

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE THIS EVENING IN WINSTON-SALEM FOR THE NORTH CAROLINA YOUNG REPUBLICANS' STATE CONVENTION. BOTH NORTH CAROLINA AND THE STATE YR'S SYMBOLIZE SOME OF THE FINEST ASPECTS OF THE SOUTH AND THE NATION.

I HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR THE WORK THAT YOUNG REPUBLICANS ARE DOING HERE AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY. YOU ARE GIVING YOUTHFUL DRIVE AND PURPOSE TO AMERICAN POLITICS, AND YOU ARE OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VAST, DECENT MAJORITY OF YOUNG AMERICANS. BUT I ASSURE YOU THAT I AM NOT HERE TO LOAD YOU DOWN WITH ALL THE STANDARD PLATITUDES ON YOUTH, POLITICS AND AMERICA. YOU HAVE HEARD THE "LEADERS OF TOMORROW" LINE A THOUSAND TIMES. THERE IS NO NEED FOR ME TO REPEAT IT HERE.

YOUNG AMERICANS ARE PARTNERS

AND, WHILE I COULD RATTLE OFF AN IMPRESSIVE LIST OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN SUPPOSEDLY YOUTH-ORIENTED FIELDS LIKE ECOLOGY, THERE IS SOMETHING OF MORE OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE THAT I WOULD

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LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THIS EVENING. BESIDES, I THINK THAT MOST YOUNG AMERICANS RESENT BEING ISOLATED AS A NARROW CLASS OR SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP. ONE OF THE GREAT ERRORS MADE BY SOME OF MY LIBERAL POLITICAL COLLEAGUES IS THE WAY THEY TALK DOWN AND PANDER TO THE ^{SO-CALLED} YOUTH CULT, INSTEAD OF APPEALING TO YOUNG AMERICANS ON THE SAME BASES OF REASON AND DECENCY USED WITH OTHER CITIZENS.

THAT IS WHAT I INTEND TO DO TONIGHT. I ^{WANT} ~~AM GOING~~ TO TALK TO YOU AS EQUALS, AS PARTNERS IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND AS FELLOW AMERICANS WHO ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE FUTURE OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY OF OURS.

THE "NEW" ISSUES OF THE SEVENTIES, AS THEY ARE TERMED: THE ENVIRONMENT, THE REFORM OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM, THE QUALITY OF LIFE -- ALL ARE IMPORTANT ISSUES; THEY ARE THE LEGITIMATE CONCERN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY ARE THE BUSINESS OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

Outgoing YR State Chairman, PHIL KIRK
is The youngest member of The State Senate (26).

The 2 youngest members of the State House
of Representatives are Republicans: Charles
Taylor and Tommy Harrelson

Also here tonight from ~~So. Carolina~~ the
youngest legislator in the country - Sharon Sherry
shealy representing Lexington County. South
Carolina in the S.C. legislature.

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THE ENDURING ISSUES

BUT THEY ARE NOT THE ^{MOST} CRUCIAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME, DESPITE WHAT
GALLUP AND HARRIS MAY TELL US. THEY ARE NOT THE ^{MOST} ENDURING ISSUES. IT
IS TO THOSE ISSUES ---- PEACE IN ASIA, THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES,
THE SURVIVAL OF THE WEST ---- THAT I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TONIGHT.

WHETHER WE REFORM THE WELFARE SYSTEM OR NOT, WHETHER WE CLEAN
UP LAKE ERIE OR NOT, WHETHER WE DEAL CORRECTLY WITH THE PROBLEM OF TRAF-
FIC CONGRESSION AND MASS TRANSIT OR NOT, WE WILL SURVIVE. AMERICA WOULD
BE A LESS DESIRABLE PLACE TO LIVE IN SHOULD WE FAIL TO DO THOSE THINGS -- ^{ADD WE}
^{WILL NOT FAIL} -- BUT AMERICA WOULD STILL SURVIVE A FREE AND GREAT NATION, EVEN IN THAT
FAILURE.

THE SAME, HOWEVER, CANNOT BE SAID OF THE ISSUES OF PEACE AND SE-
CURITY.

