REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

FLORIDA STATE GOP EVENT ORLANDO, FLORIDA SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1971

REGARDLESS OF THE FAULTS MANY OF US FIND IN SOME OF THE NEWS MEDIA, IN A FREE SOCIETY SUCH AS OURS, ITS BLESSINGS CLEARLY OUTWEIGH ITS FAULTS. ONE OF THOSE BLESSINGS IS THAT AMONG THEM, NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND TELEVISION MANAGE TO INFORM ALMOST INSTANTLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THE WORDS AND DEEDS OF AMERICA'S LEADERS. AND, IN DOING SO, THEY ALSO GIVE THE PEOPLE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DIFFERENTIATE CLEARLY BETWEEN THE DEED AND THE WORD.

THIS MAY HELP TO EXPLAIN WHY IN RECENT MONTHS THE AMERICAN PEO-PLE HAVE BEEN PAYING MORE ATTENTION AND GIVING MORE CREDENCE TO THE DEEDS AND WORDS OF PRESIDENT NIXON, AND LESS CREDENCE TO THE ALMOST HYSTERICAL UTTERANCES OF SOME OF THOSE WHO SEEK TO REPLACE HIM -- SUCH AS SENATOR MUSKIE. -2-

MUSKIE'S WILD STATEMENT

NOW WE HAVE BEEN HEARING SINCE LAST SPRING SOME RATHER WILD STATE-MENTS ON THE PART OF SENATOR MUSKIE, ALL DELIVERED IN THOSE MILD AND EARNEST TONES WHICH OFTEN, AND IMPRESSIVELY, OBSCURE WHAT HE ACTUALLY SAYS.

YOU REMEMBER FIRST OF ALL WHEN THE F.B.I. SENT AGENTS OUT TO WATCH FOUR EARTH DAY GATHERINGS BECAUSE THE SPEAKERS INCLUDED CRIMINALS AND REVOLUTIONARIES SUCH AS RENNIE DAVIS, AS WELL AS NOTABLES SUCH AS SENA-TOR MUSKIE. AND THE SENATOR, SENSING WRONGLY THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD RESPOND TO ANY KIND OF ATTACK ON J. EDGAR HOOVER, CHARGED THAT HOOVER HAD SENT THE F.B.I. OUT TO WATCH HIM. CAN YOU IMAGINE THE F.B.I. WATCHING SENATOR MUSKIE, WHO HAS NEVER COMMITTED ANY MORE SERIOUS CRIME THAN ILLEGALLY HUNTING DUCKS OVER A BAITED AREA. (<u>MR. DOLE</u> – <u>THIS IS</u> TRUE; HE WAS ARRESTED AND FINED.)

NEXT, IN LATE APRIL HE WENT DOWN AND SPOKE TO THE VIETNAM VETERANS FOR PEACE, A LAUDABLE TRIP INDEED; BUT, IN ADDRESSING THEM, HE URGED THEM "TO HELP REBUILD THIS COUNTRY SO IT WILL BE THE KIND OF COUNTRY THAT'S WORTH FIGHTING FOR." -3-

NOW ON THE SURFACE, THAT SOUNDS NOBLE, INDEED, BUT LOOK AT THE IM-PLICATION. THE IMPLICATION IS CLEAR. IT IS THAT THIS COUNTRY IS NOT NOW WORTH FIGHTING FOR. IT IS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT A RESPONSIBLE CANDID-ATE FOR PRESIDENT WOULD SAY SUCH A THING.

A SOUTHERN STRATEGY

THEN, OF COURSE, YOU REMEMBER HOW MUSKIE WENT OUT TO SOUTHERN CAL-A IFORNIA AND TOLD NEGRO LEADERS THAT HE WOULDN'T ACCEPT A NEGRO AS VICE PRES-IDENTIAL RUNNING MATE BECAUSE HE COULDN'T WIN THAT WAY. WHAT HE MEANT, OF COURSE, IS THAT HE DIDN'T THINK HE COULD CARRY THE SOUTH THAT WAY. TALK ABOUT A SOUTHERN STRATEGY. THE SO-CALLED REPUBLICAN SOUTHERN STRATEGY PALES BY COMPARISON.

