

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
MISSOURI GOP STATE CONVENTION
SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI
SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1972

IT IS A DOUBLE PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU AT THE MISSOURI STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION. AS A KANSAN, I AM PLEASED AT THIS OPPORTUNITY TO GET TOGETHER WITH MY GOOD NEIGHBORS HERE. AND AS A REPUBLICAN, I AM GLAD TO JOIN WITH THE REPUBLICANS OF MISSOURI IN DEDICATING OURSELVES TO WORKING FOR VICTORIES FOR THE GOP HERE AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY IN NOVEMBER.

AND WHETHER WE WIN THESE VICTORIES IN THE FALL, WHETHER WE WIN FOR RICHARD NIXON HIS RE-ELECTION TO A SECOND TERM, IS GOING TO DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON WHETHER WE WORK HARD ENOUGH AT IT IN THE NEXT FIVE MONTHS OR SO.

THE GOP HAS A LOT OF THINGS GOING FOR IT -- DON'T MISUNDERSTAND.

WE HAVE THE ISSUES, WHICH IS MORE THAN THE OPPOSITION CAN SAY.

WE HAVE OUR CANDIDATE, WHICH IS MUCH MORE THAN THE OPPOSITION CAN SAY.

AND WE HAVE A SUPERB RECORD OF SUCCESSFUL, INSIGHTFUL, INTELLIGENT, IMAGINATIVE LEADERSHIP, WHICH IS MORE THAN THE OPPOSITION HAS BEEN ABLE TO SAY FOR QUITE SOME TIME NOW.

A PROMISE OF PEACE

DURING THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS, I HAVE WATCHED THIS COUNTRY CHANGE; I AM SURE YOU HAVE SEEN IT -- THE CHANGE FROM DESPERATION TO HOPE, FROM THE AGONY OF FRUSTRATION OVER OUR PROBLEMS, TO THE CONFIDENCE AND DETERMINATION THAT THEY COULD -- AND WOULD -- BE SOLVED.

WE STILL HAVE SOME SERIOUS PROBLEMS. THESE ARE STILL TROUBLED TIMES.
BUT A NEW DIMENSION HAS BEEN ADDED TO THEM. THE DIMENSION OF PROMISE.

THERE IS THE PROMISE THAT WE CAN BUILD A PEACEFUL TOMORROW -- A FULL
GENERATION OF PEACEFUL TOMORROWS -- OUT OF THE TURMOIL OF THE PRESENT.

THERE IS THE PROMISE THAT WE CAN FASHION FOR OURSELVES THE KIND OF
ECONOMIC PROSPERITY WE HAVE ALWAYS WANTED -- ONE BASED ON PEACE -- AN ECONOMY
THAT DOESN'T NEED THE ARTIFICIAL STIMULUS OF WAR WHICH CAN ONLY PRODUCE AN
ARTIFICIAL PROSPERITY BASED ON WAR.

THINGS CHANGE FAST THESE DAYS. INCREDIBLY FAST. AND THAT FACT ALONE
HAS CAUSED US PROBLEMS AS OLD WAYS OF DOING THINGS, OLD UNDERSTANDINGS,
EVEN OLD VALUES, SEEM TO LOSE THEIR EFFECTIVENESS AND PASS AWAY.

FOR A WHILE, THIS NATION WAS DISORIENTED BY THAT RAPID CHANGE. FOR A
WHILE THERE WAS THE WIDESPREAD FEELING IN AMERICA THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS
LOSING ITS EFFECTIVENESS AND THAT THIS SOCIETY ITSELF WAS FALTERING.

BUT TODAY THERE IS PROMISE. AND THERE IS PROMISE BECAUSE PRESIDENT NIXON,
BY HIS PROGRAMS AND POLICIES, BY HIS VISION AND INSIGHT -- BY HIS LEADERSHIP --
HAS RESTORED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A SENSE OF THEIR OWN EFFICACY -- A SENSE
OF THEIR CAPACITY TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY.

SO IT MAY BE TRUE THAT THESE ARE STILL TROUBLED TIMES, BUT NOW THEY HOLD
PROMISE. AND WITH THE CONTINUED LEADERSHIP OF THIS PRESIDENT WE CAN HAVE HOPES
OF REALIZING THAT PROMISE.

