

*Nixon  
Agnew  
1974*

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

WESTERN AREA CONFERENCE  
YOUNG PRESIDENTS' ORGANIZATION  
DEL MONTE LODGE  
PEBBLE BEACH, CALIFORNIA  
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*Jac. Anderson  
Mr. Waterup  
Lang & Dean*

IT IS NO SIMPLE QUESTION -- WHAT WILL THE NEXT FOUR YEARS IN WASHINGTON BE LIKE? ANYONE WHO TRIED TO ANSWER THE SAME QUESTION FOUR YEARS AGO, IN ADVANCE OF THE FIRST NIXON TERM COULD SURELY HAVE MET WITH ONLY LIMITED SUCCESS. IF HE USED THE BROAD BRUSH HE MIGHT HAVE PREDICTED AN EMPHASIS ON REFORM OF DOMESTIC PROGRAMS. HE MIGHT HAVE PREDICTED AN EFFORT TO COOL TENSIONS HERE AT HOME, TO QUIET THE CAMPUSES AND CALM THE STREETS. HE MIGHT HAVE PREDICTED SOME SORT OF EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL HOSTILITIES. SURELY THESE WERE THE EASILY-FORSEEN POLICY DIRECTIONS OF RICHARD NIXON AS HE EMBARKED ON HIS FIRST TERM IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

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NIXON INITIATIVES OFTEN UNEXPECTED

BUT ANYONE VENTURING EVEN SUCH A BROAD BRUSH PREDICTION WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE BEEN WRONG IN SOME PARTICULARS AND WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE MISSED MANY OF THE HIGH POINTS OF THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

WHO WOULD HAVE PREDICTED, FOR EXAMPLE, A MEETING OF PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON WITH CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG. WHO WOULD HAVE GUESSED THEN, THAT THREE YEARS LATER TELEVISION SETS ACROSS THE COUNTRY WOULD BE CARRYING LIVE THE PRESIDENT'S TOUR OF THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA, WITH NO LESS THAN CHOU-EN-LAI AS HIS GUIDE.

CERTAINLY AND SIMILARLY, THE MOSCOW SUMMIT AND THE FIRST SALT AGREEMENTS COULD NOT HAVE BEEN FORSEEN WITH ANY CERTAINTY.

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, THE HISTORIC INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AGREEMENTS, THE RAPIDITY OF PROGRESS TOWARD ELIMINATION OF THE DRAFT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY, THE GREAT PROGRESS MADE TOWARD AN END TO OFFICIAL SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH, THE PROMISE AND THE INITIAL SUCCESS IN BRINGING ABOUT A SHIFT IN THE FLOW OF POWER THROUGH REVENUE SHARING, THE RE-ORDERING OF NATIONAL SPENDING PRIORITIES.

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THAT THESE BREAKTHROUGHS WOULD BE MADE -- AND WITH SUCH SUCCESS, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF STRONG CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION -- COULD NOT HAVE BEEN PREDICTED AND I WOULD BE MISGUIDED NOW TO TRY AND FORECAST THE NEXT FOUR YEARS WITH ANYTHING APPROACHING THIS DEGREE OF PARTICULARITY.

WE CAN, HOWEVER, LOOK FOR A CONTINUATION OF POLICIES THAT HAVE BEEN PROVEN SUCCESSFUL SINCE 1969. WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER BREAKTHROUGHS TO PEACE -- VERY SOON, IN FACT, WITH RESPECT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA -- AND MORE GRADUALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE LARGER INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

DISPOSITION FOR REFORM AT HOME

AT HOME, WE CAN EXPECT A HEIGHTENED GOVERNMENTAL DISPOSITION FOR REFORM -- A DISPOSITION PROBABLY STRENGTHENED AND, I THINK CORRECTLY SO, BY THE SIZE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MANDATE LAST WEEK.

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BEFORE I CAN GET MORE SPECIFIC THAN THAT, HOWEVER, IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK A LITTLE CLOSER AT THE RECORD OF THE LAST FOUR YEARS AND ALSO AT THE MEANING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF THE LAST FOUR MONTHS.

