

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

CENTRAL ILLINOIS BUILDERS ASSOCIATION  
ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL  
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS  
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1972

IT IS A REAL PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU IN ILLINOIS, EVEN THOUGH I HAVE TO ADMIT THAT, AS A REPUBLICAN, ONE THINKS OF ILLINOIS WITH MIXED EMOTIONS THIS YEAR. CERTAINLY, WE WON A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE PRESIDENT HERE AND THE RE-ELECTION OF A FINE REPUBLICAN SENATOR. YET WE LOST A GREAT REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR BECAUSE, EARLY IN HIS TERM HE MADE A HARD DECISION WHICH, THOUGH HE KNEW IT MIGHT COST HIM VOTES, HE NONETHELESS PURSUED IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF HIS STATE.

THE ELECTION OF COURSE, IS BEHIND US NOW, AND MOST OF US HAVE AN INTEREST IN LOOKING AHEAD TO WHAT WE CAN EXPECT FROM THE FOUR MORE YEARS WE HAVE JUST GIVEN TO PRESIDENT NIXON.

BUT BEFORE WE CAN LOOK AHEAD WITH ANY REAL ACCURACY, WE HAVE TO LOOK BACK A LITTLE, ON WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS AND ON WHAT WAS THE MEANING OF THE LAST FOUR MONTHS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNING.

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.

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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 McGOVERN 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.

McGOVERN WAS TOO FAR FROM CENTER

MYTH NUMBER TWO WAS THAT IT WAS THE EAGLETON AFFAIR THAT DESTROYED McGOVERN'S CHANCES. AND YET, AS SARGENT SHRIVER HIMSELF HAS POINTED OUT, AT THE TIME OF THE DEMOCRAT CONVENTION IN JULY, McGOVERN 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.

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AFTER THE EAGLETON AFFAIR, IT MAY BE TRUE THAT MANY VOTERS WOULDN'T EVEN LISTEN TO GEORGE McGOVERN. THAT WAS THEIR PERSONAL JUDGEMENT. 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 JUDGEMENT.

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.



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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.

AND I SEE FAR MORE MEANING IN THIS, AS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, THAN I DO FROM THE MIXED AND FRANKLY VERY DISAPPOINTING 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 LIFE, 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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WE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ARE PUTTING THE DEMOCRATS ON NOTICE THAT THEY CAN NO LONGER TAKE FOR GRANTED THE SUPPORT OF VOTERS WHO IN THE PAST HAVE PROVIDED THEM THEIR TRADITIONAL ELECTORAL STRENGTH.

AS I READ CURRENT REGISTRATION FIGURES, THEY POINT UP A DECLINE IN NUMBERS OF THOSE VOTERS WHO CAME TO BE RELIED UPON TO VOTE FOR ANY DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE, NO MATTER WHO HE WAS, AS LONG AS HE BORE THE PARTY LABEL. AS I READ THE RESULTS OF LAST WEEK'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE DAYS OF THE "AUTOMATIC DEMOCRAT" ARE NUMBERED AND IN HIS PLACE WE ARE FINDING A CLASS OF VOTERS MORE CONCERNED WITH CONTENTS OF A CANDIDACY THAN WITH ITS LABEL, LESS CONCERNED WITH KEEPING OLD VOTING HABITS THAN WITH ELECTING MEN WHO CAN MEET THE CHALLENGES OF CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCE AND NEW PROBLEMS.

AND THAT, I SUBMIT, IS CAUSE FOR HOPE FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- AND HOPE IS ALWAYS JUST CAUSE FOR DETERMINATION -- SO THE GOP I REPEAT, IS PUTTING THE DEMOCRATS ON NOTICE THAT JUST AS THE DAYS OF THE "AUTOMATIC DEMOCRAT" ARE NUMBERED, SO TOO ARE THE DAYS OF AUTOMATIC DEMOCRAT MAJORITY STATUS.

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EVERYWHERE, IN COOK COUNTY AND THE DEEP SOUTH, IN URBAN AREAS, WHEREVER THE TERM DEMOCRAT STRONGHOLD USED TO APPLY, THE GOP IS GOING TO ASSERT THAT IN FACT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE, THAT IN FACT, WE OFFER A FRESH AND NEW ALTERNATIVE TO THE STALE AND JADED, WORN OUT LEADERSHIP THAT DEMOCRATS CAN PROVIDE, AND THAT IN FACT, THE FUTURE IS WITH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND WE INVITE ALL VOTERS -- DISENCHANTED DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS ALIKE -- WHO RECOGNIZE THIS TO JOIN WITH US IN OUR CAUSE OF A BETTER AMERICA IN A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.

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.



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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 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.

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 DRIFT 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.

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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.

#### 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.



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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.

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. AND I MIGHT ADD THAT GOVERNOR OGILVIE CONTRIBUTED IN NO SMALL WAY, NOT ONLY TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THAT AS A NATIONAL GOAL, BUT HE ALSO SET THE SAME GOAL -- THE REVITALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THIS STATE -- AS A PRIME TARGET FOR HIS OWN ADMINISTRATION.

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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 AS A RESULT OF THIS BEGINNING HE MADE, WE CAN EXPECT -- AND LOOK FORWARD TO -- AN ENVIRONMENT OF PEACE IN WHICH TO ACT ON THE NEW PROMISES AND THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES THAT FOUR MORE YEARS MAY BRING. IN VIETNAM, PEACE IS IMMINENT AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT FURTHER INROADS WILL BE MADE TOWARD BUILDING AN ENDURING FABRIC OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS THE PRESIDENT MOVES FORWARD WITH FURTHER STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS, NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE FOR MUTUAL BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS AND FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD REDUCTION OF HOSTILITIES WITH CHINA.

AS WELL, WE CAN EXPECT A BACKDROP OF DOMESTIC CALM AND GROWING PROSPERITY FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS. YOUR INDUSTRY HAS ALWAYS BEEN A BAROMETER OF THINGS TO COME IN THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY, AND LAST YEAR, AS YOU KNOW, HOUSING STARTS SET A RECORD. THIS YEAR THE BEST ESTIMATES ANTICIPATE A CONTINUED STRONG SHOWING IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY WITH HOUSING STARTS CONTINUING AT A HEAVY PACE.

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LAST YEAR'S RECORD RATE IN YOUR BUSINESS WAS A GOOD OMEN FOR FULL RECOVERY OF THE ENTIRE ECONOMY. THIS YEAR'S EXPECTED CONTINUATION OF THAT TREND WILL NOT BE AN OMEN, BUT AN ELEMENT IN A FAR BROADER BOOM THAT MOST OBSERVERS EXPECT WILL ENCOMPASS THE WHOLE RANGE OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE.

ON TUESDAY, THE DOW JONES AVERAGE HIT A THOUSAND, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY. THAT WAS ONLY THE MOST DRAMATIC OF SEVERAL CURRENT INDICATORS THAT THE BOOM IS REALLY HERE AND EXPECTED TO BE AROUND FOR SOME TIME.

THE RISE IN THE GNP, THE CONTROL OF INFLATION, THE GRADUAL REDUCTION IN UNEMPLOYMENT -- AND I EXPECT TO SEE THE PACE OF THAT DECLINE PICK UP OVER THE COMING YEAR -- IS ALL EVIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES ARE WORKING TO BRING US OUT OF THAT DEEP FINANCIAL CRISIS WHICH HE INHERITED FROM PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS.



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BUT THE PRESIDENT ALSO 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.

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 NOT 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.

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