SUCCESS IN SIGHT

IF, IN SIGHT OF SUCCESS, WE SHUCK OFF THE BURDEN OF VIETNAM, IF WE
FAIL TO PURCHASE THAT NECESSARY MARGIN OF NATIONAL DEFENSE TO PROTECT OUR-

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SELVES AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH US -- THEN WHOLE NATIONS AND PEOPLES WILL PAY WITH THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM, AND PERHAPS AMERICANS WILL AGAIN BE CALLED TO WAR.

THAT IS WHY IT IS SO VITAL TODAY THAT WE NEITHER LOSE SIGHT OF WHAT IS AT STAKE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA; NOR MISREAD THE MILESTONES THAT TELL US WE ARE APPROACHING OUR GOALS. THE ANNUAL INSTALLMENTS IN AMERICAN MEN AND TREASURE ARE ALMOST OVER -- LET US NOT NOW THROW AWAY WHAT A GENERATION OF YOUNG AMERICANS HAVE PURCHASED WITH THEIR VALOR AND THEIR LIVES.

CHANGE IN INDOCHINA

THERE HAS BEEN A DRAMATIC CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA SINCE RICHARD NIXON TOOK HIS OATH OF OFFICE TWO YEARS AGO.

THEN, THERE WERE ^{535,000}~~500,000~~ AMERICAN TROOPS COMMITTED TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND NO PLAN TO BRING THEM HOME. THIS PRESIDENT HAS BROUGHT A QUARTER OF A MILLION ^{OF THEM} BACK TO THE UNITED STATES -- AND THE AMERICAN PROGRAM OF WITHDRAWAL CONTINUES.

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CASUALTIES DOWN

THEN, AMERICANS BORE AN ENORMOUS SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF COMBAT;
NOW THAT BURDEN IS ALMOST FULLY BORNE BY SOUTH VIETNAMESE.

THEN, AMERICAN FORCES WERE SUFFERING 300 CASUALTIES A WEEK; NOW
THAT FIGURE HAS BEEN REDUCED BY 75 PERCENT *and more* —

THEN, TIME SEEMED ON THE SIDE OF THE ENEMY; TODAY, TIME HAS BECOME
THE ALLY OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND THE UNITED STATES.

DEMO ABOUT FACE

THEN, I MIGHT ADD, THE HUMPHREYS AND HARRIMANS WERE BEREFT OF
IDEAS AS TO HOW TO EXTRICATE AMERICA FROM THE CONFLICT WITH HONOR --
TODAY, THEY COMPLAIN BECAUSE MR. NIXON IS NOT DOING IT FAST ENOUGH --
AND, THEY ADD, FORGET ABOUT HONOR. THE DECIBEL COUNT OF THEIR CRITI-
CISM TODAY IS DIRECTLY PROPORTIONAL TO THE MAGNITUDE OF THEIR FAILURE
IN YEARS PAST.

ONE BY ONE, HARRIMAN, MUSKIE, CLIFFORD, HUMPHREY, THEY HAVE HIT
THE SAWDUST TRAIL TO THE MOURNER'S BENCH, CONFESSING THEIR SINS IN VIETNAM
AND ASKING FORGIVENESS OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE. BUT, MORE THAN FOR-
GIVENESS, THEY ASK FOR RESTORATION TO POWER AGAIN.

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BUT, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHILE READY TO FORGIVE, ARE NOT LIKELY TO ALSO REWARD THEM WITH A RETURN TO HIGH OFFICE.

THE GREAT IRONY HERE IS THAT WHILE THEIR INITIAL REASONING ---- BASED ON A BELIEF IN COLLECTIVE SECURITY ---- WAS RIGHT IN THE PAST AND VALID TODAY, THEY HAVE SWITCHED TO THE WRONG SIDE.

CHANGEABLE O'BRIEN

PERHAPS THE LEAST EDIFYING OF ALL HAS BEEN THE SPECTACLE OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY. FIRST, A JOHN KENNEDY LOYALIST, HE MADE AN EASY TRANSITION INTO THE JOHNSON RANKS. TAKING SIDES, HE STOOD WITH JOHNSON AGAINST THE CHALLENGE OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY. WHEN MR. JOHNSON WITHDREW, MR. O'BRIEN HAPPILY JOINED HIS ERSTWHILE ADVERSARY, ROBERT KENNEDY, IN THE ASSAULT ON HUBERT HUMPHREY. THEN WHEN HUMPHREY PREVAILED AT THE NOMINATION, MR. O'BRIEN CAME ABOARD INSTANTLY AND WAS REWARDED WITH THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE DEMOCRAT NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

FIRST DEFENDED WAR

IN THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION, HE DEFENDED THE WAR AS LOUDLY AS ANY HAWK. THEN, AS THE POLLS TURNED, MR. O'BRIEN'S METAMORPHOSIS INTO A DOVE BEGAN. NOW, HE PASSIONATELY ATTACKS MR. NIXON FOR ARGUING POSITIONS

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HE HIMSELF ARGUED WITH UNRIVALED VEHEMENCE.

