

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE AT THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE IN
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, 9:30 AM, MONDAY APRIL 19, 1971

I am honored and pleased to be here today. Honored because it is always an honor to be called upon to address the Republican Governors of these United States. Pleased, because it is a chance to tell you that, as I have traveled around the country, I have sensed a new attitude in our party. An attitude shared by elected and working Republicans at all levels. An attitude that bodes well for all of us in the months ahead.

I am pleased also to see so many of my friends from the press here today. It is good for them to see that Republicans can talk together and work together for the good of our party and our country. And I think that they should know that we believe that time, and the issues are on our side, and that we are looking into the future with confidence.

ISSUE IS PEACE

We have an advantage that they -- the Democrats -- cannot meet. We have our candidate for President. We have programs and we have successes. And we will have more by November of 1972 for I am convinced that the issue then will not be war, but will be peace, and that that issue will be ours, because President Nixon will have unwound the war.

I predict here -- and let me hasten to add that I do not have any inside information -- I predict that in the very near future American casualties in the Vietnam war will be at zero or near zero.

I am not, however, foolhardy enough to predict that we will have all of our troops out of Southeast Asia by any certain date nor am I willing to say that we ought to have them out by a date certain.

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DATING GAME DROPPED

I do not believe that as Republicans we should be involved in this new version of the dating game. I am constantly amused by those Senators who would tie the President's hands by fixing a date certain for withdrawal. As everyone knows, the Senate has difficulty even trying to fix a date for adjournment. Besides, the idea of complete withdrawal now does not square with reality. We have lived for more than a generation with men in Korea and Japan and Okinawa and Europe. No one denies that they have been a necessary part of the American deterrent. Few have demanded that they all come home -- now. But this is another decision and not one we are concerned with at the moment.

What we are concerned with is the issue of peace and, as I said, I think that issue will surely be ours.

ECONOMY WILL BE PLUS

All indications are that the issue of the economy also will be one that is a plus for the Republicans.

There will be pockets of unemployment, without much doubt, but these will be the exception. Overall, it is becoming more and more evident that the economy will be relatively stable and that employment will be relatively high next year.

If this proves out, the country will be in good shape and so will the party.

That it is likely to be so is evident from the desperate, sometimes almost hysterical efforts of our friends, the dozen Democratic candidates, to find or make issues.

As peace nears and the economy improves, I predict we are going to see them offering bigger and phonier spending programs in health, welfare, education, and anything else they think may win them a segment of the vote.

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YOUTH GAP AHEAD

I predict that they will make wild promises of special privilege and participation to our newly enfranchised youth vote. Promises they can't deliver on and have no intention of delivering on. The credibility gap, I remind you, is an affliction peculiar to Democratic administrations.

We are already seeing continuing attacks on the President's successful efforts to wind down the war, even though such attacks only make more distant the day of peace, only serve further to polarize our country.

We are seeing continued efforts to downgrade and negate the President's efforts to give us a balanced economy, even though destruction of confidence in the economy is one sure way to bring on a depression.

LAW ENFORCEMENT ATTACKED

Newer, and worse yet, we are beginning to see a concentrated effort to destroy public confidence in law enforcement.

We are beginning to see a breakdown of both reasoned and responsible regard for the forces of law enforcement in our land by those who should know better.

We are seeing increasingly reckless attacks, not only on police and law officials as individuals but also on their efforts to prevent crime and violence before they occur, and to be aware of the activities of those who openly threaten to disrupt and even destroy our country.

ATTACKS DELIBERATE

I am convinced that these attacks and this disregard for our country's internal security are deliberate and are politically motivated because, frankly, I can see no other reason to lend aid and comfort to those who talk in terms of destroying our system of government, who talk in terms of victory for the North Vietnamese over, not the South Vietnamese, but over American soldiers.

What we have here, whether or not those who are leading the attack will admit it, is a concerted and deliberate effort to turn the FBI, in the eyes of the American people, into an American version of the Gestapo.

It has been well said in recent days that the McCarthyism of the 50's pales by comparison with the Muskie-ism of the 70s.

What has happened in recent days for me to make such serious allegations? Two things in particular.

CHARGE BOGS DOWN

First, the charge that the FBI has tapped the telephones of members of Congress. This charge has been unequivocally denied by Attorney General Mitchell and by J. Edgar Hoover. To date the gentleman who made this charge has offered no proof, leaving unanswered the obvious questions: Why did he make his charge? And what reason is there to bug his phone?

The second charge has been made by the junior Senator from Maine who claims that the FBI conducted undercover surveillance of his activities at last year's Earth Day rallies. The basis for his charge was an FBI document. His question was, "What possible legitimate use could this report serve?"

That question, of course, is readily answerable and at the same time is hardly worth dignifying with a reply.

First of all, let me make it clear, the document the Senator referred to is authentic.

But in fact, it is not unique. It is a normal report of a legitimate investigative assignment. It was, of course, not intended for public distribution and basically making it public can only hurt the FBI and the job it does. I must assume then, that this was the Senator's purpose, although it is difficult to understand his reasoning.

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WHAT ABOUT OTHER CHARGES?