TO TAKE THE SECOND POINT FIRST -- THOUGH WE ARE STILL VERY CLOSE TO ELECTION DAY AND, AS WITH ALL THINGS, THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND A LITTLE PERSPECTIVE MAY PROVIDE ANSWERS THAT AS YET ARE NOT CLEAR -- I WOULD OFFER A FEW TENTATIVE EVALUATIONS.

FIRST, THE NIXON LANDSLIDE WAS NOT A NEGATIVE ONE. THIS IS A MYTH MANY OBSERVERS ARE OFFERING AS AN EXPLANATION. BUT THE OVERWHELMING VOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT WAS, IN THE MAIN, JUST THAT, AN OVERWHELMING VOTE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND AN ENDORSEMENT OF HIS RECORD. IT MAY BE TRUE, AND I THINK IT PROBABLY IS, THAT THE MC GOVERN CANDIDACY IN ANOTHER TIME AND CIRCUMSTANCE WOULD HAVE FARED JUST AS BADLY AGAINST ALMOST ANY CANDIDATE THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY MAY HAVE OFFERED.

BUT TO SAY THAT HIS DEFEAT WAS THE RESULT OF A NEGATIVE VOTE IGNORES THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES AND INITIATIVES WERE RECORDING IN THE POLLS.

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MC GOVERN WAS TOO FAR FROM CENTER

MYTH NUMBER TWO WAS THAT IT WAS THE EAGLETON AFFAIR THAT DESTROYED MC GOVERN'S CHANCES. AND YET, AS SARGENT SHRIVER HIMSELF HAS POINTED OUT, AT THE TIME OF THE DEMOCRAT CONVENTION IN JULY, MC GOVERN WAS RUNNING AT ABOUT 35 - 40 PERCENT IN THE POLLS. THAT NEVER CHANGED SUBSTANTIALLY DURING THE CAMPAIGN AND RIGHT UP TO ELECTION DAY. THE REASON WAS SIMPLE. HE WAS TOO FAR FROM THE CENTER OF AMERICAN POLITICS, TOO MUCH OF AN IDEOLOGUE AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO ALLOW THEIR POLITICAL SYMPATHIES TO RESIDE WITH SUCH A CANDIDATE FOR NATIONAL OFFICE.

AFTER THE EAGLETON AFFAIR, IT MAY BE TRUE THAT MANY VOTERS WOULDN'T EVEN LISTEN TO GEORGE MC GOVERN. THAT WAS THEIR PERSONAL JUDGMENT. BUT EVEN BEFORE, IT SEEMS DEMONSTRABLY TRUE THAT THEY COULD NOT SUPPORT HIS POSITIONS ON WELFARE AND DEFENSE, ON BUSING AND THE ECONOMY. AND THAT WAS THEIR PRIOR -- AND FAR MORE IMPORTANT -- POLITICAL JUDGMENT.

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MYTH NUMBER THREE ABOUT THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN WAS THAT THE GREAT TRADITIONAL SOURCE OF SUPPORT FOR A DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE, THE OLD AND SUPPOSEDLY SOLID "VOTING BLOCS" OF ETHNICS, WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND THE ONE BRAND NEW -- AND SUPPOSEDLY JUST AS SOLID "BLOC" -- THE YOUTH VOTE, WOULD ALL CONTINUE IN ROTE ALLEGIANCE TO THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE. THEY MIGHT WAVER, IT WAS SAID, BUT IN THE SOLITUDE OF THE VOTING BOOTH, THEY WOULD RETURN TO THE FOLD AND RALLY BEHIND THEIR PARTY'S NOMINEE.

THIS MYTH ABOUT AMERICAN VOTING HABITS BURST ASSUNDER ON ELECTION DAY, JUST AS DID THE NEW POLITICS BUBBLE WHICH IT HAD INFLATED.

#### NIXON SUPPORT FROM ALL GROUPS

THE VERY NOTION OF HARD AND FAST, COHESIVE VOTING BLOCS FELL AWAY AS RICHARD NIXON DREW REPUBLICAN VOTES FROM BLUE COLLAR WORKING PEOPLE, FROM MIDDLE CLASS SUBURBANITES AND FROM URBAN ETHNICS AT A RATE NEVER BEFORE ATTAINED BY ANY BUT A DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE.