NIXON'S VISION OF AMERICA

AS ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISERS SAID IN 1970, UNDER THIS ADMINISTRATION, "A LARGE VISION OF AMERICA HAS BEEN PUT FORTH." IT IS RICHARD NIXON'S VISION OF AMERICA AND I BELIEVE THAT DURING THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS, THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS HAVE COME TO ACCEPT THAT VISION AS THEIR OWN. AND THEY HAVE COME, WITH THE PRESIDENT, TO REJECT WHAT HE CALLED "THE NARROW VISION OF THOSE WHO WOULD TELL US THAT . . . ALL THE SWEAT AND TOIL AND SACRIFICE THAT HAS GONE INTO THE BUILDING OF AMERICA WAS FOR NAUGHT BECAUSE THE BUILDING IS NOT YET DONE."

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE COMING TO REJECT THAT NOTION. WITH RENEWED CONFIDENCE, THEY ARE DETERMINED TO GO ON WITH THE BUILDING OF AMERICA, IN THE RECOGNITION THAT THAT IS A JOB THEY CAN DO AND A CHALLENGE THEY MUST CONFRONT. AND THEY ARE RESPONDING TO THE FORWARD-LOOKING LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON.

POSITIVE REASONS FOR SUPPORT

IT IS THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT DESERVES OUR STUDY HERE AT THIS CONVENTION AND OUR SUPPORT IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN.

TIMES -- AND NIXON -- ON PEACE SIDE

LET US TAKE A MOMENT TO LOOK AT THE RECORD OF THAT LEADERSHIP TO SEE HOW IT STACKS UP AGAINST THE ISSUES THE DEMOCRATS SEEM DETERMINED TO RUN ON.

IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT IN HIS INAUGURAL PREDICTED THAT "THE TIMES ARE ON THE SIDE OF PEACE." AND DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION HE HAS STRIVED TO MAKE THAT PREDICTION COME TRUE.

AND HE HAS MET WITH NO LITTLE SUCCESS.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, A CEASE-FIRE NEGOTIATED AT AMERICAN INITIATIVE WAS AGREED TO IN 1970. IT WAS SUPPOSED TO LAST FOR ONLY NINETY DAYS. YET TODAY IT IS STILL IN EFFECT.

IN BERLIN, WE REACHED AN HISTORIC AGREEMENT ON THE STATUS OF THAT TROUBLED CITY.

TREATIES HAVE BEEN SIGNED PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO NON-NUCLEAR NATIONS AND PREVENTING THE USE OF THE OCEAN FLOOR AS A BASE FROM WHICH TO LAUNCH THESE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

WE ARE ELIMINATING OUR ARSENALS OF BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN REACHED WITH OTHER NATIONS SO THAT THEY WILL DO THE SAME.

HISTORIC SUMMIT

THIS ADMINISTRATION, LIKE ALL ADMINISTRATIONS, HAS MADE SOME MISTAKES. BUT THIS WEEK, IN MOSCOW AS EARLIER IN PEKING, AS IN SO MANY INSTANCES SINCE 1969, IT HAS MADE HISTORY.

BY HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW, IN FACT, THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS THAT CAN CHANGE THE TREND OF THE TIMES AND IMPROVE THE CHANCES FOR LASTING PEACE AND REDUCE WORLD TENSIONS.

THE PROSPECTS ARE GOOD FOR A SALT AGREEMENT THAT CAN PRESAGE THE END OF THE ARMS RACE ALLOWING THE GREAT POWERS TO DEVOTE MORE OF THEIR ENERGY TO PRESSING DOMESTIC NEEDS.

THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION MAY ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON INCREASED TRADE AND COOPERATION IN SCIENTIFIC ENDEAVORS. ALREADY, WE

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HAVE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OUT OF MOSCOW OF AN AGREED WILLINGNESS BY THE TWO NATIONS TO COOPERATE IN ENVIRONMENTAL AND HEALTH RESEARCH AND IN A JOINT SPACE FLIGHT AND TO ELIMINATE CONFRONTATIONS ON THE HIGH SEAS.

WHAT THE AGREEMENTS MAY MEAN IN THE LONG RUN WE CANNOT KNOW FOR SURE. THE PRESIDENT IS COVERING NEW GROUND WITH HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW.

BUT THE SUSPICION IS -- MY SUSPICION AT LEAST -- THAT THE VISIT TO MOSCOW, FOLLOWING THE TRIP TO CHINA AND OTHER ENCOURAGING SIGNS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, MAY JUST PROVE THE PRESIDENT RIGHT IN WHAT HE SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL: "THE TIMES ARE ON THE SIDE OF PEACE."

