

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
MIDWESTERN STATES REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1971

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU TONIGHT, AND I THINK IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT WE ARE MEETING IN INDIANA ON THIS OCCASION. I DON'T KNOW HOW MANY TIMES I CAME OUT HERE, AND OTHER REPUBLICANS CAME OUT HERE, LAST SUMMER AND FALL TO CAMPAIGN FOR DICK ROUDEBUSH ----- BUT, APPARENTLY, I DIDN'T COME OFTEN ENOUGH, OR PERHAPS I CAME TOO OFTEN, BECAUSE WE LOST.

I KNOW HOW HARD SO MANY OF YOU WORKED OUT HERE IN THE MIDWEST ----- FOR DICK -- FOR RALPH SMITH IN ILLINOIS -- FOR TOM KLEPPE IN NORTH DAKOTA -- FOR CLARK MAC GREGOR IN MINNESOTA -- FOR JACK DANFORTH IN MISSOURI -- AND FOR LENORE ROMNEY IN MICHIGAN ----- WE LOST SOME HARD RACES. PEOPLE WILL SAY, "WELL, WE DIDN'T DO BADLY FOR AN OFF-YEAR ELECTION."

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GOP MUST WORK HARDER

WE DIDN'T DO BADLY IN 1970 COMPARED TO WHAT USUALLY HAPPENS IN AN OFF-YEAR ELECTION. WE DIDN'T DO BADLY COMPARED TO WHAT THE DEMOCRATS USUALLY DO. BUT COMPARED TO WHAT WE HAVE TO DO IN ORDER TO GET THE KIND OF CONGRESS PRESIDENT NIXON CAN WORK WITH -- COMPARED TO WHAT IT WILL REQUIRE TO GET THE UNFINISHED WORK OF THIS ADMINISTRATION AND THIS COUNTRY DONE -- COMPARED TO WHAT AMERICA REQUIRES, WE JUST DIDN'T DO WELL ENOUGH. WE WORKED HARD. WE HAVE TO WORK HARDER.

IN 1970, WE HAD A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM AT STAKE, AND WE HAD SUPREME COURT APPOINTMENTS AT STAKE. IN 1972, WE WILL HAVE ALL THESE, PLUS RICHARD NIXON AT STAKE. WE CAN'T AFFORD NOT TO DO ENOUGH.

OVER A YEAR AGO, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WAS GOING TO PUT THE PRESIDENCY OUT OF POLITICS FOR AWHILE. THAT'S LIKE DEAN MARTIN GIVING UP DRINKING, OR THE DEMOCRATS GIVING UP SPENDING OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY. BUT HE HAS DONE IT FOR A YEAR. I DON'T KNOW WHEN HE INTENDS TO CHANGE -- I KNOW THERE IS A LARGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TAKING THIS PRESIDENCY OUT OF POLITICS, AND TAKING POLITICS OUT OF THIS PRESIDENT.

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POLITICS WARMING UP

MY GUESS IS THAT IN THE COMING WEEKS AND MONTHS, THINGS ARE GOING TO GET INCREASINGLY POLITICAL. OF COURSE, THEY HAVE BEEN RIGHT ALONG ON THE DEMOCRAT SIDE OF THE FENCE. EVERYBODY IS HAVING A GAY OLD TIME RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT AND RUNNING DOWN THE PRESIDENCY, TALKING ABOUT WHAT THE PRESIDENT OUGHT TO BE DOING AND TRYING AS HARD AS THEY CAN TO KEEP HIM FROM DOING ANYTHING AT ALL.

RIGHT NOW THEY ARE STANDING THERE EMPTY-HANDED LOOKING AHEAD TO 1972 AND WONDERING WHAT THEY ARE GOING TO DO FOR AN ISSUE. WONDERING WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL SWALLOW, REALLY. OF COURSE, THIS ISN'T NEARLY AS MUCH OF A PROBLEM AS THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE COMING UP WITH A CANDIDATE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL SWALLOW. THE COUNTRY HASN'T GOTTEN OVER THE INDIGESTION CAUSED BY THE LAST TWO PRESIDENTS YET.

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DEMOS NIX WELFARE REFORM

BUT THE CANDIDATE ISN'T THEIR BIG HEADACHE NOW. RIGHT NOW, THEY ARE WORRIED ABOUT HOW THEY ARE GOING TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HOW CONCERNED THEY ARE FOR THE POOR -- WHEN THEY HAVE REFUSED TO PASS A WELFARE REFORM BILL THAT IS THE FIRST LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO TRULY HELP THE POOR -- AND NOT JUST TO USE THEM; NOT JUST TO BUY THEIR VOTES, AND MAINTAIN THEIR DEPENDENCY.

