

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

SUPER MARKET INSTITUTE
1971 MIDWINTER EXECUTIVE CONFERENCE
BAL HARBOUR, FLORIDA
JANUARY 12, 1971

WE ARE HERE TODAY TO ASSESS TRENDS IN THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

I HAVE NEVER REALLY UNDERSTOOD HOW ANYONE WENT ABOUT PREDICTING THE FUTURE -- WHETHER IN FOOTBALL, HORSERACING OR POLITICS -- FOR WHAT IT AMOUNTS TO IN THE END IS GUESSING. AND WHEN ONE STARTS GUESSING ABOUT A RACEHORSE OR HIS FELLOW MAN, HE IS TREADING ON EXTREMELY THIN ICE.

NONETHELESS, ANY ENVIRONMENT, WHETHER POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR NATURAL, IS THE PRODUCT OF THE FORCES AT WORK WITHIN IT. AND, TO THE EXTENT THAT THESE FORCES CAN BE CLEARLY AND UNPREJUDICIALLY UNDERSTOOD IN THE PRESENT, SOME SUPPORTABLE SPECULATION CAN BE UNDERTAKEN ABOUT THE END IMPACT OF THESE FORCES WILL HAVE.

-2-

PERHAPS ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS ANY ANALYST OF THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT SHOULD HAVE CLEAR IN HIS MIND IS THE REALIZATION THAT POLITICS IS A CONTINUUM. WE SPEAK OF ONE "ERA" OR ANOTHER -- THE NEW DEAL, THE MC CARTHY YEARS, CAMELOT -- BUT THERE IS NO REAL BEGINNING OR END AND VERY FEW REAL LINES OF DEMARCATION IN POLITICS. OF COURSE, MEN AND GROUPS SHAPE EVENTS AND GIVE DIRECTION TO THE TIMES. BUT SELDOM IS ANY PERSON OR ANY GROUP GIVEN A BLANK SLATE WITH WHICH TO START NOR DO THEY LEAVE BEHIND A TIDY, FINISHED STRUCTURE FOR THEIR SUCCESSORS TO BUILD UPON.

TAKING THIS PREMISE AS OUR STARTING POINT, LET US TRY TO SEE WHERE THE COUNTRY IS NOW, POLITICALLY; WHERE IT IS HEADING; AND WHERE IT IS LIKELY TO BE IN FIVE YEARS.

WE ARE NOW TWO YEARS AFTER ONE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND TWO YEARS INTO ANOTHER ONE. AND RECOGNIZING THIS FACT, I BELIEVE, HELPS IN UNDERSTANDING JUST WHAT IS GOING ON.

-3-

PERHAPS WE COULD LIKEN THE COUNTRY TO A LARGE SAILING SHIP WHICH HAS A CHANGE OF CAPTAIN AND CREW IN MID-OCEAN.

THE NEW CAPTAIN, COMING ON BOARD, HAS TO PUMP OUT THE BILGE, PUT HIS CREW IN SHAPE, SHOOT THE STARS AND TEST THE WIND TO SEE WHERE THE SHIP IS HEADING AND PLOT HIS OWN COURSE. THEN, WHEN HE PUTS HIS HAND TO THE WHEEL AND BRINGS THE SHIP ABOUT, THE SHIP MAY TAKE A WHILE TO ANSWER TO THE HELM AND START ON ITS NEW COURSE.

LOOKING AT THE COUNTRY TODAY, I THINK WE CAN SAY THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS JUST ABOUT COMPLETED THE WORK OF COPING WITH THE PROBLEMS HE INHERITED FROM THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. HE HAS REVERSED OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM AND IS WELL ON THE WAY TO MAKING THE PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA THE DEFENDERS OF THEIR OWN FREEDOM. ALONG WITH THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT HAS COME A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS HERE AT HOME. CAMPUS VIOLENCE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE HAVE DIMINISHED CONSIDERABLY. THEY HAVE NOT DISAPPEARED BY ANY MEANS, BUT COMPARED TO LEVELS OF ONE AND A HALF TO TWO YEARS AGO, THE REDUCTION IS SIGNIFICANT. IN

-4-

THE ECONOMY, THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS STILL UNEMPLOYMENT, BUT MAJOR SIGNS ARE POINTING TO A FALL-OFF IN INFLATION; THE MONEY SUPPLY IS RELAXING AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IS ON THE UPSWING. THE MOOD OF THE COUNTRY GENERALLY SEEMS MORE POSITIVE AND OPTIMISTIC. WE HAVE BEEN THROUGH SOME FAIRLY DIFFICULT DAYS AND, ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT IN THE CLEAR YET, THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES IS MUCH MORE BOUYANT AND OPTIMISTIC THAN EVEN A YEAR AGO.

