

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE  
MONTANA STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION BANQUET  
HELENA, MONTANA  
SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1971

IN 1968, THE TIRELESS EFFORTS OF THOUSANDS OF DEDICATED PARTY WORKERS IN MONTANA AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY ELECTED RICHARD NIXON. REVIEWING THE RECORD OF HIS ADMINISTRATION TODAY, IT IS CLEAR THAT HE HAS VINDICATED THEIR TRUST. RICHARD NIXON IS DOING AN OUTSTANDING JOB OF WINDING DOWN THE WAR AND WINDING UP THE ECONOMY. AND HE IS DOING IT AGAINST HEAVY ODDS. IT IS UP TO US TO SEE THAT HIS EFFORTS GET THE RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT THEY DESERVE -- AND ANOTHER TERM IN OFFICE IN 1972.

NATION-WIDE DRIVE

THAT MEANS A NATIONWIDE GRASS ROOTS EFFORT INVOLVING ALL OF US -- ONE WE CAN AND MUST MOUNT.

DOING SO WILL NOT BE EASY, BUT IT WILL BE WORTH IT, FOR AT STAKE IS THE BASIC ISSUE OF WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN ARE GOING TO INHERIT.

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IN RECENT WEEKS, WE HAVE SEEN REPEATED EFFORTS BY PART OF THE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP IN THE CONGRESS TO PARALYZE THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM. THE DEMOCRAT CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE BOASTS THAT HE WILL KILL THE PRESIDENT'S REVENUE SHARING PROPOSAL IN COMMITTEE.

THE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP IS ALSO DRAGGING ITS FEET ON THE PRESIDENT'S ENVIRONMENTAL PACKAGE. IT HAS ALREADY DEFEATED HIS MANPOWER REVENUE SHARING LEGISLATION, AND HAS YET TO ACT ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS TO STREAMLINE COSTLY FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS.

BY REFUSING TO HOLD HEARINGS ON THE PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY STRIKE PROPOSAL, THE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS ALSO TURNED ITS BACK ON LEGISLATION THAT WOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE COSTLY RAILROAD STRIKE WHICH DISRUPTED THE ECONOMY AND INCONVENIENCED THE GENERAL PUBLIC NEEDLESSLY AND AT TREMENDOUS COST.

#### ATTACK ON OFFICE

THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL FOES SEEM BENT ON DOWNGRADING NOT JUST RICHARD NIXON, THE MAN, BUT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY ITSELF. LOOK

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AROUND THE COUNTRY; LISTEN TO THE SPEECHES BEING MADE BY THE LEGION OF WOULD-BE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES.

X A COMMON THREAD RUNS THROUGH MOST OF THEIR UTTERANCES. IN THEIR EFFORTS TO WEAKEN THE PRESIDENT, THEY CRITICIZE BOTH THE SYSTEM AND THE NATION HE SERVES. X SOME TALK ABOUT A "SICK" AMERICA. Y SOME ATTACK THE CREDIBILITY AND HONOR OF OUR ARMED FORCES AND LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS. Y SOMETIMES, AS IN THE CASE OF THE RECENT PROTEST MARCHES IN WASHINGTON, SOME SEEM TO ENDORSE THE ADVOCATES AND PRACTITIONERS OF ORGANIZED LAWLESSNESS AND MOB RULE.

UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE

BUT OVER ALL IS A CONTINUING EFFORT TO UNDERMINE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENCY. NO MATTER HOW GOOD A JOB PRESIDENT NIXON DOES OF VIETNAMIZING THE WAR AND BRINGING OUR TROOPS HOME, HIS MOTIVES AND HIS GOALS ARE CONTINUOUSLY ATTACKED. WHEN THE PRESIDENT WARNS US THAT A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE IS NECESSARY TO INSURE PEACE AND ENCOURAGE FOREIGN POWERS TO NEGOTIATE ARMS CONTROL, HE IS ACCUSED OF JEOPARDIZING CHANCES FOR DISARMAMENT -- A CHARGE WHICH RECENT

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EVENTS HAVE ALREADY DISPROVED.

FULBRIGHT CONTRADICTS SELF

AND ALL TOO OFTEN, THE MEN WHO ACCUSE DO NOT EVEN BOTHER ABOUT BEING CONSISTENT.