X SO THEY ARE WORRIED ABOUT HOW THEY ARE GOING TO KEEP PERSUADING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE A CORNER ON COMPASSION -- WITHOUT DEMONSTRATING IT.

PRESIDENT CONCERNED FOR POOR

X THEY ARE WORRIED ABOUT HOW THEY CAN PERPETUATE THE IMAGE -- WHICH THEY SO CAREFULLY GENERATED TO BEGIN WITH -- OF A PRESIDENT UNCONCERNED ABOUT THE HELPLESS, THE WEAK AND THE POOR, WHEN THAT PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED AND FOUGHT FOR THE ONLY REALISTIC LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO HELP THE HELPLESS, TO LIFT UP THE WEAK, AND TO GIVE SUSTENANCE TO THE POOR.

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THESE ARE THE AIMS OF WELFARE REFORM -- NOT PASSED IN A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

THESE ARE THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION REVENUE SHARING -- NOT PASSED IN A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

THESE ARE THE ULTIMATE PURPOSES OF URBAN REVENUE SHARING -- NOT PASSED IN A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS; OF RURAL REVENUE SHARING -- NOT PASSED IN A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS; OF THE SPECIAL ACTION OFFICE FOR DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION -- NOT PASSED IN A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS -- **THE PRESIDENT DID THIS BY EXECUTIVE ORDER.**

NATIONAL HEALTH STRATEGY MEETS NEED

THE PEOPLE NEED A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE AREA OF HEALTH AND MEDICINE. THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED A NATIONAL HEALTH STRATEGY THAT WOULD PROVIDE HEALTH SERVICE DELIVERY TO ALL WHO NEED IT, REGARDLESS OF THEIR FINANCIAL STATUS; IT WOULD IMPROVE MEDICAL EDUCATION; IT WOULD ACCELERATE RESEARCH EFFORTS -- AND DO THESE THINGS WITHOUT NATIONALIZING THE SYSTEM AND TAKING IT OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO SHOULD CONTROL THE SYSTEM: THE DOCTOR AND THE PATIENT. THE

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SELF-ANNOUNCED PARTY OF THE PEOPLE HAS NOT ACTED ON THIS PROPOSAL. AND THEY HAVE NOT OFFERED A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT.

THIS IS WHAT I MEAN WHEN I SAY THE DEMOCRATS ARE HAVING PROBLEMS WITH THE ISSUES. AND THOSE PROBLEMS ARE GOING TO GET A LOT WORSE. THE WORSE THEY GET, THE MORE DESPERATE ALL THEIR AMBITIOUS PEOPLE BECOME, THE MORE PRONOUNCED THE GAP BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC PROMISE AND REPUBLICAN PERFORMANCE IS GOING TO BECOME -- THE MORE APPARENT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DIZZY AMBITIONS OF THAT EXPANDING GROUP OF NAY-SAYING, NIT-PICKING, FAULT-FINDING WOULD-BE NOMINEES, AND THE SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT. AS THE PROCESS CONTINUES, THE FLAWS ARE REVEALED.

MC GOVERN DUMPS WAR ISSUE

* FOR EXAMPLE, THE DECLARED CANDIDATES: SENATOR MC GOVERN IS OPPOSED TO THE WAR. HE HAS MADE THAT CLEAR. HE HASN'T MADE IT AS CLEAR AS HE HAD PERHAPS HOPED TO MAKE IT -- IT WOULD SEEM THAT HE WOULD HAVE HAD US BELIEVE THAT HE WAS OPPOSED TO WAR AS ONLY A HANDFUL OF THE HIGHER ANGELS ARE OPPOSED TO WAR; BUT, LO AND BEHOLD, THE GOOD SENATOR ANNOUNCED JUST A SHORT TIME AGO THAT HE WAS NOT CAMPAIGNING ON THE WAR

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ANY LONGER; HE WAS CAMPAIGNING ON THE ECONOMY.

NOW THAT'S A CURIOUS THING. BECAUSE, CERTAINLY, DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF THE PRESIDENT, WE STILL HAVE A WAR. IT IS ENDING. WE ARE MOVING TOWARD PEACE UNDER THE SURE HAND OF THE PRESIDENT -- BUT WE DO STILL HAVE A WAR IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE DYING AS SENATOR MC GOVERN HAS BEEN TELLING US EVER SINCE HE WAS AFFLICTED WITH THE IDEA THAT THE REPUBLIC NEEDED HIS GUIDANCE.

