

Excerpts From Nixon's Kansas Speech on

Following are excerpts from President Nixon's address yesterday at Kansas State University in Manhattan, Kansas, as recorded by The New York Times:

There are those who protest that if the verdict of democracy goes against them, democracy itself is at fault, the system is at fault; who say that if they don't get their own way, the answer is to burn a bus or bomb a building.

Yet we can maintain a free society only if we recognize that in a free society no one can win all the time, no one can have his own way all the time and no one is right all the time. Whether in a campaign or a football game or in debate on the great issues of the day, the answer to "losing one" is not a rush to the barricades but a study of why, and then a careful rebuilding—or perhaps even a careful re-examination of whether the other fellow may have been right after all.

When Palestinian guerrillas hijacked four airliners in flight, they brought to 250 the number of aircraft seized since the skyjacking era began in 1961. And as they held their hundreds of passengers hostage under threat of murder, they sent shock waves of alarm around the world at the spreading disease of violence and terror and its use as a political tactic.

That same cancerous disease has been spreading over the world and here in the United States.

We saw it three weeks ago in the vicious bombing at the University of Wisconsin. One man lost his life, four were injured and years of painstaking research by a score of others was destroyed.

We have seen it in other bombings and burnings on our campuses and our cities, in the wanton shootings of policemen, in the attacks on school buses, in the destruction of offices, the seizure and harassment of college officials, the use of force and coercion to bar students and teachers from classrooms and even to close down whole campuses.

Cites Violent Incidents

Consider just a few items in the news.

A courtroom spectator pulls out a gun. He halts the trial, gives arms to the defendants, takes the judge and four other hostages, moves to a waiting getaway van, and in the gunfight that follows four die, including the judge.

A man walks into the guardhouse of a city park, pumps five bullets into a police sergeant sitting quietly at his desk.



United Press International

AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY: Alf Landon, Republican nominee for President in 1936, with President Nixon yesterday as Mr. Nixon arrived to give the first Alf Landon Lecture.

A Nobel Prize winner working on a cancer cure returns to the cages of his experimental rats and mice to find them vandalized, with some of the animals running loose, some thrown out of windows into the sea, hundreds missing. Just think—years of research, which could have provided some progress to bring a cure to this dread disease, destroyed without reason.

A police patrolman responds to an anonymous emergency call that reported a woman screaming. He arrives at the address. He finds the house deserted. A suitcase is left behind. He bends over to examine it. It explodes, blows off his head, wounds seven others.

These acts of viciousness all took place not in some other country—in the United States, and in the last five weeks.

America at its best has stood steadfastly for the rule of law among nations. But we cannot stand successfully for the rule of law abroad unless we respect the rule of law at home in the United States. A nation that condones blackmail and terror at home can hardly stand as the example in putting an end to international piracies or tensions that could explode into war abroad.

The time has come for us to recognize that violence and terror have no place in a free society, whatever the purported cause or the perpetrators may be. And this is the fundamental lesson for us to remember: In a system like ours, which provides the means for peaceful change, no cause justifies violence in the name of change.

Violence in the U.S.

Contempt for Life Seen

Those who bomb, who ambush policemen, who hijack airplanes, who hold their passengers hostage, all share in common not only a contempt for human life but also a contempt for those elemental decencies on which a free society rests, and they deserve the contempt of every American who values those decencies.

Those decencies, those self-restraints, those patterns of mutual respect for the rights and feelings of one another, the willingness to listen to somebody else without trying to shout him down, those patterns of mutual respect for the rights and the feelings of one another—these are what we must preserve if freedom itself is to be preserved.

There have always been among us those who would choose violence or intimidation to get what they wanted. Their existence is not new.

What is new is their numbers and the extent of passive acquiescence, or even fawning approval, that in some fashionable circles has become the mark of being "with it."

What corrodes a society even more deeply than violence itself is the acceptance of violence, the condoning of terror, excusing of inhuman acts in a misguided effort to accommodate the community's standards to those of the violent few.

When this happens, the community sacrifices more than its calm, and more even than its safety. It loses its integrity and corrupts its soul.