DEMO PROMISE -- GOP RECORD

IT HAS BEGUN TO LOOK LIKE "PEACE" IS GOING TO SHAPE UP AS ONE OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THIS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. WE HAVE CANDIDATES FROM THE DEMOCRAT PARTY BILLING THEMSELVES AS PEACE CANDIDATES. BUT IF WE RUN SIMPLY ON THE RECORD, RATHER THAN ON RHETORIC, IF WE TALK ABOUT WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THE PAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS, BY THIS REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT -- YES, IN VIETNAM, AND ALL OVER THE WORLD TO BRING ABOUT A REDUCTION OF TENSIONS -- THERE IS LITTLE THE DEMOCRATS COULD PROMISE THAT CAN TOP WHAT RICHARD NIXON HAS ALREADY DONE AND IS NOW DOING TO WIN THE PEACE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

AND THAT IS THE WAY IN WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST VIEW THE ISSUES -- THE WAY IN WHICH WE MUST ENCOURAGE THEM TO VIEW THE ISSUES -- IN THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

MANY OF THE DEMOCRATS WHO ARE NOW RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION WOULD HAVE US FORGET THAT THEIR PARTY HAD ITS CHANCE THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE SIXTIES TO BRING ABOUT A REDUCTION OF WORLD TENSIONS.

AFTER THE POST WORLD WAR II COLD WAR PERIOD OF THE FIFTIES, THERE ARE MANY WHO SAY THE WORLD WAS WAITING -- AND THE SITUATION WAS RIPE -- FOR THE KIND OF FOREIGN POLICY WHICH RICHARD NIXON HAS PURSUED.

BUT THE BEST THE DEMOCRATS COULD PRODUCE WAS A MASSIVE LAND WAR IN ASIA -- AND MANY OF THE EXPERTS SAY THAT IT WAS PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY CLUNG TO OLDER FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPTS -- TO THE CONCEPT OF AMERICA AS WORLD POLICEMAN, FOR EXAMPLE -- THAT WE GOT INVOLVED IN THE VIETNAM WAR IN THE WAY WE DID.

THE DEMOCRATS, WHO NOW CAMPAIGN AS THE CANDIDATES OF PEACE, WOULD HAVE US FORGET THAT WHEN THEY HAD THEIR CHANCE THEY TOOK US TO WAR, AND THAT THEY LEFT TO RICHARD NIXON THE PROBLEM OF ENDING THAT WAR AND OF EASING THE AIR OF CONFLICT IN THE WORLD THAT IT SYMBOLIZED.

PRESIDENT SHOWS DETERMINATION

IN VIETNAM, RECENT EVENTS AND RECENT DECISIONS BY THE PRESIDENT ARE ACCOMPLISHING JUST THAT. THE PROGRAM OF VIETNAMIZATION CONTINUES -- IN SPITE

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OF SOME DEMOCRAT CLAIMS THAT IT HAS FAILED -- AND AMERICAN MEN CONTINUE TO RETURN HOME BY THE THOUSANDS WHILE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE SHOW INCREASING COMPETENCY IN THE BATTLEFIELD AND INCREASING DETERMINATION AGAINST THE ENEMY -- AS IN THE DOGGED DEFENSE OF AN LOC AND THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF A RENEWED SOUTHERN OFFENSIVE TO RETAKE QUANG TRI.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED HIS NEWEST DECISION ON VIETNAM -- TO MINE THE HARBORS, INTERDICT RAIL SUPPLY ROUTES, AND CUT OFF THE FLOW OF WAR MATERIALS INTO THE NORTH -- MANY SAID THE SUMMIT WOULD INEVITABLY BE CANCELED, OR AT LEAST POSTPONED. MANY OF THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES FELT THE PRESIDENT HAD JEOPARDIZED THE CHANCES FOR WORLD PEACE AND HAD PROVOKED A CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIETS.

BUT NOW, LESS THAN A MONTH AFTER THE MINES WERE DROPPED, AND RIGHT ON SCHEDULE, THE PRESIDENT HAS GONE TO THE SUMMIT IN MOSCOW, AND SIGNED AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIETS THAT MAY OPEN UP WHOLE NEW VISTAS OF COOPERATION AND VAST NEW AREAS OF PROMISE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR THE LAST THIRD OF THIS CENTURY.

THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO ARE CAMPAIGNING AS SO-CALLED PEACE CANDIDATES, I SUBMIT, WILL HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO TO CONVINCING THE AMERICAN VOTER THAT THEY HAVE MORE TO OFFER BY WAY OF INSIGHT INTO CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, BY WAY OF POLICIES THAT CAN RESPOND TO TODAY'S REALITIES, BY WAY, IN SHORT, OF LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL FOR THIS, THE GREATEST NATION IN THE WORLD.

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AND IT IS THIS QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL, NOT JUST IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUT ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF AMERICAN LIFE AND PUBLIC INTEREST -- THAT MUST CONCERN US AS REPUBLICANS AND AS CITIZENS.

GOP HAS ADVANTAGE

WE REPUBLICANS HAVE AN ADVANTAGE IN THIS CAMPAIGN. JUST HAVING A CANDIDATE WE CAN ALL AGREE ON IS AN ADVANTAGE OVER THE DIVIDED OPPOSITION PARTY. BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT, WE HAVE A CANDIDATE WHOSE PRINCIPLES WE CAN ALL AGREE TO. THERE IS ONLY ONE THING THE DEMOCRATS CAN AGREE ON, ONLY ONE THING MCGOVERN AND HUMPHREY AND KENNEDY AND MUSKIE, BEFORE HE GAVE UP, HAVE IN COMMON. AND THAT IS THEIR CURIOUS WILLINGNESS TO FIND FAULT WITHOUT FIRST FINDING ALTERNATIVES, TO CRITICIZE WITHOUT FIRST PROPOSING SOMETHING BETTER, TO SPEAK, IN OTHER WORDS, WITHOUT FIRST THINKING.

THERE IS PROBABLY NOTHING MORE POLITICALLY HAZARDOUS THIS YEAR THAN PREDICTING THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS. THE EXPERTS IN THE MEDIA WHO WERE CONFIDENTLY PREDICTING A WHITE HOUSE IN SENATOR MUSKIE'S FUTURE AS RECENTLY AS FEBRUARY CAN AND DO TESTIFY TO THAT. IN FACT, THE DISMAL FAILURE OF SO MANY OF THEIR EARLIER PREDICTIONS TO STAND THE TEST OF THE PRIMARIES HAS CAUSED MANY OF THE BEST-KNOWN PUNDITS TO MAKE A NEW PREDICTION -- THAT NOTHING IS PREDICTABLE ANY MORE IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

DEMO FUTURE IN DANGER

I THINK THAT IS AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION. AND I PREDICT THAT MANY OBSERVERS WILL COME TO AGREE WITH ME AS THE YEAR PROGRESSES. FOR I BELIEVE THAT WE MAY BE WITNESSING THIS YEAR THE FINAL DISINTEGRATION OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT DURING THIS CENTURY.

IT IS AN AXIOM OF AMERICAN POLITICS THAT THIS COUNTRY IS ESSENTIALLY A TWO-PARTY COUNTRY AND WILL REMAIN SO. OUR HISTORY DEMONSTRATES THAT. BUT POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE EXPIRED BEFORE IN THIS COUNTRY AND THE DEMOCRAT PARTY MAY WELL BE ABOUT TO JOIN THE FEDERALISTS AND THE WHIGS AND NUMEROUS SMALLER PARTIES ON HISTORY'S DISCARD SHELF.

FOR THERE IS NOTHING MAGICAL ABOUT THE ORIGINS AND STRENGTHS OF OUR MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES. THEY ARE CREATED BY THE PEOPLE TO REPRESENT THEIR INTERESTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND WITHIN THEIR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. AND THE SAME PEOPLE WHO CREATED A POLITICAL PARTY CAN ABANDON IT -- WHEN IT CEASES TO REPRESENT THEM.

THUS, IN SPITE OF THE REGISTRATION FIGURES WHICH SHOW MOST PEOPLE CONSIDERING THEMSELVES TO BE DEMOCRATS, I BELIEVE THAT MANY NOMINAL DEMOCRATS ARE ABOUT TO ABANDON THEIR ERSTWHILE PARTY IN DROVES.

FOUR EVENTS CITED

LET ME CITE THE EVENTS OF THIS YEAR WHICH LEAD ME TO THAT CONCLUSION. FIRST, WE FIND TODAY THAT OF THE THREE MAJOR CANDIDATES FOR THE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, THE CANDIDATE WITH THE MOST VOTES IN THE PRIMARIES HAS THE FEWEST DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION.