FOR EXAMPLE, IN APRIL OF 1971, SENATOR FULBRIGHT TOLD AN AUDIENCE AT YALE UNIVERSITY THAT THE "CULT OF THE 'STRONG' PRESIDENCY" HAD "MESMERIZED AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE FIFTIES AND EARLY SIXTIES", AND LED TO "THE GROWTH OF PRESIDENTIAL DICTATORSHIP IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS."

YET THE SAME SENATOR FULBRIGHT, IN A 1961 ARTICLE IN THE CORNELL LAW QUARTERLY, WROTE THAT "THE SOURCE OF AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY UNDER OUR SYSTEM IS PRESIDENTIAL POWER," AND WARNED THAT THE "EXCESSIVELY PAROCHIAL" OUTLOOK OF CONGRESSMEN MAKES THEM "ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO THE INFLUENCE OF PRIVATE PRESSURE AND TO THE EXCESSES AND INADEQUACIES OF PUBLIC OPINION THAT IS ALL TOO OFTEN IGNORANT OF THE NEEDS, THE DANGERS, AND THE OPPORTUNITIES IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS....."

✂ THOSE ARE SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S WORDS, NOT MINE. AND YET, THIS MAN WHO ASSERTED IN 1961 THAT THE RIGHTFUL SOURCE OF "AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN

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POLICY" IS THE PRESIDENCY, NOW WOULD DENY THE PRESIDENT THE RIGHT TO MAKE EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY.

PUBLIC FORGETFULNESS

THE TENDENCY OF THE PUBLIC TO FORGET HAS BEEN THE SALVATION OF MANY POLITICIANS. BUT THIS YAWNING CREDIBILITY GAP OF THE PRESIDENT'S CRITICS IS TOO BIG AND TOO CLEAR TO VANISH INTO THIN AIR.

PERHAPS THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THE PRESIDENT'S CONFIDENCE REMAINS UNSHAKEN. HE BELIEVES, AS I DO, THAT ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS. HE BELIEVES THAT THE PEOPLE WILL NOT BE TAKEN IN BY A SMOKESCREEN OF FALSE OR POLITICALLY MOTIVATED CHARGES AND RED-HOT RHETORIC.

GOP OPTIMISTIC

IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS, I HAVE VISITED WITH VOTERS AND PARTY WORKERS IN OVER A SCORE OF STATES, FROM MAINE TO HAWAII. AND IN EACH CITY AND STATE I VISITED, I FOUND REPUBLICANS SHARING THE SAME MOOD OF CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM.

EVERYWHERE I WENT I SENSED A PUBLIC FEELING THAT MANY NATIONAL DEMOCRAT LEADERS HAVE STOPPED TALKING TO GRASS ROOTS AMERICANS AND STEPPED OUTSIDE THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM. OBSTRUCTIONIST EFFORTS TO STOP WELFARE

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REFORM AND REVENUE SHARING; EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE PRESIDENT'S GLOBAL POLICY FOR PEACE; KOWTOWING TO THE NOISY NEW LEFT; IN DOING THESE THINGS, MANY NATIONAL DEMOCRATS HAVE LOST TOUCH WITH THE HOPES, VALUES AND IDEALS OF AVERAGE WORKING AMERICANS.

GOP MUST WIN INDEPENDENTS

THIS HAS LEFT MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS WITHOUT A PARTY TO CALL THEIR OWN. I BELIEVE THAT, WITH YOUR HELP, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN BECOME THEIR NEW POLITICAL HOME. I BELIEVE WE CAN BUILD IT INTO THE MAJORITY POLITICAL PARTY OF THE 1970'S AND THE YEARS BEYOND.

THE DECLINE OF THE DEMOCRATS IS ALREADY AN ESTABLISHED PATTERN. OUR CHALLENGE IS TO CONVINCING NEW AND OLD INDEPENDENTS AND DEMOCRATS THAT THEIR FUTURE NOW LIES IN OUR PARTY. ACCORDING TO A RECENT HARRIS POLL, DEMOCRAT AFFILIATION AMONG VOTERS HAS DECLINED 5 POINTS SINCE 1968.

