

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

GOP WISCONSIN STATE CONVENTION, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1972

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU THIS MORNING AT THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF WISCONSIN, TO MEET WITH SO MANY MEMBERS OF OUR PARTY AND TO JOIN OUR FORCES FORMALLY WITH THE EFFORTS OF REPUBLICANS ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY TO ACHIEVE A VICTORY FOR OUR PARTY IN NOVEMBER AND TO WIN RE-ELECTION FOR THE PRESIDENT.

HE HAS EARNED IT.

IN THREE AND A HALF YEARS IN OFFICE, THE PRESIDENT HAS ACCOMPLISHED MUCH AND PROPOSED EVEN MORE TO RESTORE THIS COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE TO A SENSE OF THEIR OWN GREATNESS--THEIR CAPACITY TO SET GREAT GOALS FOR THEMSELVES AND TO ACHIEVE THEM.

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HE HAS REDUCED TENSIONS AMONG THE GREAT POWERS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, AS HIS TRIPS TO PEKING AND THE JUST COMPLETED TRIP TO THE SUMMIT IN MOSCOW DEMONSTRATE.

HE HAS REDUCED TENSIONS HERE AT HOME, AFTER A TROUBLED DECADE OF CIVIL DISCORD, CAMPUS DISRUPTIONS AND WIDESPREAD DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT.

LEADERSHIP IN PURSUIT OF PEACE

IN A WORD, HE HAS GIVEN US LEADERSHIP.

AND IT HAS BEEN THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THIS COUNTRY NEEDS IN THESE CHANGING, CHALLENGING TIMES--AND HAD BEEN WITHOUT FOR FAR TOO LONG.

IT HAS BEEN THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THAT HAS RESTORED RESPECT FOR AMERICA ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE--THE KIND OF RESPECT THIS COUNTRY HAS ALWAYS HAD IN THE PAST AND HAS ALWAYS DESERVED--THE RESPECT DUE A STRONG NATION--THE RESPECT DUE A POWERFUL NATION WHICH IS DETERMINED TO USE ITS POWER IN THE INTERESTS AND PURSUIT OF PEACE.

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THE ARMS RACE--THE BEGINING OF THE END

THOSE OF YOU WHO WATCHED THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS AND THE NATION NIGHT BEFORE LAST, MUST HAVE FELT AS I DID, A THRILL OF HOPE THAT PERHAPS WE WERE BEGINNING TO SEE THE END OF THE ARMS RACE AFTER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF UNREMITTING AND OFTEN HOSTILE CONFRONTATION.

YOU MUST HAVE FELT, TOO, AS I DID, A SENSE OF PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT IT IS THIS COUNTRY--OUR COUNTRY--WHICH HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN THE INITIATIVE WHICH HOLDS PROMISE FOR ESTABLISHING THE GENERATION OF PEACE THE PRESIDENT HAS TALKED ABOUT AND WORKED SO HARD TO BRING ABOUT.

WE CANNOT SAY--AND THE PRESIDENT DID NOT SAY--THAT IT IS HERE. NOT ALL OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE FALLEN AWAY AT A SINGLE SUMMIT. NOR IS IT LIKELY--PERHAPS IT IS NOT EVEN POSSIBLE--THAT ALL OF THOSE SOURCES OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT CAN BE **RESOLVED**.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE, HOWEVER, BY THE PRESIDENT IN WHAT HE CALLED THIS "SEASON OF SUMMITS," IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW DIRECTION TOWARD PEACE AND OF NEW HOPES FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THOSE DIFFERENCES.

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HOPES BEING JUSTIFIED

THE GENERATION OF PEACE HAS NOT YET COME. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY THAT. BUT IT DOES APPEAR THAT WE ARE ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE ERA OF NEGOTIATION THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN OF. IT DOES APPEAR THAT THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FOUR MONTHS, AND MOST NOTABLY OF THE LAST TWO WEEKS, HAVE PROVEN THAT THE GREAT POWERS HAVE THE CAPACITY FOR WORKING OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY-- WITHOUT CONFLICT AND WITHOUT WAR.

THESE HAVE BEEN TIMES OF GREAT CHANGES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. EVEN IF THERE HAD BEEN NO SUMMITS, AND NONE OF THE RECENT ENCOURAGING MOVEMENT IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE, THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN TRUE. THE EMERGING INDEPENDENCE OF CHINA, THE GROWING STRENGTH OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND OF JAPAN ARE ALL IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THAT CHANGE.

THE FACT OF CHANGE IN WORLD RELATIONS SHOULD BE NO SURPRISE. IT WAS ALMOST INEVITABLE, IN FACT.

THE DIRECTION THAT CHANGE HAS TAKEN, HOWEVER, IS NOT.