IF THIS IS WHERE WE ARE, THEN WHERE ARE WE HEADED? WELL, GIVEN A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF SUCCESS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN THE NEW CONGRESS OVER THE NEXT SIX TO TEN MONTHS, I BELIEVE WE ARE GOING TO SEE A POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT CHARACTERIZED BY PROSPERITY, TRANQUILLITY, AND NATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT.

-5-

AS YOU KNOW, THE ADMINISTRATION'S LONG-TERM ECONOMIC GOALS ARE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND REASONABLE PRICE STABILITY. THESE GOALS ARE GOING TO BE REACHED. AND IN THE PROCESS OF DOING SO, WE ARE GOING TO COOL THE FIRES OF HOSTILITY AND UPHEAVAL IN THIS COUNTRY. AND WHEN MINDS ARE CALM AND TEMPER COOL IN A SECURE AND ACTIVE ECONOMY, WE WILL BE ABLE TO HARNESS THE TREMENDOUS ENERGIES OF THIS NATION AND DIRECT THEM TOWARD ENRICHING THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR EACH OF OUR CITIZENS -- AND PARTICULARLY THOSE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE OPPORTUNITY-EDUCATION LADDER.

NOW, THIS WHOLE PROCESS I HAVE DESCRIBED WILL NOT TAKE PLACE OVERNIGHT. IT WILL NOT BE DONE IN 100 DAYS OR 1000 DAYS, BUT AS WE MOVE AHEAD, WE WILL BE ABLE TO LOOK BACK AND SEE WHAT HAS BEEN DONE, EVEN AS WE CAN NOW LOOK BACK OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS AND NOTE THE CHANGE. NEITHER WILL THIS PROCESS HAPPEN IN 1-2-3- SEQUENCE. WE WILL MOVE AHEAD IN ALL AREAS -- PERHAPS NOT AT THE SAME RATE, PERHAPS IN FITS AND STARTS -- BUT WE WILL MOVE AHEAD.

-6-

THE WHOLE PROCESS WILL BE SIMULTANEOUS AND GRADUAL, BUT IT WILL BE DONE.

THREE OF THE MAJOR FACETS OF THIS MOVEMENT, THIS PROCESS, ARE EMBODIED IN THREE LEGISLATIVE MEASURES WHICH PRESIDENT NIXON WILL PUT BEFORE THE NEW CONGRESS. THEY ARE WELFARE REFORM, REVENUE-SHARING AND HEALTH CARE REFORM. ALL OF THEM ARE HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT, AND EACH OF THEM IS A FUNDAMENTAL BLOCK OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROGRAM FOR QUIETING THE TURMOIL IN THIS COUNTRY AND FOR HARNESSING THE NATION'S ENERGY FOR CHANGE AND GOOD.

NOW, IF THE POLITICAL CONTINUUM OPERATED IN A VACUUM THIS MIGHT BE A GOOD POINT TO START MAKING SOME VIVID PREDICTIONS ABOUT WHAT WILL BE SEEN IN OPERATION OF THESE REFORMS AND OTHER SPECIFIC AREAS. BUT NOW SOME OUTSIDE FACTORS NEED TO BE ADDED TO THE EQUATION. AND THOSE FACTORS ARE THE CAMPAIGN FOR 1972 AND THE MEN WHO WILL BE IN IT.

-7-

THERE ARE SO MANY CONTENDERS FOR THE SPOT TO CHALLENGE PRESIDENT NIXON THAT A POLITICAL ENVIRONMENTALIST -- OR IS IT AN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICIAN -- COULD MAKE A FULL TIME JOB OF JUST SIZING UP WHO WILL EMERGE AS THE DEMOCRAT NOMINEE IN 1972. I WILL JUST SAY THAT WHOEVER HE IS, HE WILL HAVE HIS WORK CUT OUT FOR HIM BECAUSE THE SUCCESS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROGRAM IN TAMING THE ECONOMY, REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT AND -- AS HE SAID AT HIS INAUGURATION -- BRINGING US TOGETHER WILL BE POLITICALLY UNASSAILABLE.

SO THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT I SEE OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS IS ONE OF CONTINUED PROGRESS AT HOME AND ABROAD IN REALIZING OUR NATION'S POTENTIAL. SPECIFICALLY, THIS VISION INCLUDES A RENEWED AND SUBSTANTIAL MANDATE FOR RICHARD NIXON IN 1972 AND A CLOSER, MORE HARMONIOUS AND A RICHER -- IN SPIRIT AND HUMAN FULFILLMENT -- LEGACY FOR THE BEGINNING OF AMERICA'S THIRD CENTURY.