ON THE OTHER HAND, REPUBLICAN AFFILIATION HAS REMAINED FAIRLY CONSTANT -- 31 PERCENT IN 1968 AND 30 PERCENT TODAY. THE BIG GAINER SO FAR HAS BEEN THE INDEPENDENT COLUMN, BUT I SUSPECT IN MANY CASES THIS IS A HALF-WAY HOUSE FOR EX-DEMOCRATS ON THE WAY TO THE REPUBLICAN FOLD.

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TWO MAIN ISSUES

JUDGING FROM THE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE I HAVE MET AND SPOKEN WITH SINCE BECOMING CHAIRMAN, THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS DEPENDENT ON TWO OVERWHELMING ISSUES. THOSE ISSUES ARE PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, I HAVE FOUND A PERVADING WAR-WEARINESS. IT IS THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF AN UNDECLARED WAR THAT IS THE LONGEST AND MOST INDECISIVE IN OUR HISTORY. REPUBLICANS, DEMOCRATS OR INDEPENDENTS -- PEOPLE WANT TO SEE THIS WAR ENDED. THEY WANT TO READ THEIR SUNDAY PAPER OR WATCH THE EVENING NEWS ON TELEVISION WITHOUT LEARNING OF MORE AMERICAN DEAD OR WOUNDED.

A GENERATION OF PEACE

IN OTHER WORDS, THEY HOPE FOR THE BEGINNING OF A REAL PEACE. THIS IS THE FULL GENERATION OF PEACE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON SEEKS. AND, TIRED AS THEY ARE OF WAR, I FIND THAT MOST AMERICANS ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT HOW WE END AN INVOLVEMENT THAT HAS BEEN SO LONG AND COSTLY.

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THEY WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT IT IS ENDED AND ENDED HONORABLY -- NOT JUST FOR THE AMERICAN MEN WHO ARE SERVING IN INDOCHINA TODAY, BUT FOR THEIR YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SONS AS WELL.

CONCERN FOW POWS

THEY WANT US TO LEAVE INDOCHINA WITH OUR HANDS CLEAN, AND OUR ALLIES LEFT WITH A DECENT CHANCE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. AND THEY DO NOT WANT OUR PRISONERS OF WAR ENDANGERED OR ABANDONED.

REASONABLE MEN MAY ARGUE -- AND HAVE -- ABOUT THE TIMING AND SPEED WITH WHICH SUCH A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED, BUT I BELIEVE MOST AMERICANS STAND TOGETHER BEHIND THESE GOALS. I AM CONVINCED THAT, TODAY, WE ARE CLOSER TO REACHING SUCH A SETTLEMENT THAN EVER, AND I BELIEVE THE FACTS REFLECT THIS.

CASUALTIES DOWN

TODAY, AMERICAN CASUALTIES ARE ONLY ABOUT A FOURTH WHAT THEY WERE WHEN RICHARD NIXON TOOK OFFICE. HALF OUR TROOPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN SUCCESSFULLY WITHDRAWN FROM VIETNAM, AND ONE SERVICE BRANCH, THE U. S. MARINES, HAS COMPLETELY SHUT DOWN COMBAT OPERATIONS. THREE YEARS AGO, THERE WERE 87,000 MARINES IN SOUTH VIETNAM. TODAY THERE ARE LESS THAN ONE-TENTH OF THAT NUMBER. OUR OVER-ALL TROOP STRENGTH IS THE LOWEST POINT IN FIVE YEARS, AND CONTINUOUSLY DECREASING AS THE PRESIDENT WINDS DOWN THE WAR



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THROUGH VIETNAMIZATION.

DOES THIS MEAN THAT THE GENERAL PUBLIC IS TOTALLY SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE? I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS A CLEAR YES OR NO ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION. A CLEAR MAJORITY, I AM CONVINCED, GIVE THE PRESIDENT CREDIT FOR THE TREMENDOUS JOB HE HAS ALREADY DONE, REVERSING THE WHOLE MOMENTUM OF THE WAR.

NIXON TURNS TIDE

LET US NEVER FORGET THAT RICHARD NIXON INHERITED A POLICY OF ESCALATION WITHOUT VICTORY FROM HIS PREDECESSORS IN OFFICE. BUT HE HAS TURNED THE TIDE, TURNED IT TO A POLICY OF HONORABLE, ORDERLY AMERICAN DISINVOLVEMENT.