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IT WAS NOT INEVITABLE-- INDEED IT WAS NOT EVEN CONSIDERED LIKELY-- ALMOST FOUR YEARS AGO WHEN RICHARD NIXON TOOK OFFICE, THAT THE EARLY SEVENTIES WOULD BRING A MUTUAL AGREEMENT ON ARMS LIMITATIONS BETWEEN THE WORLD'S TWO GREATEST SUPERPOWERS. THE LIKELIHOOD SEEMED ALL IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, OF INCREASED CONFLICT AND GREATER HOSTILITY.

ONE PATH TO PEACE

ALMOST FOUR YEARS AGO, THERE WERE THOSE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO DESPAIRED OF EVER REDUCING THE CHANCES OF WAR. TO THEM, IF CHANGE WAS INEVITABLE, SO WAS ITS DIRECTION TOWARDS CONFLICT PRE-DETERMINED. FOR THEM, THE ONE LAST HOPE FOR PEACE WAS A DESPERATE HOPE, AN UNREALISTIC WILLINGNESS TO TAKE A CHANCE ON PEACE BY UNILATERALLY REDUCING THE STRENGTH OF THIS COUNTRY'S STRATEGIC FORCES.

THEY OPPOSED THE ABM.

THEY PROPOSED A UNILATERAL FORCE REDUCTION IN EUROPE.

THEY PROPOSED DRASTIC CUTS IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET.

EACH TIME, THE PRESIDENT OPPOSED THE FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY-- OFTEN LED BY SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE--WHO WERE SO CURIOUSLY WILLING TO REDUCE OUR NATION'S STRENGTH AND SO CURIOUSLY CONVINCED THAT IT WAS THAT UNILATERAL REDUCTION THAT OFFERED OUR ONLY HOPE FOR PEACE.

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THE PRESIDENT KNEW THAT WE HAD TO REMAIN STRONG TO WIN THE PEACE. AND HE KEPT US STRONG.

HE KNOWS NOW, AND HE SAID THURSDAY NIGHT, THAT WE HAVE TO KEEP STRONG IF WE ARE GOING TO KEEP THE PEACE. AND HE WILL KEEP US STRONG.

A POSITION OF STRENGTH

HE WENT TO MOSCOW AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STRONGEST NATION IN THE WORLD. IF THE CONGRESS HAD YIELDED TO THE DEMANDS OF THOSE WHO WOULD WEAKEN THIS COUNTRY, HE COULD NOT HAVE GONE TO NEGOTIATE, IF HE COULD HAVE GONE AT ALL, BUT RATHER TO BE DICTATED TO.

IN HIS ADDRESS THURSDAY NIGHT, THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THAT "NO POWER ON EARTH IS STRONGER THAN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TODAY, AND NONE WILL BE STRONGER THAN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE FUTURE."

IT IS THAT FACT, WHICH HAS MADE POSSIBLE THE GAINS OF THE LAST FOUR MONTHS. IT IS THAT FACT WHICH HAS PERMITTED THE PRESIDENT TO TAKE THE INITIATIVES FOR PEACE WHICH HE HAS MADE. IT IS THAT FACT WHICH MADE THE ARMS LIMITATIONS AGREEMENTS ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS.

IT IS THAT FACT--AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PRESIDENT--WHICH HAS BROUGHT US NOW CLOSER TO PEACE THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE NUCLEAR ERA.

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PEACE-- IF WE CAN KEEP IT

THIS PRESIDENT UNDERSTANDS THE NEED FOR STRENGTH. HE KNOWS ITS VALUE. AND HE HAS THE VISION TO PUT OUR POWER TO WORK IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE.

IN A CAMPAIGN YEAR, CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO MAKE EXAGGERATED PROMISES. AND DESPERATE CANDIDATES TEND TOWARD DESPERATE PROMISES. BUT I SUBMIT THAT NOTHING WOULD BE MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE TENDENCY OF SOME, TO WANT TO CUT AND DILUTE THE STRENGTH OF THIS COUNTRY.

WE HAVE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES IN CALIFORNIA, FIGHTING IT OUT ON THIS ISSUE. BUT THEY AREN'T ARGUING OVER WHETHER TO CUT THAT STRENGTH. THEY ARE ONLY ARGUING BY HOW MUCH IT OUGHT TO BE CUT.

AND NEITHER, IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS TO ALL, FULLY UNDERSTANDS OR APPRECIATES THE NEED FOR THIS COUNTRY -- NOW MORE THAN EVER WHEN WE ARE COMING SO CLOSE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LASTING PEACE-- TO REMAIN STRONG.

IN A SENSE, WE HAVE THE PEACE WE ARE SEEKING. NOT ALL THE DIFFERENCES HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT. AND I DO NOT SUGGEST THAT THEY WILL-- OR THAT THEY CAN-- BE QUICKLY RESOLVED. BUT THE BEGINNING, AN ENCOURAGING AND HOPEFUL START TOWARD PEACE, HAS BEEN MADE.

