

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

REPUBLICAN WOMEN OF CAPITOL HILL  
RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1972

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU THIS AFTERNOON AND  
TO HAVE THIS BRIEF OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THIS 1972 ELECTION  
CAMPAIGN.

1972 -- A SEASON OF PREDICTIONS

IF YOU REMEMBER, THE YEAR STARTED OUT WITH DEMOCRATS OF  
EVERY STRIPE JUMPING IN AND OUT OF THE RACE FOR THEIR PARTY'S  
NOMINATION. EVERY TIME YOU PICKED UP A PAPER OR TURNED ON THE NEWS,  
IT SEEMED, THERE WAS ANOTHER, ANNOUNCING HIS CANDIDACY AND CONFIDENTLY  
PREDICTING VICTORY. THERE WERE ALWAYS THOSE PREDICTIONS OF VICTORY.

AND IT WAS A FIELD DAY FOR THE PUNDITS. THEY MADE THEIR  
PREDICTIONS TOO. REMEMBER THIS WAS BACK IN THE DAYS WHEN MUSKIE  
WAS THE FRONT-RUNNER. NO ONE COULD BEAT HIM, IT WAS SAID. BUT  
HE'D BETTER KEEP AN EYE ON HUMPHREY, IT WAS SAID.

-2-

AND GEORGE MC GOVERN WASN'T GOING ANYWHERE -- OR SO IT WAS SAID.

ALL WRONG

IT HAS BEEN A SEASON OF PREDICTIONS, THIS FIRST HALF OF 1972. AND CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA HAVE GOTTEN IN MORE THAN THEIR SHARE -- AND HAVE MADE WHAT WOULD SEEM MORE THAN THEIR SHARE OF MISTAKES.

THERE WAS THE PROGNOSIS OF MANY REGARDING THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION OF THE SOUTH. IT WOULD PROVE THE FAILURE OF VIETNAMIZATION, IT WAS SAID. BUT TODAY, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARE ON THE OFFENSIVE, THE INVASION IS STALLED, AND THERE ARE NO REMAINING U. S. GROUND ~~COMBAT~~ FORCES IN VIETNAM. THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE, AS THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF HAD PREDICTED LONG AGO, ARE HACKING IT.

AND THERE WAS THE PREDICTION, BY SOME MEMBERS OF THE LIBERAL PRESS, THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MINING OF NORTH VIETNAMESE HARBORS WOULD CAUSE THE SOVIETS TO CANCEL THE SUMMIT. THE RUSSIANS COULD NOT ALLOW THE SUMMIT TO COME OFF IN THE FACE OF THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION. OR SO IT WAS SAID BY THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST AND THE NETWORK NEWS. AND THEY THREW THE THREAT OF

-3-

WORLD WAR THREE INTO THE BARGAIN, SOME OF THEM, BECAUSE PREDICTIONS HAD BECOME SO EASY -- AND SO AUTOMATIC A PART OF THEIR JOURNALISTIC STYLE. BUT THE SUMMIT DID COME OFF. AND FAR FROM WORLD WAR THREE OR ITS THREAT, IT PRODUCED SERIES OF AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND OURSELVES AND A LONG-AWAITED FIRST STEP AWAY FROM WAR AND TOWARDS THE LIMITATION OF ARMS AND THE END OF THE ARMS RACE.

MEDIA MEA CULPA'S FOR MC GOVERN

FOND AS THESE LIBERAL JOURNALISTS ARE OF THEIR PREDICTIONS, THEY HAVEN'T BUILT MUCH OF A RECORD WITH THEM. AND I AM SURE IT GALLS THEM TO BE SO WRONG SO OFTEN. AND THEY WERE WRONG. WRONG ABOUT VIETNAM AND VIETNAMIZATION. WRONG ABOUT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. WRONG ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. WRONG ABOUT MUSKIE. AND WRONG ABOUT MC GOVERN.