As you know, the Senator charged that the FBI spied not only on the District of Columbia Earth Day rally but also at 40 to 60 similar events around the country.

I do not know where he got his information, but I do know that my information is that the FBI had men at just four of these rallies. In the interest of fairness, I urge the Senator to provide details on the other rallies he claims were spied on.

RADICAL REVOLUTIONARIES

Now, why was the FBI watching even four of these events? It was not to maintain surveillance of the event or of the Senator, but because certain radical revolutionary individuals were expected to attend. The FBI had received information indicating that, in some instances, militant activities might occur and that certain individuals might engage in unlawful disruptive activities. At least one of these individuals now is appealing a federal conviction for inciting a riot. It is just that simple.

At one of these rallies one speaker called for the tearing down of the capitalist structure. I wonder if the Senator considered this a normal proposal for dealing with ecology?

So it comes down to this: The FBI's presence at this demonstration was for a limited and specific purpose directly related to its investigative responsibilities in the field of national security and the violation of Federal laws. Instead of criticizing their presence, we should applaud them for doing their job.

Before I get off this subject, let me suggest that the Senator ask himself some basic questions regarding the duties of our law enforcement agencies.

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IS THE FBI WRONG?

Is it wrong, for instance, for the FBI to keep watch on convicted and known instigators of riots and on those who openly preach violence and revolution?

Does the presence of a Senator or government official at a place where the FBI is planning to conduct surveillance automatically foreclose such planning?

Would the Senator feel the same way about the FBI keeping watch on the Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen or the Black Panthers?

Is it wrong for the FBI to keep an eye on the Communist Party or on known communists?

Should the FBI ignore the upcoming marches on Washington even though participants will include known and professed revolutionists, anarchists and advocates of violence?

Are relatives of elected officials to be automatically exempt from surveillance because of their relationships?

Are elected officials above investigation? If this were true, we all know there would be some vacant cells in our jails and prisons.

And above all, the questions arise that the Senator must answer -- if not now -- then certainly if he ever realizes his ambitions. These are questions of America's internal security. If there are dangers to it, are we to hamstring our internal security operations so that we cannot cope with these dangers?

If the answer to that is yes, then let us pardon Alger Hiss and repent the executions of the Rosenbergs.

I'm sure the Senator does not mean to go this far, but I'm sure, too, that his conscious effort to destroy the credibility of the FBI and the confidence of the American people in that organization, point in that direction.

I trust the American people will not be misled.

ISSUES LEAD TO '72

Now, if you don't mind, let me turn back to politics for a minute, because it is not too early to begin thinking about the tomorrows that lead eventually to the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1972.

As I said earlier, I believe we will have the issues going our way by mid-1972. But more important, then as now we will have in the President a political asset that is second to none. I have come to know this man.

He is smart. He is tough. He does not knuckle under to pressure. He does not re-act to the panic of the moment. He looks down the long road toward what is good for America because he knows that what is good for America is good for the Republican party and is good also for the world.

I am here in this job, and I make no bones about it, to help re-elect Richard Nixon, because I believe that Richard Nixon is far better than anyone the Democrats have to offer.

I believe the Democratic Party and its candidates are moving toward a neo-isolationist policy that is unreal in our times. President Nixon remembers the past and recognizes that America must play a role in the world's future. I believe the Democrats intend to re-order our priorities to the point where we won't be able to meet our first priority, which is to remain externally strong so that we can do the things internally that must be done. Richard Nixon recognizes the need for strength internationally as well as internally.

DEMOS ARE FRANTIC

I believe that the Democratic candidates are willing to promise anything and propose anything in order to win the next election. We have seen their outrageous spending schemes, their pandering to the New Left, their willingness to surrender all we have fought for in Vietnam. President Nixon believes in the need for a sound economy. He believes in the America the New Left seeks to destroy. He recognizes that America must be able to hold its head up and walk with pride as it withdraws from Indochina.

These are some of the reasons why I am working and speaking for President Nixon.

And that is why today I urge all of you, and Republicans everywhere to do the same thing.

Of course everything is not right with this administration. Mistakes have been made but, look at the alternatives before you knock what we have.

I do not believe Republicans should be forever publicly critical of the President without examining the overall picture.

Instead, Republicans should speak with pride about what this President has done and has proposed.

It is a good program and his results to date have been good.

But unless we stand up for him and for his programs, unless we talk positively about him and what he is attempting to do, the people will not know. They will tend to listen to the half-truths and distortions and unrealistic promises that come from the other side.

VICTORY WILL BE OURS

We can win -- and I think we will win next year's election -- but we can do it more easily, and we can return Republican governors and legislators and members of Congress to office along with him, and elect more of you if we set a climate of positive public opinion in the country this year and

next.

And that is what I urge you to do: talk positively about the President and his programs; attack those who attack him unreasonably, defend him when you know him to be right.

If I do this, if you do this, if Republicans everywhere do this then I can assure you that we will all meet together again in December of 1972 and that that meeting will be a happy one.

I am looking forward to it. I hope to see you all there, and I would like to see the newly re-elected President of the United States there also. Thank you.