AND IN THAT SENSE, WE HAVE THE PEACE-- IF WE CAN KEEP IT.

AND WE HAVE THE LEADERSHIP THAT CAN BRING THAT ABOUT--IF WE CAN KEEP IT.

AND I BELIEVE WE CAN KEEP IT. WE CAN IF WE WORK AT IT. IF WE REPUBLICANS DEVOTE ALL OF THE ENERGIES WE CAN MUSTER OVER THE NEXT FIVE MONTHS TO THE TASK, WE CAN HOLD ONTO THAT LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE THAT HAS ALREADY BROUGHT US SO FAR. AND WE CAN ENSURE THAT RICHARD NIXON WINS THE SECOND TERM THAT HIS ACHIEVEMENTS DURING HIS FIRST TERM HAVE MERITED.

DEBATE TOPIC--WHO'S LEAST WRONG

IT MAY BE NO ACCIDENT THAT THE HIGHLY TOUTED GREAT DEBATES OF 1972 OUT IN CALIFORNIA HAVE BEEN DRAWING FEWER VIEWERS THAN THE TELEVISION MOVIE AND DETECTIVE SHOW WHICH APPEARED ON THE OTHER NETWORKS. AFTER ALL, THE DEBATES SO FAR, HAVEN'T EVEN BEEN ENTERTAINING, MUCH LESS VERY INFORMATIVE. THERE IS NOTHING PARTICULARLY AMUSING OR EVEN VERY UPLIFTING ABOUT WATCHING TWO WOULD-BE PRESIDENT'S ARGUE THE QUESTION OF WHICH HAS BEEN WRONG THE LONGEST ON THE VIETNAM WAR. THEY HAVE BOTH BEEN WRONG FROM THE START AND THE ONLY ISSUE YET TO BE DECIDED BETWEEN THEM IS WHICH IS GOING TO BE THE "WRONGEST" AT THE FINISH.

AND WHATEVER THEY MAY HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE MATTER, I BELIEVE WE ARE CLOSER NOW TO THE FINISH LINE -- BECAUSE OF THE COURAGEOUS DECISIONS THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE ON THE WAR -- THAN WE HAVE EVER BEEN IN ITS LONG AND TRAGIC HISTORY.

BUT DON'T GET ME WRONG. I AM NOT APPLAUDING THE VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA FOR NOT WATCHING THE DEBATES. I CAN UNDERSTAND WHY THEY DON'T. I WANTED TO TURN ON THE MOVIE MYSELF.

BEARS WATCHING

BUT IF THE VOTERS DON'T WATCH THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES, IF THEY DON'T LISTEN TO WHAT THEY HAVE TO SAY ABOUT EACH OTHER AND TO HOW THEY RESPOND TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE INTERVIEWERS, THEY MAY NEVER KNOW JUST HOW FAR OUT OF STEP THE CANDIDATES ARE.

AND THEY ARE BOTH MUCH FARTHER OUT OF STEP WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THE ISSUES, THAN THEY ARE FAR APART FROM EACH OTHER ON THEM -- NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY MAY TRY TO CONVINCING US OTHERWISE. GEORGE MC GOVERN BILLS HIMSELF AS THE CHAMPION OF THE NEW POLITICS. AND HUBERT HUMPHREY IS A SYMBOL OF THE OLD.

BUT EACH IS A REPRESENTATIVE OF A TREND IN DEMOCRAT POLITICS THAT THEIR STANDS ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAVE UNDERSCORED. IT IS A TREND TOWARD UNREALISTIC SOLUTIONS TO THE VERY REAL AND PRESSING PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

LET THEM ARGUE, IF THEY WANT, ABOUT WHO SET THE TREND. GEORGE MC GOVERN'S CLAIM TO HAVE BEEN THE INVENTOR OF THE SO-CALLED "PEACE MOVEMENT" DOESN'T DISTURB ME. HE MAY HAVE STARTED THE MOVEMENT, BUT HE DIDN'T INVENT PEACE. AND HE HASN'T DONE MUCH TO BRING IT ABOUT.

IF ANYTHING, HE HAS DELAYED IT. HE HAS SAID FOR OVER A YEAR NOW, THAT IF HE WERE PRESIDENT, HE WOULD ACCEPT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TERMS FOR PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

NO QUESTIONS ASKED.

BUT I HAVE SOME QUESTIONS FOR GEORGE MC GOVERN. AND ONE OF THEM WAS ASKED ON NBC'S MEET THE PRESS LAST TUESDAY NIGHT.

WHAT ABOUT OUR PRISONERS, SENATOR?