AND, YET, THE SENATOR WISHES NOW TO PUT THAT MATTER ASIDE, AND TURN HIS ATTENTION TO THE ECONOMY. REASONABLE MEN AND WOMEN MIGHT CONCLUDE FROM THIS THAT SENATOR MC GOVERN'S ANGUISH OVER THE COSTS OF WAR WAS A BIT CONTRIVED. BUT IT MAY NOT HAVE OCCURRED TO THE SENATOR THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- AND PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO VOTE -- ARE LARGELY COMPOSED OF REASONABLE MEN AND WOMEN.

WAR NOT A DEMO ISSUE

THE WAR, OF COURSE, IS A PROBLEM FOR ALL THE DEMOCRATS. WITH THEIR INTERESTING CAPACITY FOR GETTING THINGS BACKWARD, THEY PREFER TO THINK VIETNAM IS OUR WAR AND THEIR ISSUE. WELL, IT'S OUR WAR, ALL RIGHT --

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IT'S THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S WAR, AND A BITTER LEGACY. AND IT'S NOBODY'S ISSUE -- IT'S RICHARD NIXON'S HEADACHE AND HEARTACHE, AND HE IS ENDING IT, MOVING TO BRING PEACE AS QUICKLY AS HE CAN. THOSE WHO COUNSEL HASTE DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT PRISONERS OF WAR. THEY DON'T HAVE TO WORRY -- OR REFUSE TO -- ABOUT ENDING THE WAR IN A WAY THAT WILL BRING A REAL PEACE -- A LASTING PEACE. IT IS ONE THING WHEN YOUR MAJOR CONCERN IS THE NEXT ELECTION. RICHARD NIXON IS WORRYING ABOUT THE NEXT GENERATION.

HARRIS EFFORT MISPLACED

SENATOR HARRIS, OF COURSE, HAS DECLARED. HE WANTS TO SAVE AMERICA, WE ARE INFORMED, BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. I CAN THINK OF A LOT OF THINGS SENATOR HARRIS MIGHT DO TO HELP AMERICA, BUT RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT ISN'T ONE OF THEM. HE MIGHT START OUT, IN A SMALL WAY, BY HELPING MOVE SOME OF THOSE REPUBLICAN BILLS THROUGH THE CONGRESS. HE MIGHT DO THAT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE -- OR AT LEAST BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

I DON'T WANT TO ALK ABOUT THE UNDECLARED CANDIDATES -- THEY'RE ALL HAVING SO MUCH FUN BEING CUTE AND COY AND WAITING FOR SOMEONE TO COAX THEM TO STEP UP AND SAVE THE WORLD. EXCEPT ONE -- I DON'T WANT TO NEGLECT ANYONE WHO SHOULDN'T BE NEGLECTED, OR FAIL TO GIVE CREDIT WHERE

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CREDIT IS DUE, AND CREDIT IS CERTAINLY DUE TO A MAN WHOM I THINK HAS DONE AS MUCH FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS ANYONE IN THIS CENTURY -- AND THAT'S JOHN LINDSAY.

I'M WAITING FOR THE NEXT GARBAGE STRIKE IN NEW YORK TO SEE IF HE CAN MOVE THE GARBAGE ANY BETTER AS A DEMOCRAT THAN HE DID AS A REPUBLICAN.

NIXON ECONOMIC POLICY SOUND

NOW, OF COURSE, WE COME TO THE BIG QUESTION MARK. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO SAY, ABOUT THE ECONOMY?

I CAN TELL YOU THAT I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION WILL ACHIEVE WHAT THE PRESIDENT IS TRYING TO ACHIEVE -- WHICH IS PROSPERITY IN A TIME OF PEACE. BUT I KNOW IT ISN'T ENOUGH FOR ME TO SAY JUST HAVE FAITH AND BELIEVE WHAT I TELL YOU. NOT EVERYBODY YOU MEET IS GOING TO BE PERSUADED BY "QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN BOB."

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SO IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE ECONOMY. THE LARGEST ECONOMY IN THE WORLD, THE MOST DIVERSE, THE MOST COMPLEX AND, BECAUSE IT IS A FREE MARKET ECONOMY, PROBABLY THE MOST UNWIELDY ECONOMY IN THE WORLD, DOES NOT RESPOND OVERNIGHT TO ANY MANIPULATION -- NO MATTER WHAT YOU DO. THIS ISN'T AN EXCUSE; IT'S A FACT. AND IT IS, BY AND LARGE, A COMFORTABLE FACT TO LIVE WITH.

