

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

OKLAHOMA COUNTY REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1969

DURING THE 1968 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, THEN CANDIDATE -- NOW
PRESIDENT NIXON -- OBSERVED THAT SOMEHOW IN THE COURSE OF AMERICAN
HISTORY THE MAN AND THE TIMES HAVE COME TOGETHER. SOMEHOW IN
AMERICA'S DARKEST AND MOST TROUBLED HOURS THAT MAN HAS COME FORWARD
TO LEAD THE NATION OUT OF ITS DARKNESS. SO IT WAS WITH PRESIDENT
LINCOLN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO. ~~_____~~
~~_____~~. SO IT IS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON IN 1969.

BOTH IN STYLE AND IN SUBSTANCE PRESIDENT NIXON HAS MADE A
DRAMATIC AND HISTORIC IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL SPIRIT. HE HAS FIRMLY
ESTABLISHED HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT AND HE
HAS CALMLY RESTORED A SENSE OF PURPOSE AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR NATIONAL
LEADERSHIP.

MY COMMENTS ABOUT THE FIRST 90 DAYS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION
SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE INTERPRETED IN A PARTISAN SENSE.

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THE PROBLEMS NIXON FACED

CONSIDER THE PROBLEMS FACING THE NATION WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON ASSUMED THE MOMENTOUS RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PRESIDENCY ON JANUARY 20.

(1) AMERICA HAD BEEN TORN BY THE MOST SEVERE PERIOD OF TURMOIL AND DIVISION BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR. MANY OF OUR NATION'S CITIES HAD BEEN RACKED BY CIVIL WARFARE AND THE CITIES WERE IN A VIRTUAL STATE OF SIEGE. THERE HAD BEEN DISTRUST AND DISCONTENT, BIGOTRY AND HATRED, ON AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE.

(2) OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN THE MOST UNPOPULAR AND MISUNDERSTOOD WAR IN ITS HISTORY,----- A WAR WHICH HAS ALREADY COST MORE AMERICAN LIVES THAN ALL BUT THREE WARS IN OUR HISTORY.

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(3) CONFIDENCE IN OUR NATION'S LEADERSHIP HAD REACHED AN ALL TIME LOW. ONLY ONE IN THREE AMERICANS APPROVED OF THE WAY IN WHICH MR. NIXON'S PREDECESSOR WAS HANDLING THE AFFAIRS OF STATE AND HENCE THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY WAS IN BAD DISREPAIR.

(4) IN THE YEAR PAST, AMERICA HAD EXPERIENCED THE MOST RAMPANT AND DESTRUCTIVE INFLATIONARY CYCLE IN ITS ENTIRE HISTORY -- AN INFLATION RATE OF 4% A YEAR VIEWED BY MANY ECONOMISTS AS THE FORERUNNER OF A TOTAL ECONOMIC DISASTER.

(5) THE FEDERAL TAX BITE WAS THE BIGGEST IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

(6) THE CRIME RATE HAD INCREASED SO SEVERELY THAT HONEST CITIZENS FEARED LEAVING THEIR HOMES AT NIGHT. ORGANIZED CRIME HAD REACHED SUCH MASSIVE PROPORTIONS AS TO THREATEN OUR VERY INSTITUTIONS.

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(7) THE NATION'S CONSCIENCE HURT AT THE SIGHT OF LONG
STANDING NEGLECT OF OUR POOR AND OUR CITIES.

(8) PERHAPS MOST SERIOUS OF ALL, OUR PEOPLE HAD BEEN
INFLECTED WITH A GENERAL MALAISE. THE YOUNG HAD BEEN ALIEN-
ATED, THE RACES HAD BEEN DIVIDED, THE EMOTIONS OF THE BODY
POLITIC WERE DEEPLY TROUBLED.