AND THE BEST ANSWER THE SENATOR COULD COME UP WITH WAS TO GET OUT OF VIETNAM TOTALLY, WITH NO PRECONDITIONS AND THEN TO WAIT AND SEE IF THE COMMUNISTS WOULD BE KIND ENOUGH TO RELEASE OUR MEN HELD CAPTIVE.

NOW, ON THE CHANCE THAT MC GOVERN MIGHT ACTUALLY BE ELECTED, IT SEEMS TO ME TO BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, TO WAIT AND SEE. TO HOLD OUT FOR THE BETTER PEACE TERMS -- FOR THEIR OWN PEACE TERMS -- RATHER THAN TO YIELD TO THE RESPONSIBLE PLAN OF THE PRESIDENT, WHICH REQUIRES THEM TO GIVE UP THE PRISONERS AND TO GIVE UP AS WELL THEIR PLANS FOR OVERTAKING SOUTH VIETNAM.

FOR MC GOVERN, THE COMMUNIST PEACE PLAN IS ACCEPTABLE.
AND IT IS ACCEPTABLE OBVIOUSLY TO THE COMMUNISTS. THEY PROPOSED IT.

BUT IT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. NO PLAN
THAT LEFT THE FATE OF OUR PRISONERS SUBJECT TO THE WHIMS OF THE
COMMUNISTS, AND LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT ALL WE HAVE FOUGHT
FOR WOULD BE LOST COULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"ORDINARILY," SAID SENATOR MC GOVERN ON TUESDAY, THE
PEOPLE OF HIS STATE "DON'T SEND WILD-EYED RADICALS TO THE UNITED
STATES SENATE." AND I CAN ACCEPT THAT. BUT WHY THEY MADE AN
EXCEPTION IN THE CASE OF GEORGE MC GOVERN I DO NOT KNOW.

BUT IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE -- ON
THIS WAR OR ANY OTHER -- THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A MORE RADICAL POSITION
THAN THAT TAKEN BY THE SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA. AND NEVER ONE
MORE DANGEROUS TO THE FUTURE POSITION OF THIS COUNTRY IN WORLD AFFAIRS.
OR ONE THAT DID MORE VIOLENCE TO AN AMERICAN TRADITION OF HELPING
SMALLER AND WEAKER COUNTRIES DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST AGGRESSION.

WE DON'T KNOW YET WHO THE DEMOCRATS WILL CHOOSE FOR THEIR
NOMINEE. THEY DON'T EVEN KNOW THEMSELVES. IT COULD BE GEORGE
MC GOVERN. WE CAN'T BE SURE. IT MIGHT BE SOMEONE ELSE. BUT IF
IT IS, THEN YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
DON'T KNOW, WILL HURT THEM.

WHAT THEY DON'T KNOW ABOUT GEORGE MC GOVERN'S PLANS
FOR WHAT HE THINKS THIS NATION OUGHT TO BE, WILL SURELY HURT THEM.

WHAT THEY DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE DEMOCRAT PARTY AND ITS
DESPERATE HUNT FOR ISSUES, WILL SURELY HURT THEM.

AND WHAT THEY DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS
PRESIDENT -- THE MOVEMENTS TOWARD PEACE IN THE WORLD AND TOWARD
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS HERE AT HOME -- WILL SURELY HURT THEM.

THERE WILL BE ONE MORE TELEVISED DEBATE BETWEEN THE
CANDIDATES THIS SUNDAY BEFORE THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY. ENCOURAGE YOUR
FRIENDS, DEMOCRAT AND REPUBLICAN, TO WATCH IT. AND WATCH IT YOURSELVES.

ENCOURAGE THEM TO GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO THE RECORD OF THIS
PRESIDENT AS WELL. AND ENCOURAGE THEM, AS THEY WATCH SUNDAY TO
CONSIDER IF THERE IS ANYTHING THE DEMOCRATS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT
PEACE -- OR ANYTHING THEY CAN PROMISE -- THAT CAN MATCH WHAT THIS
PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS AND
ESPECIALLY THE LAST FOUR MONTHS.

DEBATE THE PAST -- OR CHART THE FUTURE

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS GIVEN US CAUSE FOR HOPE. HE HAS RAISED THE PROMISE THAT AFTER TWO DECADES OF INTERNATIONAL FEARS AND DISTRUST, WE CAN BUILD A PEACEFUL TOMORROW -- A FULL GENERATION OF PEACEFUL TOMORROWS -- ON A FOUNDATION OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND REDUCED TENSIONS.

THE DEMOCRATS ARE STILL DEBATING THE PAST, AND THE LEGACIES OF PAST LEADERSHIP WHICH LED US INTO WAR AND COULDN'T GET US OUT. WITH RICHARD NIXON, AND UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP, WE CAN CHART THE FUTURE AND BUILD FOR IT A LEGACY OF PEACE.

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