SECOND, THE WASHINGTON STAR REPORTED YESTERDAY THAT OF THE DELEGATES ALREADY CHOSEN, ALMOST 40 PERCENT -- 38.8 PERCENT, TO BE EXACT -- ARE BEING CHALLENGED BEFORE THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

THIRD, MANY OF THE DELEGATES ALREADY CHOSEN HAVE PUBLICLY PROCLAIMED THEIR INTENTION TO VOTE FOR A CANDIDATE OTHER THAN THE ONE THEY ARE BOUND TO BY STATE LAW.

AND FOURTH, THE DEMOCRAT PARTY IS FACED THIS YEAR WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF DEFECTIONS NOT TO ONE SPLINTER PARTY, BUT TO TWO.

THIS IS NOT A PICTURE OF A BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL PARTY PREPARING TO CONTEST FOR THE PRESIDENCY. IT IS A PICTURE OF A PARTY "CANNIBALIZING ITSELF," WITH A VARIETY OF FACTIONAL CHIEFTAINS BATTLING TO SEE WHO STAYS OUT OF THE POT.

DEMO TROUBLES RUN DEEP

WHILE MANY OBSERVERS MAY DISCOUNT THESE SYMPTOMS OF DISINTEGRATION AS "GROWING PAINS" BROUGHT ON BY NEW DELEGATE SELECTION METHODS IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY THIS YEAR, I THINK THE CAUSES ARE MUCH TOO DEEP TO BE DISMISSED AS "PROCEDURAL." THE CAUSES ARE A CHANGING ELECTORATE WHICH IS SOPHISTICATED ENOUGH TO DISCOUNT THE RHETORIC OF PROMISE WHICH HAS OFTEN SUFFICED IN THE PAST AND THE FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY AS AN INSTITUTION TO ADAPT TO THE NEEDS OF THIS CHANGING ELECTORATE. IT IS NO LONGER GOOD ENOUGH TO CALL FOR PEACE AND OFFER ECONOMIC NOSTRUMS WHILE FAILING TO TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTIONS TO CREATE PEACE AND PROSPERITY. WHAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA WANT ARE PROGRAMS -- AND THEY ARE NOT GETTING THOSE PROGRAMS FROM ANY OF THE CANDIDATES CURRENTLY VYING FOR THE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. BUT THEY ARE GETTING ACTION FROM PRESIDENT NIXON.

THIS SHOULD HAVE BEGUN TO DAWN ON DEMOCRAT LEADERS MANY YEARS AGO, FOR BY THE SIMPLE ARITHMETIC OF PARTY REGISTRATION FIGURES, NEITHER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER NOR PRESIDENT NIXON OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN ELECTED.

BUT THEY WERE ELECTED -- AND PRESIDENT NIXON WILL BE ELECTED AGAIN -- BECAUSE THE VOTERS CHOOSE CANDIDATES WITH RATIONAL PROGRAMS AND PROVEN RECORDS OF SUCCESS. ONE LOOKS IN VAIN FOR POTENTIAL CANDIDATES WITHIN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY WHO MEET EITHER OF THOSE CRITERIA.

RICHARD NIXON HAS BROUGHT THIS COUNTRY A LONG WAY. HE HAS MADE A GOOD START AT ANY RATE. AND HE HAS PROVEN THAT HE DESERVES ANOTHER FOUR YEARS TO FINISH WHAT HE HAS STARTED.

OPPORTUNITY '72

BY OUR ACTIONS HERE AT THIS CONVENTION AND IN THE CAMPAIGN MONTHS AHEAD,
WE CAN HELP HIM TO GET THAT TIME. WE CAN HELP BY GIVING HIM OUR SHARE OF THE
SUPPORT HE NEEDS AND DESERVES SO THAT HE CAN WIN THE SECOND TERM HE NEEDS AND
DESERVES.

WE HAVE COME FAR UNDER RICHARD NIXON -- FURTHER TOWARD ACHIEVING THE GOALS
OF THIS COUNTRY -- A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY WITHOUT WAR --
THAN UNDER ANY OTHER PRESIDENT IN THIS CENTURY.

HOW MUCH GREATER, THEN, MIGHT OUR PROGRESS BE IN RICHARD NIXON'S SECOND
TERM?

THAT IS ANYBODY'S GUESS, BUT IT IS ALSO EVERYBODY'S OPPORTUNITY --
EVERYBODY HERE -- TO WIN FOR RICHARD NIXON AND THE COUNTRY, THE CHANCE TO
FIND OUT.

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