DEMOS WRECK ECONOMY

* A BRIEF RUN OF BAD CONDITIONS DOESN'T HURT OUR ECONOMY -- YOU HAVE TO REALLY WORK LONG AND HARD TO FOUL IT UP. ONCE YOU FOUL IT UP, YOU CAN'T TURN IT AROUND IN TWO WEEKS BY WAVING YOUR WAND. THE LAST TWO ADMINISTRATIONS DID WORK LONG AND DILIGENTLY, AND THEY DID MAKE A SHAMBLES OF THE ECONOMY. I HEARD GEORGE MEANY THE OTHER NIGHT ON TELEVISION, AND HE WAS SCOFFING AT THE NEW PROSPERITY ---- HE SAID, "I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHAT WAS WRONG WITH THE OLD PROSPERITY?"

OF COURSE, MR. MEANY KNOWS WHAT WAS WRONG WITH IT, BUT A LOT OF AMERICANS DON'T AND THEY ARE SINCERE -- AS HE CERTAINLY COULDN'T HAVE BEEN -- WHEN THEY ASK THE QUESTION. AND THE ANSWER IS THAT WHAT

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PASSED FOR PROSPERITY WAS DESTROYING THE AMERICAN DOLLAR -- IT WASN'T REAL. THERE IS STILL A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT -- IF IT CAN BE CALLED THOUGHT -- WHICH BELIEVES, BASICALLY, THAT THE MORE MONEY YOU PRINT, THE MORE PROSPEROUS YOU ARE. THAT'S WHY YOU FIND LABOR LEADERS SCREAMING FOR HIGHER WAGES -- WITHOUT ANY REGARD FOR WHETHER THOSE WAGES ARE GOING TO BUY MORE GOODS; THEY AREN'T CONCERNED WITH A HEALTHY ECONOMY; THEY'RE CONCERNED WITH A HEALTHY REPUTATION.

FALSE PROSPERITY OF SIXTIES

SO, IN THE SIXTIES, WE HAD THE PROSPERITY OF A WARTIME ECONOMY. WE HAD THE PROSPERITY OF THE BOONDOGGLE -- SPENDING MONEY ON SOCIAL SCHEMES THAT WERE SO PROLIFIC THAT FREQUENTLY THE MONEY COULDN'T EVEN BE ACCOUNTED FOR, AND WASN'T, AND A LOT OF PEOPLE LINED THEIR POCKETS.

WE HAD THE PROSPERITY OF INFLATION. IT IS ONE THING TO IGNORE THE FACT THAT DESPITE WAGES GOING UP, THERE WAS NO REAL INCREASE IN PROSPERITY -- THAT ALL THE INCREASED WAGES WERE EATEN UP BY INCREASED PRICES -- AND THAT MORE AND MORE WAS BUYING LESS AND LESS. YOU CAN

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IGNORE THIS WHEN YOU ARE ON THE ESCALATOR, AND YOUR WAGES ARE GOING UP. BUT, WHAT OF THE ELDERLY -- THE RETIRED, THOSE LIVING ON PENSIONS, ON THEIR SAVINGS, ON FIXED INCOMES? CAN YOU IGNORE THEM?

EVERY TIME EVERYBODY ELSE GETS ONE OF THOSE GREAT BIG "OLD PROSPERITY" PAY RAISES, THESE PEOPLE GET A LITTLE POORER, AND THEIR LIVES BECOME A LITTLE HARDER. MAYBE THEY OUGHT TO UNIONIZE, TOO. BUT UNTIL THEY DO, UNTIL THEY CAN AFFORD TO HIRE LOBBYISTS, OR UNTIL THEY CAN AFFORD TO SUPPORT A LOT OF PEOPLE WITH BIG SALARIES AND BIG PUBLIC RELATIONS OPERATIONS TELLING THEM HOW WELL OFF THEY ARE ---- UNTIL THEN, THEY ONLY REALLY HAVE ONE MAN TO LOOK AFTER THEM, AND THAT IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. AND THIS PRESIDENT DOESN'T INTEND TO FAIL THE PEOPLE WHO DEPEND ON HIM.