BUT IT IS THE LATTER THAT SEEMS TO GALL THEM THE MOST. SO WHAT IF THEY WERE WRONG ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY? SO WHAT IF THEY MISREAD THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE? SO WHAT IF THEY MAY HAVE UNDERMINED -- JUST A LITTLE -- THE CONFIDENCE OF AMERICANS IN THE INTEGRITY OF THEIR GOVERNMENT? ALL OF THESE MISTAKES AND MISCALCULATIONS SEEM TO PALE BY COMPARISON WITH THE MOST OUTRAGEOUS BLUNDER OF THEM ALL. THE LIBERAL PRESS, BACK IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY AND EVEN MARCH, SAID MC GOVERN, THE STANDARD BEARER OF ALL THEY HOLD DEAR, WASN'T GOING ANYWHERE.



-4-

AND SINCE THEN, THE BREAST-BEATING AND THE MEA CULPAS HAVE BEEN RISING LOUDER AND LOUDER FROM THE EAST COAST, ESTABLISHMENT, LIBERAL, MEDIA. IN THE PSYCHOLOGISTS TERM, THEY HAVE BEEN OVER-COMPENSATING, AND AS ONE OBSERVER HAS NOTED -- A MAN FROM WITHIN THE RANKS OF JOURNALISM, ALTHOUGH HE IS ONE WHO BEARS THE TAIN OF OBJECTIVITY, "MC GOVERN HAS PRETTY MUCH BEEN GIVEN A 'FREE RIDE'" BY CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE LIBERAL PRESS. THIS OBSERVER, GODFREY SPERLING OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR SAYS THAT "A LOVE AFFAIR BETWEEN A NUMBER OF NEWSMEN AND GEORGE MC GOVERN IS BURSTING INTO FULL BLOOM AND EVEN THOUGH WE ARE TALKING -- BY AND LARGE -- ABOUT TOUGH-MINDED PROFESSIONAL OBSERVERS, THIS CONGENIAL RELATIONSHIP IS BOUND TO AFFECT THEIR COPY..."

LET'S BE FAIR

HOW MIGHT IT AFFECT THEIR COPY, YOU MAY ASK. THEY HAVE TO PRINT THINGS AS THEY ARE, YOU MAY COUNTER. LET'S BE FAIR, AFTER ALL. WELL, THAT IS ALL I ASK. LET'S BE FAIR. LET'S HAVE THE WHOLE STORY ON GEORGE MC GOVERN'S PROPOSALS.

-5-

FIRST, LET'S HAVE IT FROM GEORGE MC GOVERN HIMSELF, WHO WON'T EVEN APPEAR BEFORE HIS PARTY'S PLATFORM COMMITTEE TO DEFEND SOME OF THE OUTRAGEOUS PROPOSALS HE HAS BEEN COMPOSING AND PROPOSING AND REVISING SINCE MARCH.

YES, LET'S HAVE THE WHOLE STORY ON THE MC GOVERN CANDIDACY AND HIS STAND ON THE ISSUES.

BUT HOW MIGHT THIS LOVE AFFAIR BETWEEN THE LIBERAL NEWSMEN AND MC GOVERN "AFFECT THEIR COPY?" WELL, TO MENTION ONE POSSIBILITY, I SUPPOSE I'LL HAVE TO DO WHAT I HAVE JUST CRITICIZED THE LIBERAL PRESS FOR -- MAKE A PREDICTION. AND MY PREDICTION IS SIMPLY THAT THEY WON'T COVER MY REMARKS HERE TODAY, WHICH IS ONE WAY THIS LOVE AFFAIR MIGHT AFFECT THEIR COPY. YOU SEE, THEY DO HAVE AN OPTION. THEY DON'T HAVE TO COVER THINGS THE WAY THEY ARE. IF THE LIBERAL PRESS DOESN'T LIKE THINGS THE WAY THEY ARE, THEY DON'T HAVE TO COVER THEM AT ALL.

-6-

UNEXAMINED SLOGAN

THAT EXPLAINS A LOT. IT EXPLAINS FOR EXAMPLE, IN PART AT LEAST, HOW MC GOVERN HAS BEEN ABLE TO GET AWAY WITH HIS CAMPAIGN SLOGAN "RIGHT FROM THE START" AND APPLY IT TO HIS POSITION ON VIETNAM. MANY JOURNALISTS HAVE LET THAT STAND, UNEXAMINED, AS AN ASSERTION THAT MC GOVERN HAS ALWAYS BEEN RIGHT ON VIETNAM -- THAT IS TO SAY THAT HE HAS ALWAYS AGREED WITH THEM THAT THE WAR WAS A MISTAKE AND THAT WE OUGHT TO GET OUT THE QUICKEST WAY POSSIBLE.