NEXT WE COME TO THE REVOLT AND SUBSEQUENT TRAGEDY AT ATTICA STATE PRISON. AND NO ONE DENIES THAT IT WAS A TERRIBLE THING. BUT WHAT DID ED MUSKIE SAY? DID HE WORRY ABOUT THE INNOCENT DEAD AND THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER? NOT QUITE. AGAIN, HE USED THE OCCASION TO DENIGRATE AND RUN DOWN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. "IN OUR SORROW," HE SAID, "WE -4-

CAN PONDER HOW AND WHY WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE MEN WOULD RATHER DIE THAN LIVE ANOTHER DAY IN AMERICA. THE ATTICA TRAGEDY IS MORE STARK PROOF THAT SOMETHING IS TERRIBLY WRONG IN AMERICA."

WHAT KIND OF DRIVEL IS THIS? ATTICA MAY HAVE PROVED THAT A FEW CRIMINALS AND REVOLUTIONARIES WOULD RATHER RISK THEIR LIVES THAN SPEND THEM IN PRISON. BUT IT DID NOT PROVE THAT MEN WOULD RATHER DIE THAN LIVE ANOTHER DAY IN THE FREEDOM THAT IS AMERICA'S. NOR DID IT PROVE THAT SOMETHING IS TERRIBLY WRONG IN AMERICA. INSTEAD, IT DEMONSTRATED THAT WE MAY NEED TO MAKE SOME CHANGES IN OUR PRISON SYSTEM, AND IT CERTAINLY SHOWED THAT WE HAD BETTER KEEP A CLOSER EYE ON THOSE WHO HAVE SET OUT TO DESTROY WHAT TO ME IS THE BEST AND GREATEST NATION ON EARTH.

IT MAY ALSO HAVE DONE SOMETHING EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. IT MAY HAVE PROVED THAT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT AFFORD TO CONSIDER A HIGHLY EMOTIONAL, HIGHLY ILLOGICAL POLITICAL OPPORTUNIST FOR PRESIDENT, NO MAT-TER HOW EARNESTLY HE APPEARS TO SPEAK. -5-

BUT, IN THE MEANTIME, AS SENATOR MUSKIE HAS TALKED IN HIS EARNEST AND WILD WAY, WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING ELSEWHERE?

WELL, IF WE LOOK CLOSELY AT THE MEDIA, WE LEARN THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN NEW INITIATIVES FOR PEACE -- IN ASIA WITH THE UPCOMING TALKS WITH RED CHINA, AND WITH THE CONTINUED WINDING DOWN OF THE UNITED STATES' PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

NIXON DOCTRINE AT WORK

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT LAST WEEK THERE WERE ONLY <u>SEVEN</u> CASUALTIES THERE, AND THE WEEK BEFORE, THERE WERE JUST <u>FIVE</u>. THIS COM-PARES WITH THE THREE AND FOUR HUNDRED A WEEK WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE. IT IS ALSO INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT AS AMERICAN CASUALTIES DECLINE, THE PRESS IS DOING TWO THINGS. IT IS EITHER IGNORING THE STORY ENTIRELY --ON THE THEORY, I GUESS, THAT GOOD NEWS IS NO NEWS -- OR IT IS POINTING TO THE CONTINUING HIGH CASUALTY RATE AMONG THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. WHAT THEY DON'T POINT OUT IS THAT THIS INDEED IS THE NIXON DOCTRINE AT WORK. YOU -6-

RECALL, THAT DOCTRINE SAYS AMERICA WILL PROVIDE A NUCLEAR UMBRELLA AND ARMS AND MATERIEL FOR OUR ALLIES, BUT THAT THEY WILL DO THEIR OWN FIGHTING. NOW, I ASK, IS THAT WRONG? OF COURSE NOT.

IT IS, HOWEVER, A DIRECT CONTRADICTION OF THE OLD JOHNSON-HUMPHREY-MUSKIE POLICY OF SENDING AMERICAN SOLDIERS INTO ASIA TO FIGHT AND DIE FOR ASIANS.

