlement in the whole history, certainly, of international diplomacy."

Why not bring all the troops home? the dissenters want to know, Mr. Nixon observes. Because "we have to win the peace" for a whole generation and not merely end wars as we did in Korea and after World Wars I and II, he responds. (When he campaigned here two years ago, Mr. Nixon cited the way the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration had ended the war in Korea.)

Mr. Nixon glides skillfully to II—Power. To deter aggressors, the country needs strength, he says. He does not mention any specific weapons system, though the reminder of one-vote margins unmistakably evokes the antimissile debate in the Senate.

Then on to III—Prices. Two years ago, the Federal Government (always called the government in "Washington, D.C.") "was on a runaway spending binge and now the American people have a hangover in higher prices."

"I say let's cut spending in Washington, D. C., so you can have more to spend right here at home in ——. Are you going to be for the big spenders or a man like ———?"

Section IV—Programs, is for improvisation and adaptation. In farm country, it allows the President to suggest that the favored candidate is his trusted agricultural adviser (even though he happens to disapprove of the Administration's farm program). In a city, it brings forth passing mention of the environment, "you know, pure air, clean up the air, clean up the water, open spaces not just parks far out in the West," and crime and "all of the problems that are involved in traffic jams and so forth in our cities."

Among youth, it brings up people who look forward, not back. Among the elderly, it finds Mr. Nixon claiming Social Security as his very own, with the promise of automatic cost-of-living increases.

Republican votes are preventing passage of that reform. There is also a quick pitch for revenue sharing, largely to revive the promise that Mr. Nixon will reverse what he calls the flow of power "from the people and from the cities and from the states to Washington, D. C."

These punch lines still work, at least with the partisan audiences that are brought together on airport aprons, in downtown squares and city auditoriums to be given a taste of the President's infectious optimism.

After the punchlines, Mr. Nixon goes on to Item V—Permissiveness, and declares himself as the defender of youth and the champion of law, order and justice.

Pointing to the troubles in Canada and the news of bombings in the United States, recalling almost offhandedly that rocks were thrown at him in Vermont last week and that obscenities are being shouted at him either a few minutes ago or yesterday or this morning, he pleads with the audience not to answer "in kind." For most youngsters are decent, Mr. Nixon insists to loud cheers.

But there is a "rising tide of terrorism," "of crime" and "of shouting down speakers with four-letter obscenities," the President continues. "My friends, it is time to draw the line and to say we are not going to stand for that. My friends, I want to tell you we cannot provide the leadership that will keep peace abroad unless we can keep the peace at home."

The most powerful four-letter word in the history of civilization, says the President, is "vote." And the way the great silent majority of America can stand up to be counted is to vote against the candidate who "has given encouragement to, has condoned, lawlessness and violence and permissiveness." Mr. Nixon cites no names.

But where the intended beneficiary of his support is running against an incum-