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AND I SEE FAR MORE MEANING IN THIS, AS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, THAN I DO FROM THE MIXED AND FRANKLY VERY DISSAPPOINTING SHOWING OF MANY REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR LOWER OFFICE AROUND THE COUNTRY.

THE SUPPORT RICHARD NIXON WON AT THE POLLS FROM AREAS OF TRADITIONAL DEMOCRAT STRENGTH IS BOTH PROOF AND PROMISE TO ME THAT A FOURTH MYTH ABOUT AMERICAN POLITICS -- THE MYTH OF PERMANENT REPUBLICAN MINORITY STATUS -- IS AS INVALID AS THE OTHERS. MANY MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, HAVING VOTED FOR A REPUBLICAN NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR LIVES, WILL, I AM SURE, DO SO AGAIN, IF THOSE OF US IN THE GOP WORK TO EARN THEIR SUPPORT IN THE FUTURE AS WE WORKED TO WIN THEIR VOTE LAST WEEK.

AND I WOULD WARN THE DEMOCRATS THAT WE INDEED PLAN TO DO JUST THAT.

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I THINK THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ON THE ASCENDANCY. AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL, IT HAS PROVEN ITSELF IN TUNE WITH THE VAST MAJORITY OF CONCERNED AND VOTING AMERICANS. THE OPPOSITION PARTY, NOT JUST IN ITS CHOICE OF CANDIDATE, BUT IN ITS PARTY'S ADOPTED PRESCRIPTION FOR THE NATION -- THE DEMOCRAT PLATFORM ADOPTED IN MIAMI IN JULY -- HAS TAKEN A GIANT STEP TO THE REAR, BREAKING RANKS WITH THE POLITICS OF MOST AMERICANS.

#### 1974 THE NEXT TEST

WHETHER WHAT I SEE AS PROOF OF THIS TURNS OUT TO BE FICTION, AND WHETHER THE PROMISE I SEE GOES UNFULFILLED MAY NOT BE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME. REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY IS CERTAINLY NOT INEVITABLE. BUT THE FIRST INDICATIONS OF WHETHER I AM RIGHT OUGHT TO BE EVIDENT IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1974. AND THAT IS WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WILL NOW SET ITS SIGHTS ON.

BUT I AM REMINDED THAT IT IS NOT JUST ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT YOU HAVE ASKED ME HERE TO TALK. YOU'RE INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE DIRECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE POSTURE OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN ITS SECOND TERM.



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AND IT IS NECESSARY, BEFORE WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, TO TAKE A LOOK BACK AT THE LAST FOUR. IT IS NOT ONLY EASIER TO TELL WHERE YOU ARE GOING IF YOU KNOW WHERE YOU HAVE BEEN, BUT IN POLITICS, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CATCH THE DIRFT OF THE TIMES, THE TRENDS OF PUBLIC OPINION, THE EVENTS OF THE RECENT PAST AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROMISES OF NATIONAL LEADERS. TO BE ABLE TO PREDICT THE FUTURE WITH ANY ACCURACY.

THAT IS THE PROCESS THE PRESIDENT WENT THROUGH HIMSELF, FOUR YEARS AGO. AND AS A STUDENT OF HIS TIMES, HE DETERMINED THAT THE TIMES WERE ON THE SIDE OF PEACE. ACTING ON THAT DETERMINATION, HE HAS BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF PEACE. AS A STUDENT OF HIS OWN SOCIETY, HE DETERMINED THAT THE PUBLIC MOOD CALLED FOR A DIFFERENT STYLE OF LEADERSHIP THAN IT HAD BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO IN THE SIXTIES -- COOLER, QUIETER, LESS PRONE TO PROMISE THAN TO PERFORMANCE, LESS PRONE TO VIEWING PEOPLE AS THE TOOLS OF GOVERNMENT THAN TO REINSTATING GOVERNMENT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF THE PEOPLE. HERE TOO, HE MET WITH NO LITTLE SUCCESS AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN TERMS OF THE FUTURE, HIS POLICIES MET WITH OVERWHELMING POPULAR APPROVAL, AS THE RESULTS OF LAST WEEK DEMONSTRATE.