TO HEAR MY COUNTERPART ON THE DEMOCRAT SIDE INTERMITTENTLY CALL FOR A RETURN TO PRINCIPLE IN POLITICS IS TO HEAR TIMOTHY LEARY CALL FOR AN END TO PERMISSIVENESS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

BUT, LET ME TURN TO MORE ENDURING THINGS THAN THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF LAWRENCE O'BRIEN.

AMERICANS WAR-WEARY

X WE ARE IN A TIME WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BECOME A WAR-WEARY PEOPLE. NIGHT AFTER NIGHT X FOOTAGE, ON NETWORK AFTER NETWORK, OF DISGRUNTLED TROOPS, OF CASUALTIES BEING BROUGHT OUT OF LAOS, HAS TAKEN ITS TOLL ON THE MORALE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. (ONE WONDERS WHAT THE MORALE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD HAVE BEEN IN THE LAST GREAT WAR HAD THE MEDIA MERCHANTS OF DEFEATISM BEEN COVERING AMERICAN TROOPS AT ANZIO AND THE BULGE.) THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SEEK AN EARLY END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM; AND PERHAPS IT IS TRUE, AS IT IS STATED, THAT THEY ARE LESS AND LESS CONCERNED WITH THE CONDITIONS OF THAT PEACE.

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PRESIDENT WILL NOT BEND

BUT PRESIDENT NIXON IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LONG-TERM SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. THAT IS WHY HE CANNOT MAKE POLICY ON THE BASIS OF THE LATEST POLL. THAT IS WHY HE WILL NOT BEND TO THE PRESSURE FROM THE MEDIA, FROM THE DEMONSTRATORS, OR FROM THE POLITICIANS WHO SEE IN AMERICA'S CURRENT TRAVAIL AND DISILLUSIONMENT A MOOD TO EXPLOIT FOR POLITICAL GAIN.

MEDIA REWARDS CRITICS

THE TEMPTING REWARDS OF MEDIA EXPOSURE AND EDITORIAL PRAISE AWAIT THOSE WHO PANDER TO THE WAR-WEARINESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND WE ARE NOT WITHOUT MEN WHO HAVE SUCCUMBED TO THE TEMPTATION. THE MORE CHEERS, THE MORE PRAISE, THE MORE EXPOSURE, THE FURTHER THEY ARE WILLING TO GO..... UNTIL WE REACH A POINT WHERE ONE OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE HAS TAKEN TO GOING ABOUT THIS NATION ACCUSING HIS OWN COUNTRY OF BARBARISM AND DRAWING COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE MILITARY DECISIONS OF PRESIDENT NIXON AND THOSE OF ADOLPH HITLER.

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ONE-SIDED FUROR

ONE WONDERS WHY SUCH A FUROR CAN BE RAISED IN THE MEDIA WHEN I COMPARE A WOOLLY-HEADED POLITICIAN TO A MARSHMALLOW, YET NO SIMILAR OUTCRY IS RAISED WHEN ANOTHER SENATOR WHO HAPPENS TO BE A LIBERAL DEMOCRAT COMPARES HIS NATION'S WAR EXERTIONS WITH THOSE OF NAZI GERMANY.

LET ME STATE THIS, MY FRIENDS. THE NATIONAL MOMENTUM TO GET OUT OF VIETNAM AT ALL COST, THE NATIONAL MOVE TO CUT BACK DEFENSE AND SPACE FUNDS TO SPEND ON WELFARE AND THE CITIES ---- THESE ARE MOVEMENTS THAT CARRY WITHIN THEM THE SEEDS OF DISASTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