NIXON'S FIRST 90 DAYS

IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS THE PRESIDENT SOUGHT TO STEADY A
FLOUNDERING SHIP OF STATE. HE PUT A FIRM AND CONFIDENT HAND ON THE
NATION'S HELM. HIS ACTIONS IN THE FIRST 90 DAYS HAVE REFLECTED CALM
AND SOBER JUDGMENT, QUIET DIGNITY AND REFRESHING CANDOR. IN THIS BRIEF
PERIOD SINCE HIS INAUGURATION HE HAS REESTABLISHED THE OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENCY AS A STRONG MORAL FORCE IN AMERICA. NO MATTER WHAT THE OUT-

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COME OF THE NEXT FOUR OR EIGHT YEARS, IN MY VIEW, HISTORY WILL RECORD THIS AS THE MOST MEANINGFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE NIXON PRESIDENCY.

IN THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY, RESTORING THIS NATIONAL LEADERSHIP MAY WELL HAVE SAVED THE REPUBLIC.

NIXON AND CREDIBILITY

I USED THE WORD CANDOR A MOMENT AGO. I THINK IT WARRANTS SOME ELABORATION. IN THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION, THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET OFFICERS HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY DESTROYED. WITH THE CREDIBILITY GAP HAD COME A TREMENDOUS DECLINE IN THE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT. ONE OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S FIRST ACTS WAS TO ESTABLISH AN ASSISTANT FOR INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION FUNCTIONS WHOSE POWERS WERE NOT CONFINED TO THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT BROUGHT EVERY GOVERNMENT AGENCY WITHIN THEIR SCOPE. HE ORDERED AN OPEN NEWS

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POLICY AND INSTRUCTED HIS CABINET HEADS AND OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS TO MAKE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC, TO TELL THE FACTS AS THEY WERE, TO BE HONEST AND OPEN. THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF HAS REFLECTED THIS IN HIS NEWS CONFERENCES. HE HAS ANSWERED QUESTIONS DIRECTLY AND FORTHRIGHTLY. HE HAS DEMONSTRATED AN AMAZING UNDERSTANDING OF THE MANY COMPLEX ISSUES FACING OUR COUNTRY. AND BY OPENLY AND HONESTLY SHARING THE PROBLEMS WITH THE PEOPLE, HE HAS BEGUN TO REESTABLISH PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT.

THE COURAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

A SECOND HALLMARK OF THE FIRST 90 DAYS IS THE COURAGE OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS NEW ADMINISTRATION. NO PRESIDENT HAS EVER DEMONSTRATED GREATER PERSONAL COURAGE. DEFEATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY BY THE CLOSEST MARGIN IN HISTORY IN 1960, DEFEATED FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP IN HIS NATIVE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, HE NONETHELESS PERSEVERED. HE NEVER LOST

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HIS SELF-CONFIDENCE OR HIS DETERMINATION; HE NEVER VARIED FROM HIS HIGH STANDARDS; HE PURSUED WHAT HE KNEW TO BE THE RIGHT COURSE. THIS KIND OF COURAGE AND DETERMINATION CANNOT BE MANUFACTURED. IT EITHER IS A PART OF A MAN'S FABRIC AND SOUL, OR IT ISN'T. THIS IS THE KIND OF COURAGE PRESIDENT NIXON BROUGHT TO WASHINGTON ON JANUARY 20, AND IT HAS BEEN REFLECTED EVERY DAY SINCE IN THE ACTIONS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

NIXON AND ABM

TAKE FOR EXAMPLE, SAFEGUARD, THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DECISION WHICH PRESIDENT NIXON HAD TO MAKE. WELL-MEANING BUT *deliberate* ILL-INFORMED CITIZENS ACROSS THE COUNTRY CREATED AN ENORMOUS STORM OF PUBLIC PROTEST OVER THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE. A POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT DECISION WOULD HAVE BEEN TO CANCEL THE ABM, BUT PRESIDENT NIXON DID NOT MAKE A POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT DECISION. HE DID WHAT HE KNEW WAS

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RIGHT AND WHAT THE NATIONAL SECURITY REQUIRED. WHETHER WE AGREE WITH HIS DECISION OR NOT, NO ONE CAN DOUBT THE ENORMOUS PERSONAL COURAGE HIS DECISION REFLECTS. HE LAID HIS PERSONAL PRESTIGE, THE PRESTIGE OF HIS BRAND NEW ADMINISTRATION ON THE LINE. HE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THE CHINESE THAT AMERICA DOES NOT INTEND TO BECOME A SECOND RATE POWER. NOR DOES IT INTEND TO PERMIT AN EROSION OF ITS DETERRENT CAPABILITIES WHICH HAVE THROUGHOUT THE COLD WAR BEEN THE SHIELD OF DEFENSE FOR FREE MEN.

