

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
LAKE COUNTY FUNDRAISER
ILLINOIS BEACH STATE PARK LODGE
ZION, ILLINOIS
FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1972

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE THIS EVENING AND TO BE TOGETHER WITH SO MANY REPUBLICANS WHO SHARE A COMMON PURPOSE, THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICTORIES FOR OUR PARTY IN STATE AND LOCAL OFFICES.

WE NEED THOSE VICTORIES.

IT HAS BEEN SAID TO THE POINT OF CLICHE THAT THE VERY FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY **DEPENDS** ON THEM. CERTAINLY THE KIND OF FUTURE WE REPUBLICANS -- AND I THINK MOST AMERICANS -- WANT FOR THIS COUNTRY DEPENDS ON THE FALL ELECTIONS.

-2-

FORWARD TO CONTINUED PROGRESS

WE WANT, AND WE NEED, MORE OF THE GENUINE PROGRESS WE HAVE ENJOYED UNDER THE SOLID REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON.

WE WANT, AND WE NEED, CONTINUED PROGRESS IN THE TRANSITION FROM AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION TO AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION.

WE WANT, AND WE NEED, CONTINUED PROGRESS IN THE TRANSITION FROM A WAR-TIME ECONOMY TO PEACE-TIME PROSPERITY.

WE WANT, AND WE NEED, CONTINUED RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP TOWARD GOVERNMENTAL REFORM.

WHAT WE DON'T WANT, AND WHAT WE CERTAINLY DON'T NEED IN THIS COUNTRY, IS A RETURN TO OUR EXPERIENCE OF THE SIXTIES -- A RETURN TO DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS WITH THEIR HIGH-BLOWN PROMISES THAT CANNOT BE KEPT.

AND I BELIEVE MOST AMERICANS WILL AGREE THAT WHAT WE NEED MOST OF ALL IS FOUR MORE YEARS OF THE KIND OF INTELLIGENT AND IMAGINATIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE THAT WE HAVE HAD FOR THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS.

-3-

I KNOW MOST AMERICANS WILL AGREE IF WE DO OUR PART -- IF WE MAKE THEM FULLY AWARE OF THE RECORD OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. IT IS A PROUD RECORD. LET'S MAKE SURE THAT IT IS A WELL-KNOWN RECORD, TOO, AND THAT IT IS AS WELL UNDERSTOOD AS IT DESERVES TO BE.

IT WILL STAND FOR ITSELF, IF THE VOTERS UNDERSTAND IT. IT WILL STAND FOR ITSELF, IF WE MAKE SURE IT IS WELL KNOWN.

THE SALT TALKS, THE JOURNEY FOR PEACE TO PEKING, VIETNAMIZATION, DRAFT REFORM, POSTAL REFORM, GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION -- THESE ARE ALL PROGRAMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF AN ADMINISTRATION THAT UNDERSTANDS THIS COUNTRY'S NEEDS AND THIS COUNTRY'S ROLE IN THE WORLD.

THE DEMOCRATS ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO OUT-PROMISE EACH OTHER. THE REAL CAUSE FOR CONCERN LIES, HOWEVER, IN THE FACT THAT, IF ONE OF THEM IS ELECTED, HE MAY ACTUALLY KEEP THOSE PROMISES, BUT NONE OF THEM HOLDS ANY REAL PROMISE OF THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP CAPACITY THAT CAN MATCH THE RECORD OF THIS ADMINISTRATION UNDER RICHARD NIXON. NOT GEORGE Mc GOVERN, NOR ED MUSKIE, WHOM SOME OF YOU MAY REMEMBER, NOR HUBERT HUMPHREY NOR TED KENNEDY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO OFFER THE VOTERS OF THIS COUNTRY ANY COMPELLING REASONS WHY THEY OUGHT TO CONSIDER A CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATIONS.

-4-

AND NONE OF THEM CAN. AND NONE OF THEM WILL.
BECAUSE THERE AREN'T ANY.

DEMOCRATS IN DISARRAY

AND THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE, NOW IN THE NEWS, THAT THEY MAY NOT EVEN BE TRYING VERY HARD. IT SEEMS THAT MUCH MORE IMPORTANT TO SOME OF THEM THAN THE FIGHT FOR CONTROL OF THE WHITE HOUSE, IS THE FIGHT FOR CONTROL OF THEIR PARTY.

AND AS THAT FIGHT CONTINUES, I THINK THAT IT BECOMES INCREASINGLY EVIDENT 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.

-5-

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 PERFORM THE FUNCTION FOR WHICH THEY CREATED 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.

FRONT RUNNER NOT THE FAVORITE

THE DEMOCRATS HAVE ONLY RECENTLY GOTTEN BACK WHAT THEY LOST LAST MARCH IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. NOW THEY HAVE A FRONT-RUNNER AGAIN. GEORGE MC GOVERN IS NOW CLEARLY THE FAVORITE FOR THE NOMINATION IN JULY. THAT IS TO SAY, HE IS THE CANDIDATE WITH THE MOST DELEGATES GOING INTO THE CONVENTION. "FAVORITE," ON SECOND THOUGHT, MAY BE THE WRONG WORD TO USE.

-6-

BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATS SEEM TODAY TO BE MUCH MORE INVOLVED AND MUCH MORE CONCERNED ABOUT INTERNAL PARTY STRUGGLES FOR POWER THAN THEY DO ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

LET ME CITE SOME EVENTS WHICH LEAD ME TO THAT CONCLUSION.

FIRST, MANY OF THE DELEGATES ALREADY CHOSEN -- AS MANY AS 25 PERCENT OF THEM -- ARE BEING CHALLENGED BEFORE THE DEMOCRAT CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

AND, SECONDLY, 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.