Nowhere should the rule of reason be more respected, more jealously guarded, than in the halls of our great universities. It is the rule of reason rather than the rule of force.

Yet we all know that at some of the great universities small bands of destructionists have been allowed to impose their own rule of arbitrary force.

Because of this, we today face the greatest crisis in the history of American education.

In times past we've had crises in education. I remember them. We faced shortages of classrooms, shortages of teachers; shortages that could always be made up, however, by appropriating more money.

Fears Loss of Support

These material shortages are nothing compared to the crisis of the spirit which rocks hundreds of campuses across the country today. And because of this, to put it bluntly, today higher education in America risks losing that essential support it has had since the beginning of this country, the support of the American people.

America and Americans from the time of our foundation, and particularly those that did not have the opportunity to go to a great college or university, have been proud of our enormous strides in higher education. They have supported it. The number of students in college today has doubled in the past 10 years. But at a time when the quantity of education is going dramatically up, its quality is massively threatened by assaults which terrorize faculty, students and university and college administrators alike.

And it is time for the responsible university and college administrators, faculty and student leaders to stand up and be counted, because we must remember, only they can save higher education in America. It cannot be saved by government.

A 'Dangerous' Attitude

If we turn only to government to save it, then government will move in and run the colleges and universities. And so the place to save it is here among those—the faculty, the administrators, the student leaders. To attempt to blame government for all the woes of the universities—it's rather the fashion these days. But, really, it's to seek an excuse, not a reason, for their troubles.

Listen to this: If the war were ended today, if the environment were cleaned up tomorrow morning, and if all the other problems for which government has the responsibility were solved tomorrow afternoon—the moral and spiritual crisis in the universities would still exist.

The destructive activists at our universities and colleges are a small minority, but their voices have been allowed to drown out—my text at this point reads, "The voices of the small minority have been allowed to drown out the responsible majority." That may be true in some places, but not at Kansas State.

As a result, there is a growing dangerous attitude among millions of people that all youth are like those who appear night after night on the television screens, shouting obscenities, making threats or engaging in destructive and illegal acts.

One of the greatest disservices that the disrupters

have done, in fact, is precisely that—to reflect unfairly on those millions of students, like those in this room, who do go to college for an education, who do study, who do respect the rules and go on to make constructive contributions to peaceful change and progress.

But let us understand exactly where we are. I would not for one moment call for a dull, passive, conformity on the part of our university and college students, or an acceptance of the world as it is.

The great strength of this nation is that our young people, the young people like those in this room, in generation after generation, give the nation new ideas and new directions and new energies. I do not call for a conformity in which the young simply ape the old or in which we freeze the faults that we have.

We must be honest enough to find what is right and to change what is wrong in America.

But, at the same time, we must take an uncompromising stand against those who reject the rules of civilized conduct and respect for others, those who destroy what is right in our society and whose actions would do nothing to right what is wrong.

Automatic conformity with the older generation—and I say this as one of the older generation—automatic conformity with the older generation is wrong. At the same time, it is just as wrong to fall into a slavish conformity with those who falsely claim to be the leaders of the new generation, out of fear to be unpopular or considered square not to follow their lead.

It would be a tragedy for the young generation simply to pursue the policies of the past, and it would be just as great a tragedy for the new

generation to become simply parrots for the slogans of protests, uniformly chanting the same few phrases and often the same four-letter words.

Let us take one example, one example that I know deeply troubles—and I understand why it does deeply trouble—many of our young people today: the war in Vietnam.

We know the slogans. I've heard them often. Most of them simply say, end the war. There's no difference between Americans on that. All of us want to end the war. And we are ending this war.

Ending the war is not the issue. We have been in four wars in this century. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea. The great question is how we end the war and what kind of a peace we achieve, because a peace now that would encourage those who would engage in aggression and would thereby lead only to a bigger and more terrible war later would be peace at too great a price.

As we look back over this 20th century, and as we look at that whole record of this century, only 70 years, we in America have not yet in this whole century been able to enjoy even one full generation of peace.

And so the whole thrust, the whole purpose of this Administration's foreign policy—whether it's Vietnam or the Middle East or in Europe or in our relations with the developing countries or with the Communist powers—is to meet our responsibilities in such a way that at last we can have what we have not had in this century, a full generation of peace. I believe we can have it. I believe you're going to have it.

That is why, in Vietnam, we're carrying out a policy that will end the war. It will do it in a way that contrib-

utes to a just and a lasting peace in the Pacific, in Vietnam and, we trust also, in the world.

There are those who say that this is the worst of times in which to live. What self-pitying nonsense that is.

I am, perhaps, more aware of the problems this nation has at home and abroad than most of you. But we in America, I say proudly today, have a great deal to be proud of and a great deal to be hopeful about for the future of.

Let us open our eyes, let's look around us. We see, as we look at the whole sweep of history, that for the first time in the whole history of man it is becoming possible here in America to do things that nobody even dreamed could be done, even 50 years ago.

Pledge on the Environment

We see a natural environment. True, it's been damaged by careless nuisances and misuses of technology. But we also see that that same technology gives us the ability to clean up that environment, to restore the clean air, the clean water, the open spaces that are our rightful heritage. And I pledge we shall do that and can do it in America.

Oh, I know the fashionable line among some, that, wouldn't it be great to live in a country that didn't have all these problems of material progress? Not at all. I've been through them. I've seen them. And I simply would like to say to you that, great as our problems are as a result of our material progress, we can do things, do things for ourselves and for others, that need to be done. And we must see it in that way.

Look at our nation. We're rich and sometimes that is condemned, because wealth can sometimes be used improperly. But because of our wealth, it means that today we in America cannot just talk about but can plan for a program in which everyone in this nation willing and able to work and earn a decent living and so that we can care for those who are not able to do so on some basis.

Opportunity Is Discerned

We see a nation that now has the capacity to make enormous strides in the years just ahead in health care, in education, in the creative use of our increasing leisure time.

We see a nation poised to progress more in the next five years in a material sense than it did in the last 50 years.

We see that, because of our wealth, because of our freedom, because of this much-maligned system of ours, that we can go on to develop those great qualities of the spirit that only decades ago were still buried by the weight of drudgery and in 75 per cent of the world today still buried by the weight of drudgery.

We see that we can do this in America, lift that weight of drudgery, allow

the development of qualities of the spirit, and we can do it not just for an elite class, not just a few, but for the many. All this can happen in America.

The question is: How shall we use this great opportunity?

Shall we toss it away in mindless disruption and terror? Shall we let it wither away in despair? Or shall we prepare ourselves, as you are preparing yourselves, and shall we conduct ourselves in a way that we will be looked back on as the beginning of the brightest chapter ever in the unfolding of the American dream.

Making its promise real requires an atmosphere of reason, of tolerance and of common courtesy, with that basic regard for the rights and feelings of others that is the mark of any civilized society.

It requires that the members of the academic community rise firmly in defense of the free pursuit of truth, that they defend it as zealously today against threats from within as they have in the past defended it against threats from without.

It requires that the idealism of the young—and, indeed, the idealism of all ages—be focussed on what can be done within the framework of a free society, recognizing that its structures of rights and responsibilities is complex and fragile and as precious as freedom itself.

The true idealist pursues what his heart says is right in a way that his head says will work. But the final test of idealism lies in the respect each shows for the rights of others.

Confidence Is Voiced

Despite all the difficulties, all the divisions, all the troubles that we have had, we can look to the future, I believe, with pride and with confidence.

I speak here today on the campus of a great university, and I recall one of the great sons of Kansas, Dwight David Eisenhower. I recall the eloquent address he made at London's famous Guildhall immediately after victory in Europe. And on that day the huge assemblage of all the leading dignitaries of Britain were there to honor him.

And in his few remarks, one of the most eloquent speeches in the history of English eloquence, he said very simply, "I come from the heart of America."

Now, 25 years later, as I speak in the heart of America, I can truly say to you here today: You are the heart of America. And the heart of America is strong. The heart of America is good. The heart of America is sound.

It will give us—you will give us—the sound and responsible leadership that the great promise of America calls for, and in doing so you'll give my generation what it most fervently hopes for: the knowledge that your generation will see that promise of the American dream fulfilled.