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REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS
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THE FACTORS THAT DECIDE AN ELECTION ARE LIKE A MOSAIC -- HUNDREDS OF PIECES GO INTO COMPLETING THE FULL PICTURE. HOWEVER, SOME PIECES ARE BIGGER THAN OTHERS. I EXPECT THIS TO BE ESPECIALLY TRUE OF 1972.

MANY FACTORS WILL BE A PART OF THE OUTCOME, BUT THERE WILL BE ONE OR TWO MAJOR ISSUES THAT, IN MY OPINION, WILL DOMINATE.

BEFORE I GET INTO THESE ISSUES, HOWEVER, LET ME SAY THAT ISSUES ALONE DO NOT WIN OR LOSE ELECTIONS, NOR DO THEY NECESSARILY SHAPE THE FATE OF A NATION.

RESPONSIVE LEADERSHIP

JUST AS IMPORTANT -- PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT -- IS THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP OFFERED TO THE PEOPLE OF A REPRESENTATIVE REPUBLIC. IS IT RESPONSIBLE AND RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE? OR DOES IT MERELY SEEK TO INFLAME THE PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND PLAY ON THEIR WEAKNESSES AND DESIRES? DOES IT REALLY LEAD, OR DOES IT MERELY FOLLOW?

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leadership that has stood unequivocally for the right against the incitements of street politicians, the pressures of would-be national leaders and the sometimes unreasoned comment of some of our larger and more influential news media.

This is the kind of leadership that in 1972 could well overshadow any individual issue or series of issues to the point where it in itself becomes the major issue. Perhaps, indeed almost without question, not only the record but also the leadership of Richard Nixon will be an overriding issue of this upcoming campaign.

NIXON RECORD STRONG

For my part, I hope so. For both -- the Nixon record and the Nixon leadership -- are highly defensible. In fact, they will allow the Republican Party in 1972 to go on the offensive. For nearly three years now the President has done his job and done it magnificently, in the face of a world in turmoil, strident and sometimes irrational opposition and a Democrat-dominated Congress.

If we properly tell that story and properly relate it to the issues that arise in 1972 then I am confident we will re-elect President Nixon. And if we do, I have no fears for the future of the Republic for the people will have placed that future in worthy hands.

AREAS OF PUBLIC CONCERN

A catalogue of public concerns as we approach 1972 would have to include at least the following:

Race relations; crime and law enforcement and now, perhaps, penal reform; reform in government; national defense preparedness; preserving and restoring the environment; credibility in government; and what I consider to be the two paramount issues -- peace and prosperity.

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Let me briefly cover the first seven of these issues -- issues I believe will play parts in the election, but will not be by themselves decisive. How does the record of the Nixon Administration shape up in each of these fields?

MINORITY PROGRESS

First, let's examine race relations as they stand today -- as opposed to 1968, when Richard Nixon was elected President. While we still hear hot rhetoric words, and while much progress obviously remains to be made, this Administration has demonstrated its even-handedness and its dedication to equal opportunity clearly and unmistakably. More minority Americans are working at all levels of government today than ever before, and more minority Americans hold high ranking appointive posts in government today than ever before -- not just the low-level clerical posts and political table scraps that some past Administrations limited them to.

More American children are attending integrated schools today than ever before, and more opportunities in industry and the trades and professions are now open to minority Americans who would have found the doors closed to them just a few years ago. And the latest national census figures show that minority Americans have made, and continue to make, enormous strides toward social and economic equality.

SMOKESCREEN OF RHETORIC

Now it is true that these facts are sometimes obscured by the very real problems that still exist -- and by the not-so-real smokescreen of extremist charges and inflammatory rhetoric. But the American people are not blind. Black and white, they know that this country has afforded opportunity on an unprecedented scale, and that old walls of privilege and bigotry are

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crumbling. And, just as important, they know that the man who sits in the White House today is a just, compassionate man who is and has been deeply committed to human dignity and human rights, as a Congressman, Senator, Vice President and President of the United States.

PRESIDENT TRUSTED

Richard Nixon has won a measure of confidence in the hearts of minority and majority Americans. He is trusted, not because of extravagant promises and demagogue language, but because the people know he is not a racist politician or an opportunist seeking to exploit the minority vote while giving nothing in return. In sum then, race relations, as an issue, will not be pivotal in '72. The Administration's sound record in this field has deactivated the issue as a political ploy, and is a record all Americans can applaud.

STRONG ANTI-CRIME RECORD

The second category I mentioned was crime and law enforcement. Here, as the events of even the past few days illustrate, is a source of immediate concern to many Americans. The forces of lawlessness pose a constant threat to the rights of innocent citizens. Whether they take the form of organized crime, unorganized but deadly street crime, or revolutionary violence within prison walls, the result is always the same. When lawlessness is not contained, the innocent suffer, often paying with their lives. The so-called "law and order" issue is a real one. It was in 1968, it was in 1970, and it will be in 1972. But sensational press coverage has often distorted and exaggerated it and its political importance. The Nixon Administration has a strong record in the law enforcement field.