BUT, LET'S GO BACK NOW AND REVIEW OTHER ACTIONS OF PRESIDENT NIXON IN HIS QUEST FOR PEACE. THEY'RE EASY TO FIND BECAUSE HIS ACTIONS SPEAK MORE LOUDLY THAN ALL THE WORDS OF ED MUSKIE, FRED HARRIS, GEORGE MC GOVERN, TED KENNEDY, HUBERT HUMPHREY, SCOOP JACKSON AND JOHN LINDSAY PUT TOGETHER. IF I HAVE LEFT OUT ANY DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, I APOLOGIZE AND WILL ADD HIM TO THE LIST UPON REQUEST.

MAINTAINING PEACE

THE PRESIDENT HAS CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN PEACE, HOWEVER UNEASY, IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE HAS CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN TROOPS IN EUROPE TO FORE-STALL THE RISK OF RUSSIAN MISCALCULATION IN THAT AREA. AT THE SAME TIME, -7-

HE HAS CONTINUED THE SALT TALKS, HAS REACHED NEW AGREEMENTS ON BERLIN, HAS WON A TREATY BARRING THE USE OF SEABEDS AS STATIONS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ANOTHER BARRING THE USE OF GERM WARFARE.

SO FAR IN THIS CENTURY, MORE THAN HALF A MILLION AMERICANS HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. THIS HAS BEEN A TERRIBLE PRICE TO PAY, BUT WE HAVE PAID IT. AND, NOW, AT LAST, AFTER EIGHT YEARS OF NEW WARS, THREATS OF WARS, AND ESCALATING WORLD TENSIONS FROM DEMOCRAT PRESI-DENTS AND THEIR COHORTS IN THE CONGRESS, WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO IS DETER-MINED TO REDUCE TENSIONS, END WARS AND GIVE THE WORLD A GENERATION OF PEACE.

QUITE A CONTRAST.

BUT WHILE PEACE MUST BE OUR OVERRIDING CONCERN -- AS IT IS PRESI-DENT NIXON'S -- HE HAS NOT STOPPED THERE.

AS SENATOR MUSKIE COMPLAINS ABOUT WHAT IS WRONG WITH AMERICA, PRESIDENT NIXON CONTINUES TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA. -8-

THE PAPERS CARRIED A STORY EARLY THIS WEEK THAT 60 MILLIONAIRES HAD MET IN NEW YORK TO, AND <u>I QUOTE THE ASSOCIATED PRESS</u> -- TO PUT THEIR MONEY AND INFLUENCE BEHIND PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WHO SUPPORT SIGNIFICANT REFORMS IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

GARDNER: PRESIDENT BY ACCLAMATION?

AMONG THEM WAS OUR OLD FRIEND JOHN GARDNER OF COMMON CAUSE, WHO SOLICITS FUNDS FROM AMERICANS FOR THE PURPOSE OF REFORMING AMERICA AND IN THE HOPE, I SUGGEST, THAT AMERICANS MIGHT NAME HIM PRESIDENT BY ACCLAMA-TION.

BUT THE TRAGEDY OF THE MEETING -- HOWEVER WELL INTENTIONED -- WAS THIS. THOSE WHO SEEK WORTHWHILE REFORM IN GOVERNMENT AND ACTION TO CURE AMERICA'S ILLS NEED LOOK NO FARTHER THAN THE CURRENT OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

SELDOM HAS A PRESIDENT ACTED SO BOLDLY AND SO OFTEN WITH SO LITTLE PUBLIC NOTICE OR CREDIT. -9-

WE KNOW THE STEPS HE HAS TAKEN TO RETURN THE ECONOMY TO A SOUND FOOTING. THAT HAS APPROVAL FROM MILLIONAIRES AND HOURLY WORKERS ALIKE. EVEN GEORGE MEANY IS BEGINNING TO COME AROUND.