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PRESIDENCY IN A NEW STYLE

MANY MISTOOK THE NEW LOWER-KEYED STYLE HE BROUGHT TO THE PRESIDENCY AS MARKING AN END TO THE ERA WHEN GOVERNMENT WOULD PROPOSE GREAT THINGS. THROUGH THE SIXTIES WE HAD HEARD LEADERS IN GOVERNMENT MAKE VAST PROMISES IN GRAND SPEECHES THAT OFFERED NOBLE CHALLENGE BUT, AS IT TURNED OUT, INADEQUATE PLANS, OR FAULTY PLANS OR EVEN SOMETIMES NO PLANS AT ALL, TO MEET THOSE CHALLENGES.

PRESIDENT NIXON ASKED HIS COUNTRYMEN, HOWEVER, TO PAY MORE ATTENTION TO WHAT HE DID THAN TO WHAT HE SAID, OR TO WHAT OTHERS MAY HAVE SAID IN HIS BEHALF.

WHAT WAS ALL IMPORTANT IN THE FIRST TERM OF THE NIXON PRESIDENCY, THEREFORE, WAS NOT THE GREAT THINGS HE PROMISED TO DO, BUT THE GREAT THINGS HE DID.

HE HAD PROMISED TO ACT ON HIS VIEW THAT THE TIMES WERE ON THE SIDE OF PEACE. WHAT WAS FAR MORE SIGNIFICANT WAS THE FACT THAT HE DID ACT ON IT, IN A DRAMATIC AND HISTORIC WAY THAT PROMISES FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE IN THE WORLD.

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IN THAT FIRST TERM; HE PROMISED TO BRING ABOUT A REVERSAL OF THE FLOW OF POWER TO WASHINGTON AND START ON A PROGRAM TO RE-INVEST THAT POWER BACK IN THE PEOPLE AND IN THEIR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. HE CALLED THAT A GREAT GOAL OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. BUT MORE IMPORTANT THAN HIS RHETORIC IN DEFINING THAT GREAT GOAL, WAS HIS ACCOMPLISHMENT IN MOVING TO BRING IT ABOUT.

THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN, IT WAS RICHARD NIXON'S PAST ACHIEVEMENTS IN HIS FIRST TERM THAT CONSTITUTED HIS REAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES. WHAT HE ACHIEVED IN HIS FIRST FOUR YEARS, WAS NOT SIMPLY A RECORD TO RUN ON. IT WAS A FORETASTE OF WHAT WAS TO COME. IT WAS A BEGINNING.

AND NOW, AS WE LOOK FORWARD TO WHAT THE NEXT FOUR YEARS IN WASHINGTON WILL BE LIKE, I THINK IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT IT WILL DEPEND TO A GREAT EXTENT -- CERTAINLY IN RICHARD NIXON'S VIEW OF THINGS -- ON WHAT THE NEXT FOUR YEARS ARE LIKE HERE IN CALIFORNIA, AND IN THE MIDWEST, AND THE SOUTH AND, INDEED, THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

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THE NEW DIRECTION IS BEGUN

HE HAS SET IN MOTION A DIRECTION FOR GOVERNMENT THAT IS PREMISED ON RESPONSIVENESS. MOST DRAMATICALLY, THAT HAS COME IN THE FORM OF HIS REVENUE SHARING LEGISLATION. I AM HOPEFUL THAT, IN THE NEAR FUTURE, WE CAN EXPAND ON THAT PROGRAM WITH PASSAGE OF ADDITIONAL SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING MEASURES WHICH SERVE IN ESSENCE THE SAME PURPOSE OF GIVING LOCAL PEOPLE GREATER RESPONSIBILITY IN WORKING OUT LOCAL PROBLEMS.

AS WELL, I EXPECT TO SEE SUCCESS IN THE DIRECTION OF REORGANIZING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OF FURTHER REFORMS AND SIMPLIFICATIONS OF THE FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT.

THE NEXT FOUR YEARS IN WASHINGTON ARE SURE TO BE DISTINGUISHED BY THAT DISPOSITION TO REFORM. WHETHER THEY CAN BE MARKED AS A SUCCESS, HOWEVER, RESTS NOT ALONE WITH RICHARD NIXON AND HIS IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE REFORMS. IT RESTS, IN ADDITION, WITH US AND OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THOSE REFORMS AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO SEE AND SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES THEY WILL PROVIDE.