AS I REMARKED A MOMENT AGO, PEOPLE MAY DISAGREE ABOUT THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE WAR IS ENDING TODAY. BUT ALMOST ALL OF THEM REALIZE THAT, FOR AMERICA, THE WAR IS ENDING. AS MORE AND MORE AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN RETURN HOME, AND AS THE CASUALTY RATE DROPS CLOSER AND CLOSER TO THE ZERO POINT, THEIR FAITH IN OUR PRESIDENT AND OUR PARTY WILL BECOME FIRMER AND MORE WIDESPREAD.

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THAT IS WHY I AM A CAUTIOUS BUT SOLID OPTIMIST ABOUT 1972. I BELIEVE THAT LONG BEFORE THE '72 ELECTIONS, AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM WILL BE AT OR NEAR THE ZERO POINT, AND THE VIETNAMIZATION PROGRAM WILL HAVE MADE FURTHER STRIDES.

POST-WAR ISSUES

TO THE EXTENT THAT THE WAR DISSIPATES AS AN ISSUE, WE CAN EXPECT THE ECONOMIC ISSUE TO COME TO THE FOREFRONT.

X THE INFLATION WE INHERITED FROM THE "NEW FRONTIER" AND THE "GREAT SOCIETY" IS COMING UNDER CONTROL. IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1971, WE HAVE SEEN AMERICA CHALK UP THE BIGGEST QUARTERLY INCREASE IN THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IN OUR ENTIRE NATIONAL HISTORY. THE COUNTRY IS EXPERIENCING A HOUSING BOOM OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS. BUILDING OF NEW DWELLINGS IS RUNNING ABOUT 50 PERCENT HIGHER THAN LAST YEAR AND FINANCING FOR POTENTIAL HOMEOWNERS IS LOOSENING UP.

LEADERSHIP AT THE TOP

X WE HAVE SEEN THE MOST REMARKABLE STOCK MARKET RECOVERY IN DECADES, AND, WITHIN RECENT WEEKS, WE HAVE SEEN THE DOLLAR WEATHER ITS STRONGEST CHALLENGE IN MANY YEARS.

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NONE OF THESE THINGS HAPPENED BY ACCIDENT. FEW OF THEM WERE ACHIEVED WITH THE COOPERATION OF AN OFTEN HOSTILE OPPOSITION MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS. THEY WERE THE RESULT OF COOL, COMPETENT LEADERSHIP AT THE TOP -- THE KIND OF PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP AMERICANS WANT AND DESERVE.

AND IT IS REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, LEADERSHIP WHICH A BITTERLY DIVIDED DEMOCRAT PARTY WAS NOT ABLE TO GIVE THE NATION IN THE 1960'S, AND WILL NOT BE ABLE TO OFFER AGAIN IN 1972.

FOR, IN COMMENTING ON THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IGNORE THE CONDITION OF THE DEMOCRATS, AT LEAST IN PASSING. THE TWO ARE CLOSELY RELATED, FOR THE GAINS OF ONE ARE THE LOSSES OF THE OTHER. AND RIGHT NOW, I SEE THE GOP GAINING.

PARTY OF CREDIBILITY

WE ARE MAINTAINING OUR REPUTATION AS THE PARTY OF CREDIBILITY. WE STAND FOR A CREDIBLE POLICY FOR ENDING THE WAR -- SOMETHING THAT WAS LACKING UNDER THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION -- AND THE PEOPLE KNOW IT.

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WE STAND FOR CREDIBLE, EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT, IN CONTRAST TO THE CHAOS AND PERMISSIVENESS OF THE 1960'S -- AND THE PEOPLE KNOW IT.

WE STAND FOR RESPECT FOR BASIC AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS THAT SOME POLITICIANS IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY SEEM TO HAVE ABANDONED -- VALUES LIKE RESPECT FOR THE LAW, SUPPORT OF A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND EMPHASIS ON REFORM RATHER THAN REVOLUTION -- AND THE PEOPLE KNOW IT.

HOPE FOR WORLD PEACE

AND, AS THE PRESIDENT WAS ABLE TO ANNOUNCE LAST WEEK, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE WHAT MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH YET IN THE LONG SEARCH FOR WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY.

THE PRESIDENT'S DISCLOSURE OF A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE SALT TALKS OFFERS ENCOURAGEMENT TO ALL AMERICANS AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD. TODAY THERE IS NEW HOPE FOR A REAL AND LASTING PEACE -- FOR A FUTURE WITH LESS CHANCE OF NUCLEAR WAR.

A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS BEGUN TO ACHIEVE WHAT IT ALWAYS SAID IT WAS SEEKING -- AN END TO THE ERA OF CONFRONTATION; A BEGINNING TO AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION.

AND WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REACH THIS AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF ARMS CONTROLS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF PRESIDENT

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NIXON'S DETERMINATION TO HAVE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF HIS DETERMINATION TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES STRONG ENOUGH TO NEGOTIATE FROM A POSITION OF MILITARY PARITY.

ALL THE GOOD INTENTIONS IN THE WORLD WOULD NOT HAVE BROUGHT THE SOVIETS TO THE TABLE IN A SERIOUS WAY IF THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT TRIUMPHED OVER THOSE ON THE AMERICAN SCENE WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO UNILATERALLY DISARM THE UNITED STATES. THEIR EFFORTS AT UNDERCUTTING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE HAVE FAILED, AND WILL CONTINUE TO FAIL, BECAUSE MOST PEOPLE SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S APPROACH, AND HIS VIEW HAS BEEN VINDICATED BY THIS LATEST BREAKTHROUGH.

ALL AMERICANS OF TODAY SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR THE PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP NOT ONLY TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, BUT TO BUILD THE WORKINGS OF A LASTING GLOBAL PEACE. I KNOW THAT AMERICANS OF TOMORROW WILL BE, FOR THEIR WORLD WILL PROFIT BY THE EFFORTS WE MAKE TODAY.

LOOK AT ALTERNATIVES

BUT FUTURE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS WILL NOT BE VOTING IN 1972. THE DECISION THEN WILL BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF VISIBLE, AND IN SOME CASES, SHORT-TERM RESULTS.

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AMERICANS WILL HAVE TO ASK THEMSELVES HOW FAR WE HAVE COME SINCE 1968, AND WHAT THE ALTERNATIVES TO A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION ARE. FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF THEM, A THIRD PARTY CHOICE IS OUT OF THE QUESTION. WHATEVER FRAGMENTED APPEAL SUCH A CANDIDACY MAY HAVE FOR SOME, IT WILL NEVER BE A WINNING NATIONAL PHENOMENON. IT MAY HURT THE REPUBLICANS. IT MAY HURT THE DEMOCRATS. BUT IT WILL NEVER BE VICTORIOUS.

AS FOR THE DEMOCRAT PARTY -- AMERICANS SEE IT TODAY IN DIS-ARRAY. AND A PARTY SO BITTERLY DIVIDED CANNOT LEAD A UNITED NATION.

GET NIXON STORY ACROSS

IT IS UP TO US -- YOU, ME, AND EVERY OTHER CONCERNED REPUBLICAN IN MONTANA AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY -- TO SEE TO IT THAT THESE MILLIONS OF BORDERLINE DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS GET THE FULL STORY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS, OF ITS DEEDS AND ITS PROPOSALS FOR A BETTER AMERICA.

*Bill Nelson*

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GIVEN THESE FACTS, AND GIVEN A COMMITMENT BY ALL OF US TO THE  
CAMPAIGN THAT LIES AHEAD, WE CANNOT FAIL. AMERICA IS APPROACHING A  
TRULY HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN 1972. IT CAN ALSO BE A REPUBLICAN  
TURNING POINT -- A NEW CALL TO GREATNESS FOR RICHARD NIXON AND THE  
REPUBLICAN PARTY. THE OUTCOME IS IN OUR HANDS.

*Mr. Nelson*  
*4-10-72*

*Richard Nixon*

*Committee*

*Chairman*

*1972*

Bill Header

Mr. Mungy - Mrs. Mabely

Bill Edd - John

\* Harry Cramer - Nixon

Mr. Damm - 470 - Steel Paving  
  ↓  
  Memor

Casper - ① Self - Ordeby  
  ② can't be divided

Sweeney - Faming Policy

Communication - ① Don  
  ② John  
  ③ P.Q. -  
  ④