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK EFFECTIVELY

BUT IN THE EXCITEMENT OF THE NEW ECONOMIC INITIATIVES AND THE CHINA MOVE, IT IS EASY TO FORGET THAT WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO IS DETER-MINED TO MAKE OUR DEMOCRACY WORK EFFECTIVELY AND RESPONSIVELY AND CONSTI-TUTIONALLY.

THE LAST WORD -- CONSTITUTIONALLY -- IS AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT AS THE OTHER TWO SINCE EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT IS MEANINGLESS UNLESS THE COURTS GUARD CAREFULLY THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS GUARANTEED ALL OF US.

AND THE PRESIDENT IS DETERMINED THAT THIS WILL BE THE CASE AND THAT IS WHY EVERY MAN HE HAS NOMINATED FOR THE SUPREME COURT, INCLUDING LEWIS POWELL AND WILLIAM REHNQUIST, TAKE THE CONSTITUTION AT ITS WORD AND INTERPRET IT ACCORDING TO WHAT IT SAYS, NOT ACCORDING TO WHAT THEY MIGHT WISH IT SAID.

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COURT APPOINTMENTS: MOST IMPORTANT

LET ME TELL YOU, THE PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENTS TO THE SUPREME COURT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT DOMESTIC ACTIONS HE HAS TAKEN. THEY WILL AFFECT THE DIRECTION THIS NATION TAKES FOR THE NEXT GENERATION AND THAT DIRECTION WILL RESTORE THE CONCEPT OF A SOCIETY THAT IS BOTH FREE AND ORDERLY.

BUT LET'S GO BACK FOR A MINUTE TO THE PRESIDENT'S REFORMS. DRAFT REFORM IS THE ONE THAT PROBABLY AFFECTS MOST DIRECTLY THE MOST PEOPLE. UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S DRAFT REFORM, SEVEN YEARS OF DRAFT ELIGIBILITY HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY ONE YEAR, AND EVEN THEN THE LOTTERY SYSTEM NOT ONLY IN-SURES FAIRNESS IN SELECTION, BUT ALSO TELLS A YOUNG MAN IF HE MUST SERVE AT ALL.

NEXT, LET US LOOK AT ELECTION REFORM -- THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE. IF THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT SIGNED THE BILL GUARANTEEING THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO HURRY FOR THE STATES TO APPROVE THE 26TH AMENDMENT AND THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE WOULD STILL BE A DREAM. -11-

NIXON AND QUIET CAMPUSES

WHY DO YOU THINK THE CAMPUSES HAVE QUIETED DOWN THIS YEAR AND THAT RADICALISM IS ON THE DECLINE? I BELIEVE THAT THE CREDIT MUST GO TO PRESIDENT NIXON. <u>FIRST</u>, HE HAS WOUND THE WAR DOWN IN VIETNAM, REDUCING A YOUNG MAN'S CHANCES OF HAVING TO GO TO WAR, AND REDUCING EVEN MORE DRA-MATICALLY HIS CHANCES OF BEING KILLED IF HE DOES GO.

SECONDLY, THE DRAFT REFORM HAS TAKEN SEVEN YEARS OF UNCERTAINTY OUT OF A YOUNG MAN"S LIFE, ALLOWING HIM AGAIN TO PLAN HIS FUTURE AND SET HIS GOALS LONG BEFORE HE IS 26, THE AGE WHERE DRAFT ELIGIBILITY USED TO STOP.

FINALLY, THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE ALLOWS COLLEGE STUDENTS NOW TO PARTICIPATE WITHIN THE SYSTEM; THEY NO LONGER MUST ACT OUTSIDE OF IT TO BE HEARD.

BRIEFLY, THE PRESIDENT HAS INSTITUTED MANY OTHER REFORMS -- POSTAL REFORM, REFORM OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, TOUGH NEW ENVIRONMENTAL REFORMS, EVEN REFORM OF THE PASSENGER RAIL SYSTEM. -12-

WITH A LITTLE CONGRESSIONAL COOPERATION FROM THOSE WHO DEMAND ACTION BUT REFUSE TO ACT, WE SHOULD ALSO GET REVENUE SHARING -- A MAJOR REFORM IN BRINGING GOVERNMENT CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE ---- WELFARE REFORM, JOB TRAINING, NEW REFORMS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SOME SORT OF HEALTH CARE REFORM.

ONE MIGHT ASK THOSE 60 MILLIONAIRES JUST WHAT KIND OF REFORMS THEY HAVE IN MIND.

NOW ALL OF THIS BRINGS ME BACK TO THE BEGINNING OF THIS SPEECH WHEN I SAID ONE OF THE BLESSINGS OF THE MEDIA IS THAT IT GIVES THE PEOPLE A CHANCE TO JUDGE BOTH THE DEED AND THE WORD, BOTH THOSE WHO TALK AND THOSE WHO ACT.

HARRIS POLL SPELLS OUT PUBLIC SUPPORT

AND IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT THE PEOPLE ARE EXER-CISING THEIR JUDGMENT AND EXERCISING IT WELL. THE LATEST INDICATION IS THE HARRIS POLL.

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MR. HARRIS REGULARLY RUNS POLLS ASKING PEOPLE WHETHER THEY PREFER PRESI-DENT NIXON OR THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT RUNNER, WHO ALL ALONG HAS BEEN SENA-TOR MUSKIE.

AND, <u>BACK IN APRIL</u>, THE DEMOCRATS WERE PRETTY HAPPY BECAUSE THE POLL SHOWED <u>NIXON AT 39 PERCENT</u> AND <u>ED MUSKIE AT 47 PERCENT</u>. BUT THEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BEGAN LISTENING AND WATCHING.

AND, SO -- IN MAY, NIXON MOVED UP TO 40 PERCENT AND MUSKIE DROPPED TO 42 PERCENT. IN JUNE, THE FIGURES REMAINED THE SAME. BUT IN LATE AUG-UST, THE PRESIDENT HAD JUMPED TO 43 PERCENT AND MUSKIE WAS DOWN TO 41 --BEHIND AT LAST.

AND, THIS WEEK, AS THE EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO PILE UP OF AN ACTIV-IST, YET RESPONSIBLE PRESIDENT, AS COMPARED TO A WOULD-BE PRESIDENT WHO DOES NOT ALWAYS MAKE SENSE, WHAT DO WE SEE? IT'S MUSKIE DOWN TO 35 PERCENT AND RICHARD NIXON AT 47 PERCENT, HIS HIGHEST RATING SINCE APRIL OF 1970 AND WITHIN FOUR POINTS OF THE HONEYMOON MONTH OF APRIL, 1969. -14-

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE INDICATIONS ARE GOOD. WE KNOW WE HAVE A GREAT PRESIDENT AND MORE AND MORE AMERICANS ARE REACHING THAT SAME CONCLU-SION.

AS YOU GO FROM THIS MEETING, HOWEVER, I URGE YOU TO REMEMBER THAT POLLS SUCH AS THOSE CONDUCTED BY MR. HARRIS ARE MEANINGLESS IF THEY DO NOT REFLECT WHAT HAPPENS AT THE POLLS JUST ABOUT A YEAR FROM NOW.

BEGIN TO MAKE IT HAPPEN

IT IS UP TO YOU AND TO ME AND TO ALL CONCERNED AMERICANS TO BEGIN NOW TO MAKE THAT HAPPEN. TO INSURE THAT THIS PRESIDENT OF OURS -- THIS PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND DOMESTIC PROGRESS -- IS RETURNED TO THE WHITE HOUSE NEXT YEAR TO FINISH IN THE FOLLOWING FOUR YEARS THE JOB HE HAS STARTED.

REMEMBER THE ALTERNATIVE TO RICHARD NIXON CAN ONLY BE WORSE. IT MIGHT BE MUSKIE, OR HUMPHREY, OR KENNEDY, OR HARRIS.

WE CANNOT AFFORD ANY OF THOSE ALTERNATIVES.

THE STAKES ARE TOO HIGH, FOR THE FATE OF THE NATION -- AND THE WORLD -- ARE INVOLVED.