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AS THE PRESIDENT SAID, HE "DIDN'T GO OUT WITH A WHOLE BAGFUL OF GOODIES," DURING THE CAMPAIGN. AND I MIGHT ADD THAT REPUBLICANS DON'T HAVE THAT SANTA CLAUS VIEW OF GOVERNMENT WHICH SEES IT AS THE DISPENSER OF NICELY PACKAGED "GOODIES" GOOD FOR EVERYTHING THAT AILS THE CITIZENRY.

ON THE CONTRARY, WE REPUBLICANS, AND OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT, SEE AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AN APTITUDE FOR ASSERTING GREATER RESPONSIBILITY OVER THEIR OWN LIVES AND THE WELFARE FO THEIR COMMUNITIES THAN THIS GOVERNMENT, WHICH HAS GROWN OVER-LARGE, HAS BEEN WILLING TO GRANT IN THE PAST FEW DECADES.

THAT IS WHY THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN SPEAKING, OF LATE, ABOUT NURTURING "A NEW FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY."

GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY INVOLVED IN THOUSANDS OF DISTINCT AND SEPARATE SOCIAL PROGRAMS. THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES THAT WE DON'T NEED "HUGE NEW SPENDING PROGRAMS, SOCIAL PROGRAMS, THROWING DOLLARS AT PROBLEMS," "REFORM," HE SAID, "USING MONEY MORE EFFECTIVELY, WILL BE THE MARK" OF HIS SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

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AT THE 'BREAKING POINT'

TO ADD ON STILL FURTHER PROGRAMS CALLING FOR ADDITIONAL BILLIONS OF DOLLARS WOULD REQUIRE THAT TAX REVENUES BE RAISED IN EQUAL PROPORTION. BUT IN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW, "THE TAX BURDEN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL, HAS REACHED THE BREAKING POINT. IT CAN GO NO HIGHER."

SO ALSO HAS THEIR FRUSTRATION WITH THE INABILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO LIVE UP TO THE COMMITMENTS THAT WERE MADE IN ITS NAME UNDER PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS, REACHED THE BREAKING POINT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOW DETERMINED TO ACT ON WHAT I BELIEVE THEY HAVE KNOWN ALL ALONG -- THAT THEY THEMSELVES ARE THE BEST JUDGES OF WHAT THEIR NEEDS ARE AND THAT GOVERNMENT IS THEIR INSTRUMENT IN MEETING THOSE NEEDS -- NOT THEIR MASTER.

THE PRESIDENT NOTED RECENTLY THAT THE NATION HAS "PASSED THROUGH A GREAT SPIRITUAL CRISIS." THE WAR, IN PART, WAS A CAUSE, BUT THERE WAS MORE, LESS IDENTIFIABLE PERHAPS, BUT EQUALLY AS REAL, THAT PLUNGED US INTO AN ORGY OF SELF-DOUBT AND MUTUAL DISTRUST.

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THE PRESIDENT THINKS WE CAN REBUILD FROM THAT EXPERIENCE AND RESTORE OUR NATIONAL PRIDE AND SELF-CONFIDENCE THAT HAD BEEN GIVEN UP FOR LOST BY MANY OBSERVERS NO LONG AGO. I THINK HE IS RIGHT.

I THINK THAT WILL MOTIVATE HIS EFFORTS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS.

AND THAT, AS MUCH AS ANYTHING, WILL MOTIVATE HIS EFFORTS, NOT **JUST** HERE AT HOME, BUT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE AS WELL. HE WILL CONTINUE HIS ENDEAVORS TO ESTABLISH A LASTING PEACE IN THE WORLD SO THAT, IN PEACE WITH OURSELVES HERE AT HOME, WE CAN CONTINUE THE BUILDING OF AMERICA.

AS I SAID EARLIER, TO THAT END, THE SUCCESS OF HIS POLICIES WILL BE DETERMINED, NOT ALONE BY WHAT HE IS ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH AND HOW FAR ONE MAN IS ABLE TO TAKE US, BUT BY HOW HIGH WE ARE ABLE TO SET OUR SIGHTS.