U. S. MUST WEIGH DEFENSE CAREFULLY

IT IS A SIMPLISTIC ARGUMENT TO SAY WE SPEND \$70 BILLION FOR DEFENSE; WHY NOT TAKE \$10 BILLION OF THAT AND POUR IT INTO THE CITIES? IT IS A SIMPLISTIC ARGUMENT -- AND A FOOLISH ONE. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT, AND CANNOT, DRAW UP ITS DEFENSE BUDGET IN THIN AIR. IT MUST WEIGH THE EXPENDITURES FOR DEFENSE AGAINST THOSE OF ITS POTENTIAL ENEMIES. WE SPEND LESS OF OUR GNP FOR DEFENSE TODAY THAN WE HAVE IN 20 YEARS; WE SPEND FAR LESS THAN ISRAEL, FAR MORE THAN JAPAN. BUT, JUST AS THOSE NATIONS MUST MEASURE THEIR DEFENSE BUDGETS AGAINST THE NEEDS OF SECURITY AND THEIR OWN COMMITMENTS, SO MUST THE UNITED STATES.

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THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF HYPOCRISY IN THE DEMAGOGUERY OF THOSE WHO TELL US THAT WE CAN CUT MILITARY RESEARCH BELOW THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION, THAT WE CAN CUT STRATEGIC SPENDING BELOW THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION -- AND IN THE SAME BREATH TELL THE PRESIDENT TO STAND UP TO THE RUSSIANS AT SUEZ.

KENNEDY USED STRENGTH

IN 1962, JOHN F. KENNEDY, BACKED UP BY THE FULL PANOPLY OF AMERICAN POWER HE INHERITED FROM DWIGHT EISENHOWER -- A SUPERIORITY OF 8-TO-1 IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS, AND COMPLETE NAVAL SUPERIORITY IN THE CARIBBEAN -- FORCED A SOVIET WITHDRAWAL OF MISSILES FROM CUBA.

THE MILITARY SUPERIORITY THAT MR. KENNEDY HELD GUARANTEED A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THAT CRISIS, WITH MISSILES REMOVED. BUT TODAY, THAT SUPERIORITY IS GONE. AND IT IS FOLLY TO CONTINUE TO TALK AND ACT AS THOUGH IT REMAINED. IT DOES NOT. THE SOVIET STRATEGIC POWER IS AS GREAT OR GREATER THAN THAT OF THE UNITED STATES; AND THOSE WHO WOULD CUT THIS DEFENSE BUDGET TO THE BONE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO TELL US WHAT THEY WOULD DO, SHOULD ANOTHER CONFRONTATION OCCUR WHERE THE TACTICAL SUPERIORITY LIES WITH THE SOVIETS.

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SHOULD THE SOVIETS, FOR A SINGLE EXAMPLE, CUT OFF WESTERN ACCESS TO THE CITY OF BERLIN, WHAT WOULD BE THEIR RESPONSE?

DISARMERS IGNORE RISKS

THOUGH THESE QUESTIONS OF AMERICAN POWER HAVE BEEN PUT ONTO THE BACK BURNER BY POLITICIANS STAMPEDING TO THE GLAMOUR ISSUES OF TODAY, IGNORING THEM WILL NOT MAKE THEM GO AWAY.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, THERE ARE HUNGRY NATIONS IN THIS WORLD -- NATIONS HUNGRY FOR POWER AND INFLUENCE AND WEALTH AND DOMINATION. AND THERE ARE THE SELF-SATISFIED NATIONS, SATISFIED WITH ALL THE GOOD THINGS THEY HAVE, AND YEARNING FOR ACCOMMODATION, FOR PEACE, FOR FRIENDSHIP, FOR AN END TO THE BURDENS OF DEFENSE.

SOME AMERICANS WOULD READILY SHIRK THE BURDEN OF DEFENSE WE NOW BEAR. EVEN THOUGH IT IS LESS IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF THE NATIONAL BUDGET, LESS IN TERMS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF THE GNP, THAN IT HAS BEEN IN TWENTY YEARS, STILL THEY COMPLAIN THAT IT IS TOO HEAVY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT LOOKED HARD ENOUGH AND FAR ENOUGH DOWN THE ROAD THESE PIPERS OF ISOLATIONISM WOULD LEAD THE UNITED STATES. PERHAPS THE PIPERS THEMSELVES HAVE NOT. THEY READ THE POLLS AND LISTEN TO THE CHEERS

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AND CONTINUE TO FEED, WITH LESS AND LESS RESPONSIBLE STATEMENTS, THE FRUSTRATION AND THE WEARINESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

STRENGTH NEEDED FOR PEACE

BUT PEACE AND SECURITY IN THIS ERA CANNOT BE HAD ON THE CHEAP. THE NATION THAT RESTS ON ITS OARS WILL FIND THAT IT HAS FALLEN BEHIND; AND IN THIS ERA, IT WILL FIND THAT IT HAS FALLEN BEHIND THE KIND OF NATION IT IS NEVER WISE TO BE INFERIOR TO.