CONTRARY TO WHAT ALL THE CRITICS SAID, THE ABM DECISION HAS NOT INCREASED WORLD TENSIONS. IT HAS, IN FACT, DECREASED THEM AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT AROUND TO AGREEMENT ON FOUR-POWER TALKS. MEANINGFUL TALKS ON ARMS CONTROL MAY SOON BEGIN. THE SOVIETS KNOW WE MEAN PEACE BUT WE ALSO MEAN BUSINESS. THE

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WORLD KNOWS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WILL MOVE HEAVEN AND EARTH TO ACHIEVE A MEANINGFUL RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BUT THAT AMERICA WILL NEGOTIATE FROM STRENGTH AND NOT FROM WEAKNESS.

NIXON AND POSTAL SERVICE

IT TOOK COURAGE TO REMOVE PARTISAN POLITICS FROM THE POSTAL SERVICE. THERE IS NO LOGIC AND THERE NEVER HAS BEEN IN EMPLOYING POSTAL WORKERS ON A PARTISAN PATRONAGE BASIS. FEW FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE OF MORE EVERYDAY CONCERN THAN THE POSTAL SERVICE. IT IS OPERATING EACH YEAR WITH AN INCREASING DEFICIT AND DRAIN ON THE FEDERAL TREASURY. POSTAL SERVICE HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO DETERIORATE TO A POINT WHERE MANY EXPERTS PREDICT THAT THE PRESENT SYSTEM WILL IN FIVE YEARS BE SIMPLY UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE INCREASING DEMANDS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. WE ALL HAVE A PARTICULAR CONCERN WITH THE

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EFFICIENCY OF THE POSTAL SERVICE. THE MERIT SYSTEM IS THE FIRST MAJOR AND CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TOWARD MORE EFFICIENT, MORE ECONOMICAL POSTAL SERVICE.

NIXON AND THE ECONOMY

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS SHOWN ITS COURAGE TOO BY TAKING DRASTIC AND STERN MEASURES TO RESTORE THE NATION'S ECONOMIC STABILITY. THE NEW TEAM IN WASHINGTON HAS MADE DEEP AND SIGNIFICANT CUTS IN PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S BUDGET. NONE OF US LIKES TO PAY HIGH INTEREST RATES, BUT WE ALL RECOGNIZE THAT ONLY BY SUCH DRASTIC STEPS CAN THE NATION'S ECONOMY BE SAVED THE DISASTERS OF RUNAWAY INFLATION.

EVERYONE TALKS ABOUT INFLATION, BUT NO ONE HAS EVER HAD THE COURAGE TO REALLY ATTEMPT TO BRING IT UNDER CONTROL. AFTER ALL, INFLATION IS NOT ALL BAD FOR THE MAN IN OFFICE AT THE TIME. THE ECONOMY SEEMS TO BE BOOMING, MORE AND MORE MONEY IS IN CIRCULATION. WAGES INCREASE TO MEET RISING PRICES AND TO THE AVERAGE CITIZEN THINKING AT LEAST IN ABSOLUTE TERMS, HE SEEMS TO HAVE MORE MONEY. THE TRUTH, HOWEVER,

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IS THAT INFLATION IS MERELY A WAY OF BORROWING FROM FUTURE GENERATIONS. A PRESIDENT WHO REALLY MEANS BUSINESS ABOUT CURBING INFLATION RISKS POLITICAL HARM TO HIMSELF, PARTICULARLY BY REDUCING FEDERAL SPENDING. PRESIDENT NIXON KNOWS THIS, BUT ONCE AGAIN HE IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE THE RIGHT COURSE AND DO THE RIGHT THING FOR THE COUNTRY.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL OF A \$5.8 BILLION BUDGET SURPLUS NEXT YEAR IS BOUND TO PROVOKE ALMOST AS MANY GROANS AS CHEERS. ALTHOUGH MOST INFORMED PERSONS WILL AGREE THAT SUCH FISCAL RESTRAINT IS NEEDED TO CURB INFLATION, THERE ALSO WILL BE CHARGES THAT THIS OR THAT PRIORITY PROGRAM HAS BEEN UNDER-FINANCED.