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

TED KENNEDY HAS BEEN MAKING STATEMENTS THAT SEEM TO GO BACK ON HIS EARLIER DENIALS OF INTEREST IN BEING ON THE DEMOCRAT TICKET -- AND THEN DENYING THAT HE MEANT IT. AND NOW, IN THE MORNING'S WASHINGTON POST, THERE IS A STORY INDICATING THAT THE REPORTER WHO INTERVIEWED KENNEDY EARLIER IN THE WEEK FEELS THAT KENNEDY MAY HAVE BEEN PURPOSELY VAGUE, INTENDING TO STIR UP RENEWED SPECULATION ABOUT AND SUPPORT FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS RUNNING.

-7-

ANOTHER REPORT CARRIED IN THE POST INDICATES LABOR IS PUSHING KENNEDY FURTHER TOWARD DECLARING HIS CANDIDACY. WHAT IT ALL MEANS THOUGH NOBODY IS SAYING SO, IS "STOP MC GOVERN."

THE DEMOCRAT GOVERNORS, ALMOST ALL OF THEM, ARE REPORTED TO BELIEVE THAT THEIR STATE PARTIES ARE THREATENED IF MC GOVERN IS THE NOMINEE AND THE POLLS SHOW DEMOCRAT LEADERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY PREFER ANOTHER CANDIDATE OVER THE MAN NOW TOUTED AS THE FAVORITE. LABOR IS MIXED, SOME DEMOCRAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SEE THE MC GOVERN NOMINATION AS A POTENTIAL DISASTER. AND WHAT THEY ALL MEAN, THOUGH THEY WON'T SAY IT, IS "STOP MC GOVERN."

AND LAST WEEK, IN A LONG DISSERTATION BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, SENATOR MUSKIE -- YOU REMEMBER HIM -- REFUSED TO OFFER HIS SUPPORT TO SENATOR MC GOVERN. AT THE TIME, SENATOR MUSKIE CONTROLLED APPROXIMATELY ONE-TENTH OF THE DELEGATES HE NEEDED FOR THE NOMINATION. BUT EVEN WITH THAT SMALL A BASE OF SUPPORT, HE LOOKED AHEAD TO GOING TO THE CONVENTION STILL A CANDIDATE FOR NOMINATION. HE SAID HE WANTED TO ASSURE THAT THE CONVENTION HAD A CHOICE.

-8-

AND NOW, JUST A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO, MUSKIE AND HIS SIDEKICK, SENATOR HUGHES, LAUNCHED A RENEWED EFFORT TO GET THE MUSKIE "BLANDWAGON" ROLLING AGAIN. MUSKIE SAYS HE WANTS TO MAKE HIMSELF AVAILABLE AT THE CONVENTION AS A "VIABLE ALTERNATIVE" IN CASE THE CONVENTION SHOULD DEADLOCK. WHAT HE MEANS, THOUGH NEITHER HE NOR SENATOR HUGHES IS SAYING SO, IS SIMPLY "STOP MC GOVERN."

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 FFACTIONAL 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

-9-

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.

-10-

UP TO US

I CAN'T HELP WONDERING, HOWEVER, WHAT ALL THE FUSS IS ABOUT. EACH OF THE DEMOCRATS CAN DO WHATEVER HE WANTS TO FURTHER HIS OWN PERSONAL POLITICAL AMBITIONS. EACH OF THEM CAN DO WHATEVER HE WANTS TO PROMOTE A STOP MC GOVERN MOVEMENT.

BUT NO MATTER WHAT THEY DO, IT IS GOING TO BE WHAT WE REPUBLICANS DO, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THAT WILL MAKE THE DIFFERENCE.

IF WE DO OUR PART AND MAKE THE RECORD OF THIS PRESIDENT AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION KNOWN TO THE VOTERS, THEN THAT WILL GIVE US THE STRONGEST STOP MC GOVERN, OR STOP MUSKIE, OR STOP KENNEDY OR STOP HUMPHREY MOVEMENT CONCEIVABLE.

IT REALLY IS UP TO US. THE PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY DONE HIS PART. HE HAS GIVEN THIS COUNTRY THE LEADERSHIP IT NEEDS. HE HAS GIVEN IT THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY THAT IT HAD BEEN WITHOUT FOR MUCH TOO LONG DURING MOST OF THE LAST DECADE.

WHETHER THE COUNTRY'S VOTERS MAKE THEIR DECISION TO CONTINUE THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE UNDER RICHARD NIXON FOR ANOTHER FOUR YEARS, OR DECIDE TO GO BACK TO REPEAT THE DEMOCRATS' MISTAKES OF THE PAST IS GOING TO DEPEND ON US AND ON REPUBLICANS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

-11-

THERE AREN'T ENOUGH OF US TO ELECT THE PRESIDENT ON OUR OWN.
WE HAVE TO CONVINCEDEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS, WE HAVE TO TELL THEM
ABOUT THE NIXON RECORD. WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE IT IS UNDERSTOOD.
AND WE CAN'T ASSUME THAT EVERYONE KNOWS IT AS WELL AS YOU AND I.

AND NEITHER CAN WE ASSUME THAT THE DEMOCRATS, IN SPIE OF THEIR
PRESENT STATE OF CONFUSION, WILL BE PUSH-OVERS. NO MATTER WHO
THEIR CANDIDATE IS, THEY WILL PUT UP A TOUGH FIGHT. THEIR AMBITION
IS TOO STRONG.

SO I REPEAT, IT IS UP TO US, IN NO SMALL WAY. THE COUNTRY
IS GOING TO DECIDE IN NOVEMBER WHETHER IT WILL RELIVE THE PAST --
AND THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST -- WITH THE DEMOCRATS, OR WHETHER IT IS
GOING TO CHART THE FUTURE, A FUTURE OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY BASED ON
PEACE WITH THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON.