

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

BREAKFAST HONORING CONGRESSMAN JACK MC DONALD  
PONTIAC, MICHIGAN  
FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1972

WHEN THE INVITATION CAME FOR ME TO ATTEND THIS BREAKFAST, I WAS GLAD TO ACCEPT IT AND TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY IT PRESENTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS DEMONSTRATION OF SUPPORT FOR CONGRESSMAN JACK MC DONALD. I AM SURE THAT YOU ARE ALL WELL AWARE OF THE FINE JOB JACK DOES IN REPRESENTING YOUR INTERESTS IN WASHINGTON YOUR PRESENCE HERE TODAY SHOWS YOU AGREE THAT HE HAS EARNED YOUR SUPPORT. AND JUST AS HE HAS EARNED YOUR SUPPORT, HE HAS EARNED THE RESPECT OF HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND IN THE SENATE, WHO CONSIDER HIM AN INTELLIGENT AND THOUGHTFUL LEGISLATOR AND A MAN OF PRINCIPLE.

I COULD GO ON PRAISING JACK -- AND I WOULD -- BUT I HAVE THE FEELING THAT BEFORE A GROUP LIKE THIS, DWELLING ON THE MANY REASONS WHY JACK MC DONALD DESERVES YOUR SUPPORT WOULD BE ABOUT AS USEFUL AS TELLING DEMOCRAT CHAIRMAN LARRY O'BRIEN THAT HE'S GOT TROUBLES. I WOULDN'T BE TELLING YOU ANYTHING YOU DIDN'T ALREADY KNOW.

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ONE THING THAT YOU MIGHT NOT KNOW -- AND EVEN IF YOU DO IT DESERVES EMPHASIS -- IS THAT WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH PEOPLE LIKE JACK MC DONALD IN THE CONGRESS. I WON'T SAY THAT THE PROBLEM IS SIMPLY THE RESULT OF A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS AND THAT REPLACING IT WITH A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS IN 1972 WILL SOLVE ALL OF OUR PROBLEMS. BUT MOST OF THE PROBLEMS THAT COME TO MIND COULD BE EASILY SOLVED WITH A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY. WHAT WE HAVE NOW IS A CONGRESS THAT SEEMS MORE CONCERNED WITH THE PARTISAN INTERESTS OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY THAN WITH THE POSITIVE CONSIDERATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM.

PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM DESERVES ACTION

THERE ARE MORE THAN 90 PIECES OF POSITIVE LEGISLATION THAT WERE PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT LAST YEAR AND THEY HAVE YET TO RECEIVE THE ACTION THEY DESERVE.

THESE ARE NOT PARTISAN MEASURES. THEY ARE BILLS LIKE REVENUE SHARING AND GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION AND WELFARE REFORM -- THE PROPOSALS OF A PRESIDENT WHO IS GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY AND ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS AND THE RESPONSIVENESS OF ITS GOVERNMENT.

AND THEY ARE BEING HELD UP FOR ONE REASON AND ONE REASON ONLY -- THE APPARENT UNWILLINGNESS OF A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS TO ACT FAVORABLY DURING AN ELECTION YEAR ON ANY LEGISLATION PROPOSED BY A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT.

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PRIMARIES PROMISE GOP RISE

IT IS MY OPINION, HOWEVER, THAT THE RESULTS WE HAVE SEEN FROM FLORIDA AND BEFORE THAT FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE ARE REASON FOR OPTIMISM. OBVIOUSLY, THEY ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S REELECTION. ALMOST SEVENTY PERCENT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND ALMOST NINETY PERCENT IN FLORIDA ARE SOLID INDICATIONS OF THE KIND OF SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT IS GOING TO GET FROM THE NATION IN NOVEMBER. BUT I LOOK UPON THOSE RESULTS AS INDICATIVE OF SOMETHING MORE THAN JUST THE DEGREE OF POPULAR SUPPORT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY ARE GOING TO GIVE TO THE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF RICHARD NIXON. THEY POINT IN THE DIRECTION, I BELIEVE, OF A GENERAL REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY IN THIS COUNTRY. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD A CHANCE NOW TO SEE WHAT A FEW YEARS OF DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS AND FORTY YEARS OF DEMOCRAT CONTROL IN CONGRESS CAN GIVE THEM. THEY HAVE TRIED THE DEMOCRAT APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT BY EXPERIMENT, AND IT HAS BEEN FOUND SADLY LACKING IN TERMS OF RESULTS.

FORTY YEARS OF DEMOCRAT CONTROL HAS GIVEN THIS COUNTRY MORE THAN ENOUGH OF SHOWY PROGRAMS AND MORE THAN ENOUGH OF INFLATED PROMISES AND FAR TOO LITTLE IN TANGIBLE RESULTS.



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DEMOCRAT LEGACY OF FAILURE

WITH EVERY GOOD INTENTION, THE DEMOCRATS GAVE US A WAR ON POVERTY AND IT FAILED TO PRODUCE. WITH INTENTIONS NO LESS SINCERE AND HIGHLY MOTIVATED, THEY GAVE US A WAR IN VIETNAM AND FAILED TO END IT. THEY GAVE US A FISCAL SITUATION IN WHICH SOME SEVENTY PERCENT OF OUR FEDERAL BUDGET IS UNCONTROLLED SPENDING AND OUT OF THE POWER OF BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT TO REDUCE. AND AGAIN, I DO NOT MEAN TO QUESTION THEIR MOTIVES, ONLY THEIR RESULTS, BUT THEY GAVE US A SET OF EXPECTATIONS SO HIGH AND A SET OF PROGRAMS SO TRANSPARENTLY INCAPABLE OF MEETING THOSE EXPECTATIONS THAT THE ROUTINE OF GOVERNMENT PROMISES AND GOVERNMENT FAILURE TO KEEP ITS PROMISES BECAME A COMMON PLACE. AND DISAPPOINTMENT AND CITIZEN FRUSTRATION BECAME SO COMMON THAT IT ALMOST BROKE THE SPIRIT OF THE GREATEST NATION IN THE WORLD.

RENEWED SPIRIT IN NATION

THAT IS CHANGING NOW. I DO A LOT OF TRAVELING AS CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AND I GET THE CHANCE TO MEET WITH CITIZENS FROM ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY AND FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE IN MY TRAVELS. AND I AM BEGINNING TO SENSE A NEW SPIRIT IN THIS COUNTRY. THE FEELING THAT CITIZENS CAN GET THINGS DONE IF THEY APPLY THEIR ENERGIES AND THEIR IMAGINATION TO A TASK. THE FEELING THAT THEY CAN DO IT ON THEIR OWN AND BY THEIR OWN INITIATIVE WITHOUT

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WAITING FOR A CUE FROM WASHINGTON. EVEN WITHOUT PASSAGE OF A MEASURE LIKE REVENUE SHARING, PEOPLE ARE ACTING ON ITS CONCEPT. THEY HAVE BEEN REMINDED BY THEIR ELECTED LEADERS IN WASHINGTON THAT THEY DO COUNT, THAT THEY ARE LISTENED TO, THAT THEY CAN BE TRUSTED TO GET THINGS DONE.

AMERICANS HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF GOVERNMENT BY EXPERIMENT BY A FEW MEN IN WASHINGTON WHO CALLED THEMSELVES EXPERTS. THE MEN IN WASHINGTON WHO PRETENDED -- OR MAYBE THEY BELIEVED -- THAT THEY KNEW BETTER THAN ANY OF US WHAT WAS BEST FOR ALL OF US.

ELECTORATE TO SHIFT TO GOP

THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY IS DYING AND WITH IT THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES. WELL, THOSE PEOPLE ARE WRONG IN THEIR CONCLUSIONS BUT I BELIEVE THEY HAVE PUT THEIR FINGERS ON ONE MAJOR FACT ABOUT THE PARTY SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY -- THE FACT THAT IT IS UNDERGOING A VERY SERIOUS AND VERY PROFOUND CHANGE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

IT IS UNDERGOING A CHANGE THAT IS EQUAL IN DEGREE BUT PRECISELY OPPOSITE IN EFFECT FROM THE CHANGE THAT OCCURRED SOME FORTY YEARS AGO WHEN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY BECAME THE MAJORITY PARTY IN AMERICA. FOR WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW, I BELIEVE, IS NO LESS THAN A SHIFT BY THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE AS PROFOUND AS THAT -- ONLY THIS TIME IT WILL BE THE GOP WHICH WILL TAKE THE ASCENDANCY.



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THE EVIDENCE FOR THIS, I AM CERTAIN, WILL BECOME MORE PLENTIFUL AFTER THE FALL ELECTION. BUT THE REASONS FOR IT ARE OBVIOUS. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS PROVEN THAT IT CAN PROVIDE THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT AND DESERVE.

THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE JUST THAT. IN THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS, RICHARD NIXON HAS LISTENED TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND HE HAS ACTED UPON WHAT HE HAS HEARD. IT WAS IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF 1968, IN FACT, THAT HE SET THE STANDARD FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION WHEN HE SAID, "EVERY PROGRAM I OFFER IN THIS CAMPAIGN WILL BE TESTED AGAINST THIS STANDARD. DOES IT INCREASE THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE OR DIMINISH IT?" AND HE HAS APPLIED THAT STANDARD TO EVERY DOMESTIC PROGRAM HE HAS PROPOSED SINCE.

SOME DEMOCRATS CHARGE THAT HIS PROPOSALS ARE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED. IN ONE SENSE HE IS GUILTY OF THAT CHARGE. IN A SOCIETY LIKE OURS, A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY GOVERNED BY THE PEOPLE, HE HAS INDEED WILLFULLY AND DELIBERATELY TAILORED HIS PROPOSALS TO WHAT THE AMERICAN CITIZEN WANTS AND NEEDS. BUT IF THAT IS BEING POLITICAL, IT IS BEING POLITICAL IN THE BEST AND BROADEST SENSE OF THE WORD. AND IF THAT IS BEING POLITICAL, THEN RICHARD NIXON IS GUILTY OF THE CHARGE, BUT THE CHARGE CARRIES NO CONDEMNATION.

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GOP NEEDS TEST OF LEADERSHIP

RICHARD NIXON HAS SHOWN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WHAT REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP HAS TO OFFER. HE HAS SHOWN THEM AND I BELIEVE THAT THE RESULTS FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE AND FLORIDA HAVE GIVEN US AN ENCOURAGING INDICATION THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO WHAT THEY HAVE SEEN.

THEY HAVE SEEN AN ADMINISTRATION THAT MEETS THE TEST OF LEADERSHIP.

THEY HAVE SEEN PROMISING ACTION ON THE FOREIGN POLICY FRONT THAT HAS MADE OF PEACE A REAL AND GENUINE POSSIBILITY -- FOR ONCE MORE THAN JUST A DREAM -- SOMETHING WE CAN ACTIVELY WORK AND REALISTICALLY HOPE FOR.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SEEN AN ADMINISTRATION THAT DOESN'T SHRINK FROM THE HARD CHALLENGES OF PURSUING THE PEACE, BUT UNDERSTANDS THE NECESSITY OF REMAINING STRONG IF THAT CHALLENGE IS TO BE FACED REALISTICALLY. AND THEY SEE AN ADMINISTRATION THAT UNDERSTANDS THAT WHILE WE MUST REMAIN STRONG TO MEET THE POTENTIAL DANGERS FROM ABROAD, WE ALSO HAVE PROBLEMS HERE AT HOME THAT MUST BE SOLVED. AND SO THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS REVERSED THE RATIO OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING IN MANY PROGRAM CATEGORIES. UNDER THE DEMOCRATS WE SPEND 42 PERCENT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET ON DEFENSE AND LESS THAN A THIRD OF IT ON HUMAN RESOURCES. TODAY UNDER RICHARD NIXON THE PERCENTAGES ARE EXACTLY REVERSED.

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THE DEMOCRATS HAVE GIVEN US A LOT OF TALK ABOUT REORDERING NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND THEY HAVE GIVEN US A LOT OF INFLATED RHETORIC ABOUT THE NEED TO SPEND MORE ON THE SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS FACING THIS COUNTRY. AND WHILE THEY TALKED ABOUT IT LOUDLY, THIS REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT QUIETLY DID SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

GOP LEADERSHIP TRUSTS THE PEOPLE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SEEN IN THIS ADMINISTRATION, THE SORT OF LEADERSHIP THEY CAN TRUST AND -- WHAT IS PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT -- THEY SEE A BRAND OF LEADERSHIP THAT RESTS ON THE BELIEF THAT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES CAN BE TRUSTED.

I KNOW THAT THE SUBJECT OF SCHOOL BUSING IS NOT A NEW ONE TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS AREA. AND I KNOW THAT THE POLICY OF BUSING IS NOT A POPULAR ONE WITH THE PEOPLE OF PONTIAC. THE RECENT BALLOTING ON THE SUBJECT IN FLORIDA PROVED FOR THOSE WHO HAD ANY DOUBTS THAT THE PEOPLE OF PONTIAC ARE NOT ALONE IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO IT.

AND THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE HAD LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS WHICH HAS BEEN CAPABLE OF CONSISTENT RESPONSE TO THE DESIRES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THIS MATTER. LET THE DEMOCRATS CHANGE



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THEIR TUNES AND HEDGE THEIR BETS. RICHARD NIXON HAS MADE IT PLAIN THROUGHOUT HIS FIRST TERM THAT THE BUSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN TO ACHIEVE RACIAL BALANCE IS A POLICY HE DOES NOT FAVOR AND AN APPROACH TO PROBLEM SOLVING HE CANNOT SUPPORT. AND SO HE PROMISED AND HAS ANNOUNCED A PROGRAM TO ACCOMPLISH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION -- A GOAL WE ALL SHARE -- WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE WASTEFUL AND OFTEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE PROGRAM OF MASSIVE FORCED BUSING.

TO ACHIEVE A COMMON GOAL

IN THIS, I BELIEVE, HE HAS THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY, NORTH AND SOUTH AND BLACK AND WHITE. AND I KNOW THAT HE HAS THE SUPPORT OF JACK MC DONALD. NO MAN IN CONGRESS HAS WORKED HARDER IN THE EFFORT TO REDUCE FORCED BUSING AND BRING IT TO AN END, THAN HAS JACK. AND YET, WITH ALL THE CARPING CRITICISM AND SELF-RIGHTEOUS MORALIZING OF THE DEMOCRATS, I KNOW OF NO PRESIDENT IN THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY ANY MORE DEDICATED TO THE GOAL OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY THAN IS RICHARD NIXON. AND I KNOW JACK MC DONALD WELL ENOUGH TO SAY THAT HE SHARES THAT DEDICATION TO NO LESS A DEGREE.

THE ISSUE IS CERTAINLY NOT WHETHER TO DESEGREGATE OR NOT. IT IS WHETHER TO BUS OR NOT. THE EVENTS OF THE PAST TWO DECADES IN AMERICA HAVE PROVEN THE COMMITMENT OF ITS PEOPLE AND THE ABILITY OF ITS INSTITUTIONS TO ENHANCE AND STRENGTHEN THE GUARANTEE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO ALL OF ITS CITIZENS.

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AND THE RECORD OF RICHARD NIXON IS TESTIMONY TO THAT COMMITMENT. AND HERE AGAIN IT HAS BEEN A QUESTION OF THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED. IN THE SIXTIES, THE THRUST OF DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS WAS TO FORCE ON AN ENTIRE NATION THE FORMULATED SOLUTIONS TO ITS PROBLEMS THAT A FEW IN WASHINGTON THOUGHT WERE BEST.

THEY TRIED THAT IN THE SOUTH WITH RESPECT TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THEY FAILED TO PRODUCE RESULTS ANY MORE EDIFYING THAN WIDESPREAD DISSENT AND THE DISRUPTION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES. WHEN RICHARD NIXON TRIED TO ACCOMPLISH THE SAME GOAL, THE GOAL WE ALL WANT TO ACHIEVE OF DESEGREGATION AND AN END TO DUAL SCHOOLS, HE MET WITH REMARKABLE SUCCESS. AND NOW IN THE SOUTH, <sup>THE</sup> VAST MAJORITY OF FORMERLY DUAL SYSTEMS -- SOME NINETY PERCENT -- ARE NOW DESEGREGATED. THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED PEACEFULLY, WITHOUT WIDESPREAD COMMUNITY DISRUPTION, AND I WOULD ADD, TO THE AMAZEMENT AND CONSTERNATION OF THE DEMOCRATS WHO HAD BEEN UNABLE TO ACCOMPLISH IT THEMSELVES WHEN THEY HAD THE CHANCE.

OLD PRINCIPLES ADAPT TO NEW REALITIES

RICHARD NIXON DID NOT DISCOVER ANYTHING NEW, NO MAGIC FORMULA TO ACHIEVE HIS GOALS. HE REACHED BACK, AS HE SAID IN HIS JANUARY STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, "TO OLD AND PROVEN PRINCIPLES AND ADAPTED THEM, WITH IMAGINATION AND INTELLIGENCE, TO THE NEW REALITIES OF A NEW AGE."



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IT WAS NO MORE MYSTERIOUS THAN THAT, NO MORE COMPLEX THAN THAT. RICHARD NIXON SIMPLY APPLIED THE PROVEN AMERICAN PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF CALLING UPON LOCAL PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SOLUTION OF THEIR LOCAL PROBLEMS. AND WHEN HE DID, THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH RESPONDED AS PEOPLE WILL RESPOND ALL ACROSS THE NATION, WITH GENEROSITY OF SPIRIT AND WITH DETERMINATION AND ABILITY.

IT WAS A SIMPLE ANSWER. AND AN EFFECTIVE ONE. AND I BELIEVE THAT THE ELECTORATE IS GOING TO ASK ITSELF AN ADDITIONAL SIMPLE QUESTION IN THIS ELECTION. WHY DID THE DEMOCRATS NEVER THINK OF IT? WHY DID THEY AVOID APPROACH THAT HAS MET WITH SUCH GREAT SUCCESS AND RELY SO HEAVILY ON THE COERCIVE POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT?

AND THE ANSWER THAT SUGGESTS ITSELF TO THAT QUESTION IS JUST AS SIMPLE AND JUST AS OBVIOUS. THE DEMOCRATS WHO ARE ALWAYS ASKING US TO TRUST THEM, ARE NOT REALLY PREPARED TO TRUST US. AND THE RESPONSE OF OUR CITIZENS TO THAT REALITY, ONCE IT IS FULLY COMPREHENDED, IS GOING TO <sup>BE</sup> SIMPLER STILL AND MORE DIRECT. THEY ARE GOING TO REJECT THE SHOPWORN NOTIONS AND BANKRUPT PHILOSOPHIES OF DEMOCRATS. AND WE ARE GOING TO SEE A RESURGENCE OF REPUBLICANISM IN THIS COUNTRY AND THE ELECTION OF REPUBLICANS TO NATIONAL OFFICES AND TO STATE AND LOCAL OFFICES ALL OVER THIS LAND.



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I HAVE SEEN THE EVIDENCE FOR THIS AND I AM CONVINCED IT CAN COME ABOUT.  
BUT I WOULD CONDITION MY PREDICTION ON ONLY ONE FACTOR.

WE HAVE A PART TO PLAY

IT WILL HAPPEN IF WE MAKE IT HAPPEN. AND WE CAN MAKE IT HAPPEN BY LET-  
TING THE PEOPLE KNOW WHAT REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP HAS TO OFFER. WE HAVE GOT TO  
GET THE STORY OUT TO THE PEOPLE -- TO OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS AND OUR ASSO-  
CIATES IN BUSINESS. WE MUST GET THE WORD OUT TO THEM THAT REPUBLICAN LEADER-  
SHIP OF THE SORT RICHARD NIXON HAS GIVEN IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE KIND THAT  
JACK MC DONALD CAN GIVE US IN A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS IS THE BEST KIND OF LEAD-  
ERSHIP.

AND AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE VERY REASON FOR THIS BREAKFAST MEETING IS  
PRECISELY THAT -- TO HELP IN A PROGRAM OF COMMUNICATING THAT MESSAGE TO THE  
VOTERS OF THIS NINETEENTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN. I HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO  
HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROGRAM AND TO JOIN WITH YOU IN  
YOUR SUPPORT OF JACK MC DONALD AND HIS EFFORTS TO COMMUNICATE THE REPUBLICAN  
STORY TO THE PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN. I COMMEND YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT OF HIM IN  
THAT EFFORT.