A MORE BALANCED COURT

As President, Richard Nixon has appointed responsible, qualified jurists to the Supreme Court to restore a measure of balance to our judicial proceedings.

He has backed Federal programs that have channeled millions of dollars into the important fields of law enforcement and prison reform, and he has repeatedly proven, by word and deed, that as long as he is President, America will be governed by reason and the will of the majority -- not by violence and mob tactics.

CRIME RATE SLOWS

The result is reflected in facts. A crime rate that was skyrocketing under his predecessors, is slowing down under President Nixon. The rate of increase in crime nation-wide has declined substantially since Richard Nixon took office, and in Washington, D. C., where the federal presence is strongest, the actual number of offenses has been reduced.

I do not believe that the crime issue will be decisive in 1972, but it will play a part. And Richard Nixon has this issue in his favor, as a result of enlightened policy and firm enforcement.

NIXON REFORMS GOVERNMENT

The third category I mentioned is reform in government, and here, the President has done more to overhaul and modernize than any other American leader in the post-war era. For some time now, there has been a mounting awareness among average people that the federal government is getting out of hand; that it is becoming too big, and too obsolete, to cope with modern problems; and that its failures are not only increasing but also are becoming more and more expensive.

People sensed it. Richard Nixon acted on it. Today, the U.S. Postal Service has been thoroughly overhauled and reorganized. A wasteful, inefficient system based on political cronyism has been swept out, and a modern, service-oriented postal system has been created. In larger fields, like welfare reform and revenue sharing with the states, President Nixon has set forth bold new

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approaches capable of meeting contemporary problems. While Congressional resistance to change and the need for some short-term economic belt-tightening, have slowed the realization of these measures, the President has shown the way. And the people, in poll after poll, have registered their support for his proposals.

For this reason, I expect government reform to be a real, if secondary, issue in the '72 elections, and one that will strengthen the President's hand. For where Democratic presidential candidates and party leaders have played a negative, spoiler's role in government reform and reorganization, the President's role has been positive, and in the national interest.

NEED FOR DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS

The fourth category on my list is national defense preparedness -- a field that is vital to us all since it involves not just our comfort or our temporary welfare, but survival itself. National defense is a vital issue in the strongest sense; it is a life and death issue. At the moment, however, it is fashionable in certain liberal circles to belittle the military. The Muskies, Bayhs, Kennedys and McGoverns compete with each other in their attacks on the military and their efforts to cripple our defense program. Only the firm stand of President Nixon, and his repeated efforts to rally the Congress, rescued the ABM anti-missile defense system from extinction at the hands of a group that seems to believe that America needs no defense as long as their hearts are pure.

ONLY STRONG ARE FREE

Richard Nixon is not one of that bunch. He knows that only a prepared America can be a safe America. He knows that in a dangerous world, only the strong are free. And he is committed to keeping America strong and free. At the same time, by trimming the fat from our defense spending, he has managed

to do something that no other American leader in this generation has. He has successfully moved us from a national budget with most of its money spent on military and defense-connected items to a national budget with a majority of the dollars going to meet the health, education and other human needs of the American people. You hear a lot of cheap talk about re-ordering our national priorities from the men on the Left. But it was Richard Nixon who successfully did it -- and did it in a way that has not endangered our national security.

That is why, when people think about military preparedness and economic defense spending in November of '72, it will be Richard Nixon, and not his opponents, they will look to for leadership.

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION

The fifth category on my list is preserving and restoring the environment. Here again, the story is one of achievement and concrete progress. No generation in the history of the country has been more aware of ecological problems than this one. No Administration has been more active in preserving and restoring the ecological balance than this one. Pure air legislation has been enacted. Right now, the Congress is considering comprehensive water pollution legislation as a result of the Nixon Administration's concern for our marine environment. By vigorous enforcement of laws already on the books, the Nixon Administration has already hit polluters, and hit them hard. And a few weeks ago, the First Lady completed a five-day, five-state tour during which 4,249 acres (\$11 million worth) of Federal land were turned over to the states, and opened up to the people, for use as parks. Here was a real example of the greening of America. Here was further evidence that this Administration cares about the natural riches that we have inherited as a nation, but have too often wasted or abused in the past.

The environment will be an issue in 1972, and I believe it will be an Administration issue.

NIXON BOLSTERS CREDIBILITY

The sixth issue on my list is credibility in government. Credibility builds trust. It makes candid discussion and negotiation possible. It strengthens public understanding and public support. When credibility is low, so is public morale. When people do not trust their government, they lose some of their self-confidence and some of their pride in country. The national morale suffers.