THOSE WHO FORGET THE LESSONS OF THE PAST ARE DESTINED TO REPEAT THEM, SO WE ARE TOLD. THE ASTONISHING FACT OF THESE TIMES IS THAT SOME PEOPLE HAVE FORGOTTEN THEM SO SOON ---- SO SOON AFTER MUNICH -- SO SOON AFTER KOREA -- SO SOON AFTER HUNGARY -- SO SOON AFTER CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

FACTS ON RUSSIA

FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS. BUT THE FACTS OF THE LAST DECADE, WHICH SAW ALL THE GREAT HOPES OF^A LIBERALIZING SOVIET UNION EVAPORATE, ALSO SAW A MASSIVE SOVIET DRIVE TO EQUAL US AND EXCEED US IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE LAST DECADE SAW THE SOVIET UNION

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BECOME A GREAT NAVAL POWER FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE PETER THE GREAT. THE LAST DECADE SAW THE SOVIET UNION MAKE ENORMOUS STRIDES IN NUCLEAR SUBMARINES THREATENING TO EQUAL AND PERHAPS SURPASS OUR OWN FORCES WITHIN A MATTER OF YEARS. THE LAST DECADE SAW THE SOVIETS DEVELOP AND DEPLOY THE WORLD'S ONLY MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AT A TIME WHEN AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT WAS SAYING IT COULD NOT BE DONE. THE LAST DECADE SAW A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN SOVIET INVESTMENTS IN MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, WHILE THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES LEVELED OFF AND DECLINED. THE LAST DECADE SAW THE ENUNCIATION OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY AND ITS APPLICATION IN PRAGUE EVEN WHILE THE FOREMOST ADVOCATES OF DETENTE WERE CAVORTING AT THE CONVENTION HALL AND RIOTING IN THE STREETS OF CHICAGO.

HUMPHREY DUPED

FOR FIVE YEARS, MR. HUMPHREY WAS THE NATION'S PRIMARY ADVOCATE OF THE THESIS THE SOVIETS HAD MELLOWED, AND THE VERY WEEK HE WENT TO CHICAGO FOR HIS CONVENTION, HIS "MELLOWED" FRIENDS PUT AN EXCLAMATION POINT ON HIS PERSPICACITY BY MARCHING INTO PRAGUE.

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PRESIDENT WASHINGTON ONCE WROTE THAT TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS THE BEST MEANS OF PRESERVING THE PEACE. IN OUR DAY AND AGE, WHEN GEORGE III HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED BY STALINS AND KHRUSHCHEVS AND BREZHNEVS, AND WHEN MUSKETS AND WOODEN SHIPS HAVE BEEN SUCCEEDED BY SS-9'S AND MIRV'S, THAT EQUATION IS YET VALID.

PRESIDENT NIXON SUMMED UP THE NEED FOR CONTINUED NATIONAL STRENGTH IN A RECENT SPEECH TO GRADUATES OF THE NAVAL CANDIDATES SCHOOL IN NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

"IF ALL THE WORLD WERE FREE," HE SAID, "WE MIGHT HAVE NEED OF NO ARMS. IF ALL THE WORLD WERE JUST, WE WOULD HAVE NO NEED OF VALOR. BUT AS WE SEE THAT THE VALUES WE CHERISH ARE NOT CHERISHED UNIVERSALLY, AND THAT THERE ARE THOSE WHO FEEL THREATENED BY THE PROSPECT OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, THEN WE MUST KEEP THE STRENGTH WE NEED TO KEEP THE VALUES WE CHERISH."

AS REPUBLICANS, WE CAN TAKE SPECIAL PRIDE IN THE JOB OUR PRESIDENT IS DOING TO UPHOLD AMERICA'S STRENGTH. AND AS AMERICANS, WE OWE IT TO HIM TO GIVE HIM EVERY OUNCE OF SUPPORT WE CAN MUSTER ON THIS OVERWHELMING ISSUE OF NATIONAL SURVIVAL.

Last year - 120 delegates
This year - 470

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