TO THESE SORTS OF PLAINTS, THE CORRECT ANSWER IS: THE PRESIDENT DIDN'T MAKE THIS SITUATION; HE INHERITED IT. IN POINT OF FACT, HE DID WHAT HE HAD TO DO.

AS THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT, INFLATION IS INDEED "THE MOST DISGUISED AND LEAST JUST OF ALL THE TAXES THAT CAN BE IMPOSED." IT

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ERODES THE PAY INCREASES OF THE FIXED WAGE EARNER AND PUNISHES THE
RETIRED PERSON. MOREOVER, INFLATION INTRODUCES A KIND OF MADNESS TO
ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING, A FEVER TO HURRY UP AND SPEND OR BORROW NOW
BECAUSE GOODS OR MONEY WILL COST MORE LATER ON. IT IS THIS INFLATION-
ARY PSYCHOLOGY THAT MUST BE EXORCISED FROM THE MINDS OF AMERICANS,
OR THERE WILL SURELY BE AN ECONOMIC COLLAPSE THAT REALLY WOULD SEND
THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE SOARING.

MOST OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S ANTI-INFLATIONARY PROPOSALS IN HIS
MESSAGE TO CONGRESS HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS. FOR
INSTANCE, THE PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY ASKED THAT THE SURTAX BE EXTEND-
ED AND THE SCHEDULED REDUCTIONS IN TELEPHONE AND AUTOMOBILE EXCISE
TAXES BE DEFERRED. THESE ACTIONS ARE MORE THAN EVER A MUST IN
PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

 THE NEW ELEMENT IN THE PICTURE IS THE \$4-BILLION CUT IN
GOVERNMENT SPENDING FOR NEXT YEAR.

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SHOULD THE ECONOMY COOL OFF FASTER THAN MOST ECONOMISTS SUPPOSE, THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL OF A SUBSTANTIAL BUDGET SURPLUS WOULD STAND IN NEED OF REVIEW. FOR THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, THIS HEAVY DOSE OF ANTI-INFLATIONARY MEDICINE IS NECESSARY, NO MATTER HOW UNPLEASANT.

NIXON GOES TO EUROPE

MANY ADVISORS WARNED THE PRESIDENT AGAINST HIS TRIP TO EUROPE. THEY SAID HIS OWN LIFE MIGHT BE IN JEOPARDY, PARTICULARLY IN BERLIN. IT TOOK COURAGE IN THE FACE OF REPEATED WARNINGS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE HIS TRIP, BUT HE DID SO. NOT ONLY DID HE MEET WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS, BUT HE WALKED THROUGH THE STREETS OF EUROPE. HE MET THE PEOPLE AND HE REESTABLISHED CONFIDENCE IN UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP ON THE PART OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES. HE GAVE NEW MEANING AND LIFE TO THE NORTH AMERICAN ALLIANCE WHICH HAD BEEN SO GROSSLY NEGLECTED BY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. IT IS MORE THAN MERE COINCIDENCE, BUT FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S TRIUMPHANT TRIP TO EUROPE, THE RUSSIANS BEGAN TO MAKE SERIOUS PLANS FOR MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

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NIXON MOVES TO MEET HUMAN NEEDS

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN EVIDENT NOT ONLY IN MATTERS OF BROAD NATIONAL POLICY, BUT ALSO IN THE MATTERS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL HUMAN NEEDS. MOVED BY THE MINE DISASTERS IN WEST VIRGINIA LAST YEAR, THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED SOME OF THE TOUGHEST MINE SAFETY LEGISLATION EVER SENT TO THE CONGRESS, INCLUDING STRONG PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE KILLER DISEASE OF MINERS, "BLACK LUNG". I AM PRIVILEGED TO SERVE IN THE SENATE ON THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS. WHEN REPORTS CAME TO OUR COMMITTEE OF HUNGER IN AREAS OF SOUTH CAROLINA, IT TOOK THE ADMINISTRATION A MATTER OF ONLY HOURS TO UNLEASH THE ADMINISTRATIVE MORASS IN WHICH THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION HAD BEEN BOGGED DOWN FOR YEARS.