NIXON SHUNS GIMMICKS

SO THE FIRST LESSON IN NIXON ECONOMICS IS THAT A PROSPERITY THAT ISN'T GOOD FOR EVERYBODY ISN'T GOOD FOR ANYBODY BECAUSE, IF YOU LOOK CLOSER, YOU WILL SEE IT ISN'T PROSPERITY AT ALL. IT'S A GIMMICK.

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IT IS AN IMMORAL GIMMICK; IT BUYS THE POPULARITY OF THE MIDDLE CLASS -- WHICH IS A VOTING MAJORITY -- AT THE EXPENSE OF THE POOR, THE DEPENDENT, AND THE DISENFRANCHISED. OTHERS HAVE FOUND THIS EXPEDIENT. OTHERS HAVE BEEN CONTENT TO LET THE POOR EAT SYMPATHY. BUT WHAT IS POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT IS NOT ALWAYS RIGHT -- AND I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CHOSE RICHARD NIXON BECAUSE THEY KNEW HE WOULD DO WHAT IS RIGHT. HE HAS DONE THIS. IT HAS NOT BEEN POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT -- BUT IT HAS BEEN RIGHT. THE END RESULT IS GOING TO BE A STRONG ECONOMY -- WITH REAL PROSPERITY -- AND THAT RESULT IS TAKING SHAPE RIGHT NOW.

THE ECONOMY WILL BE AN ISSUE IN 1972. MAKE NO MISTAKE. BUT IT WILL BE OUR ISSUE.

PEACE ISSUE IN 1972

THE WAR WON'T BE AN ISSUE ---- PEACE WILL. AND IT WILL BE OUR ISSUE; NOT PEACE PROMISED, BUT PEACE ACCOMPLISHED -- THE FULL GENERATION

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HE HAS RESTORED A SENSE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE OFFICE -- AND WITH THIS SENSE OF CONFIDENCE HAS COME A NEW ASSURANCE ACROSS AMERICA THAT THINGS ARE NOT IN THE SADDLE, RIDING US -- BUT THAT WE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE IN THE SADDLE -- THE REINS ARE IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE AGAIN, AND OUR DESTINY IS WITHIN OUR GRASP -- WE CAN SHAPE IT, EACH MAN AS HE WILL. RICHARD NIXON HAS RESTORED TO AMERICA ITS FAITH IN ITSELF.

WHEN THE DEMOCRATS HIT THE STREETS NEXT YEAR TRYING TO PERSUADE AMERICA TO PUT THEM BACK INTO POWER, AMERICANS ARE GOING TO RECALL HOW MUCH BETTER IT IS TO HAVE THE POWER THEMSELVES.

FALSE DEMO CONCERN

WHEN THEY TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF ALL THEIR CONCERNS -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO WANT TO KNOW WHY THEY HAVE DONE NOTHING ABOUT THOSE CONCERNS, NOR PERMITTED THEIR PRESIDENT TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THESE CONCERNS FOR FOUR YEARS. AMERICANS WILL SEE THAT THE PARTY THAT INTRODUCED "CREDIBILITY GAP" INTO THE AMERICAN POLITICAL LEXICON IS STILL STRADDLING THAT SAME GAP -- AND STILL PREPARED TO DROP THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION INTO IT FOR SHORT-TERM PARTISAN BENEFIT.

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WHEN THE DEMOCRATS TALK ABOUT A STRONG AMERICA, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REMEMBER WHO HAS SOUGHT TO WEAKEN OUR DEFENSE POSTURE, CUT VITAL DEFENSE BUDGETS, AND DEFAULT ON OUR COMMITMENTS TO OUR ALLIES IN THE WORLD.

AND WHEN THE DEMOCRATS TALK ABOUT PEACE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REMEMBER WHO BROUGHT WAR. AND THEY WILL REMEMBER WHO BROUGHT PEACE.

YOU ARE NOT TO SUPPOSE FROM ALL THAT I HAVE SAID THAT THIS WON'T BE A DIFFICULT CAMPAIGN. IT WILL BE. YOU MUST START NOW, AND RUN HARD ALL THE WAY. AND WE'LL BE RUNNING WITH YOU AT THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, HELPING ALL WE CAN.

BUT WE HAVE THREE STRONG FACTORS ON OUR SIDE. ONE IS A RECORD. ONE IS THE TRUTH. AND ONE IS RICHARD NIXON. WITH THAT COMBINATION AND HARD WORK, WE'RE GOING TO WIN.

- Stinking Spider -

- Gen. Nixon

- Humphrey -- " Save the hell "

- Sammy D. Brown

Murder -- " Left Tam over airport "

" Line pair " -- put one in the hand -