During the preceding two administrations, credibility took a tragic, sustained nose dive. In the declining months of the Johnson Administration, it hit bottom. Part of this distrust and lack of confidence was sewn by dissidents within the Democratic Party itself--men who rode on Lyndon Johnson's coattails in 1964 but who turned on him when his popularity began to wane. Some of these same men are casting hungry eyes on the White House today and are trying to bury their pasts--trying to make the public forget that they, the McGoverns and Kennedys, the Muskies and the Bayhs, voted for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, supported the no-win, no-end war policy of the past administration, and then abandoned ship when it became politically expedient to do so.

DEMO CREDIBILITY GAP

There, I submit, is where the credibility gap lies today--down the center of the public records of most of the men aspiring to the Democratic nomination today.

In contrast, President Nixon has restored credibility to the White House. Every pledge he has made about the war has been scrupulously kept. He said he had a plan to end American involvement, and he did. What is more important, he trusted the people--he went to them, explaining the concept of Vietnamization. They have rewarded that trust with their support, in spite of all the politicking from the left and all of the mob pressure of the demonstrators.

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Richard Nixon has brought respect back to the Presidency, and trust and integrity. He has cleaned out the Augean stables. The credibility issue will be his in 1972.

RAISING QUALITY OF LIFE

That covers the first six issues I mentioned. Each of them is important, not just to the election, but to the national well-being. Each is an integral part of building a better America, of improving the quality of life for this generation and the next.

But, in the public mind, and in the national interest, each of these takes a back seat to the two burning issues of today: Peace and prosperity. It is these two goals--the goals that, singly or together, have eluded most past generations--that Americans are seeking today.

FIRST FULL GENERATION OF PEACE

Think back. Except for a few of us whose memories go back before World War I and the turn of the century, there has never been a time that any of us can remember when America has enjoyed a full generation of peace and prosperity. There have been times when we have had peace; there have been times when we have had prosperity; there have been a few short, happy periods when we have had both. But no group of Americans in the 20th Century has been blessed with a full generation of both.

Richard Nixon seeks no less than this for his country. He has brought home thousands of Americans that past Democratic leadership sent to fight and die in Southeast Asia. He has opened up new diplomatic avenues for world understanding, most recently with his historic China initiative. The hot war Richard Nixon inherited in Southeast Asia will soon be over for Americans. Already, our casualties have been reduced by as much as nearly 90 percent, and, month after month, more and more of our men are coming home. Already, the static cold war monolith of

the Communist world has begun to fragment, to weaken, as an American President takes our message of peace through strength and mutual trust to the peoples of countries like Rumania and China.

PROSPERITY WITH PEACE

And at home, the President has acted boldly and wisely to ensure that we will have a prosperity to match the peace in the generation ahead.

In his message of August 15th and again in his address to the joint session of the Congress, Richard Nixon has spelled out a course that can preserve America's strength as the number one economic power in the world and create a climate of security and abundance for average working Americans.

Every poll that has been taken since Richard Nixon's first message on August 15th shows that the people are solidly behind their President--that they understand and support the hard but necessary decisions he has had to make. The millions of American workers, professional people and large and small businessmen are united in this. Only the voices of would-be candidates and old-line, labor power brokers have struck a few discordant notes.

PUBLIC VOICE BACKS PRESIDENT

The major test that lies ahead is whether the Congress, in considering the President's program, will listen to the voice of the people or to a few dissident but powerful men who would block the way for reasons of their own.

I believe that the Congress, in its wisdom, will support the President. I am sure that the people will. And that means that when the public votes in November of '72, the candidate who stands for peace and prosperity in their majority view will not be one of the political doubters or delayers who seek to de-rail or obstruct the New Prosperity. It will be the man who created the new prosperity; the man who put the stopper on inflation and got the economy going and growing along healthy lines; the man who today leads us toward a generation of peace.

And that man is Richard Nixon.

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The factors that decide an election are like a mosaic -- hundreds of pieces go into completing the full picture. However, some pieces are bigger than others. I expect this to be especially true of 1972.

Many factors will be a part of the outcome but there will be one or two major issues that in my opinion will dominate.

Before I get into these issues, however, let me say that issues alone do not win or lose elections nor do they necessarily shape the fate of a nation.

RESPONSIVE LEADERSHIP

Just as important -- perhaps more important -- is the kind of leadership offered to the people of a representative republic. Is it responsible and responsive to the needs of the people? Or does it merely seek to inflame the people's feelings and play on their weaknesses and desires? Does it really lead or does it merely follow?

I am not here today to be critical of the kind of leadership being offered by the opposition party in contrast to that offered by President Nixon, but I would suggest that today the American people are getting more leadership and less demagoguery from their elected President than they have in many years.

This is the kind of leadership that has been able to face up to the tough, hard decisions, that has been able to stand fast or to act swiftly and decisively, as the need of the time required.

This is the kind of leadership that has been able to push bill after bill through an opposition Congress; the kind of leadership that has not waited for the Congress to act but has acted in such areas as draft reform, executive reorganization and the whole scope of foreign affairs. This is the kind of