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THE PRESIDENT WILL SOON CREATE A NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION. ITS OBJECTIVE WILL BE PERFORMANCE, NOT PROMISE. ITS OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO MARSHALL THE RESOURCES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SEE THAT NO AMERICAN GOES HUNGRY, LIVING IN THIS THE RICHEST AND MOST PRODUCTIVE NATION ON EARTH.

NIXON FERRETS OUT URBAN SOLUTIONS

FINALLY, I THINK A WORD IS IN ORDER ON GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION AND EFFICIENCY. AS SOON AS HE TOOK OFFICE, PRESIDENT NIXON ACTIVATED AN URBAN AFFAIRS COUNCIL ----- A CABINET LEVEL GROUP CONSISTING OF THOSE AGENCY HEADS WHOSE DEPARTMENTS ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN URBAN PROBLEMS. THE PROLIFERATION OF LEGISLATION IN RECENT YEARS HAS CREATED ONE DUPLICATING AND OVERLAPPING AGENCY AFTER ANOTHER. RATHER THAN SOLVING PROBLEMS, THESE AGENCIES HAVE BEEN MORE CONCERNED WITH MAINTAINING THEIR OWN

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INDEPENDENCE AND CONTINUING THEIR OWN POWER. BY ESTABLISHING THE URBAN AFFAIRS COUNCIL, OVER WHICH THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY PRESIDES, EFFICIENCY AND COORDINATION CAN BE ACHIEVED SO THAT MEANINGFUL PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THE MANY DOMESTIC PROGRAMS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

ACTING, NOT JUST REACTING, IN NATIONAL SECURITY

THE PRESIDENT ALSO REVITALIZED THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AS AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT. DURING THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON YEARS, THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET ONLY TO REACT TO A SPECIFIC CRISIS. PRESIDENT NIXON FEELS THAT AMERICA SHOULD NOT REACT, BUT SHOULD FOLLOW A PLANNED, ORGANIZED FOREIGN POLICY AND THAT THE NEEDS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARE TOO GREAT TO BE HANDLED BY A KITCHEN CABINET OR EMERGENCY BULL SESSIONS.

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NOWHERE IS THE "MEAN BUSINESS" ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION MORE OBVIOUS THAN IN THE WHOLE SERIES OF SIGNIFICANT AND IMPORTANT STEPS PRESIDENT NIXON HAS TAKEN TO REORGANIZE AND MAKE MORE EFFICIENT THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

THE FUTURE: HOPE FOR AMERICA

I LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH A NEW HOPE BECAUSE A NEW DAY HAS DAWNED IN WASHINGTON. ALL OF US KNOW THAT THE PROBLEMS FACING OUR NATION ARE SO GREAT THAT NO ONE MAN AND NO TEAM OF MEN CAN SOLVE THEM OVERNIGHT. THE PRESIDENT HAS NO MAGIC WAND. REACHING AN HONORABLE CONCLUSION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM WILL TAKE TIME, INGENUITY, PATIENCE, AND DETERMINATION. CONTROLLING INFLATION WHICH HAS RUN RAMPANT AND UNCHECKED FOR EIGHT YEARS IS GOING TO BE A LONG, SLOW, PAINFUL PROCESS.

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COORDINATING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE DONE
IN A DAY. IT WILL TAKE MONTHS, INDEED YEARS OF JUST PLAIN HARD WORK.
ACHIEVING MEANINGFUL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND EASING OF THE TENSIONS OF
THE COLD WAR IS A LONG AND CONTINUING JOURNEY. BUT AS I SAID, I LOOK
TO THE FUTURE WITH HOPE AND WITH A RENEWED CONFIDENCE BECAUSE A PRES-
IDENT AND AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAS SHOWN SUCH COURAGE AND DETER-
MINATION CANNOT HELP BUT SUCCEED.

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Harlow - 1st hus app

Walker -

J. Smith

Paul Stewart

Baldwin - Baldwin - Camp -



Mal Dragg -- (Hubert)

Sen John McCune

Sen Stankovic

Dragg

Really came to

see if Hubert

would be any
for us