THAT IS WHAT THE SLOGAN IS SUPPOSED TO SUGGEST. BUT THE FACTS SUGGEST QUITE THE OPPOSITE. MC GOVERN ALWAYS TALKED A LOT ABOUT THE WAR. BUT HE VOTED FOR THE FUNDS THAT KEPT IT GOING, JUST THE SAME.

AND HE DIDN'T JUST VOTE FOR THE FUNDS TO KEEP IT GOING. HE VOTED FOR THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION IN 1964, A RESOLUTION THAT PROVIDED THE FORMAL JUSTIFICATION FOR THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND AMOUNTED TO A VIRTUAL DECLARATION OF WAR. AND TWO YEARS LATER, WHILE THE DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION WAS ESCALATING U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THAT WAR TO LEVELS WHICH HE SAYS WERE UNACCEPTABLE TO HIM, SENATOR MC GOVERN VOTED AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THAT GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION.



-7-

#### GEORGE'S DEMOCRATIC ACTION

IN 1968, MC GOVERN DECIDED TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT, AS AN ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE. BUT EVEN THEN, HIS OPPOSITION TO THE WAR WAS QUALIFIED JUST A LITTLE. THE YEAR BEFORE, IN 1967, HE HAD SAID THAT "I AM NOT NOW, NOR HAVE I EVER BEEN, AN ADVOCATE OF UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF OUR TROOPS FROM VIETNAM." AS CANDIDATE, IN 1968, HE DEMONSTRATED HIS VIEWS HAD NOT CHANGED. THEN, UNLIKE THE PRESENT, HE HAD NO HESITATION IN GOING BEFORE THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF HIS PARTY TO DEFEND HIS POSITIONS. AND WHAT HE PROPOSED TO THAT PANEL WAS THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BUT 250,000 AMERICAN TROOPS FROM VIETNAM, WHO WOULD REMAIN UNTIL CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTED FURTHER REDUCTIONS.

THE FACT IS IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1969 THAT GEORGE MC GOVERN BECAME AN ADVOCATE OF TOTAL, UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM. THAT IS TO SAY, IT WAS NOT UNTIL A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION TOOK OVER THE WHITE HOUSE, AND BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT A PROGRAM OF VIETNAMIZATION AND GRADUAL AMERICAN DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE WAR, THAT MC GOVERN ADOPTED THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL STANCE THAT COULD KEEP HIM POLITICALLY IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT.

-8-

FREE RIDE IN PRESS

HAVE YOU SEEN THAT IN YOUR PAPERS OR HEARD IT ON THE NEWS?  
I THINK NOT.

MC GOVERN IS GETTING A FREE RIDE.

WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN IN THE PAPERS, THOSE OF YOU WHO READ  
THE WASHINGTON POST, IS AN ARTICLE IN LAST SUNDAY'S OUTLOOK SECTION  
DESCRIBING THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE DEFENSE PROPOSALS OF GEORGE  
MC GOVERN AND THE DEFENSE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER. NOW I  
WOULD EXPECT SUCH AN ARTICLE TO BE BRIEF -- AT BEST -- BUT THIS ONE  
WENT ON FOR ALMOST A FULL PAGE OF TEXT AND AS FAR AS I CAN TELL, THE  
AUTHOR WAS SERIOUS. ALSO, AS FAR AS I CAN TELL, HE WAS LETTING HIS  
"CONGENIAL RELATIONSHIP" WITH GEORGE MC GOVERN AFFECT HIS COPY.

"THERE IS INDEED", HE WROTE, "A LOT OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER  
IN GEORGE MC GOVERN'S ALTERNATIVE MILITARY BUDGET."

DURING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S EIGHT YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE,  
AMERICA WAS THE STRONGEST NATION IN THE WORLD AND IT WAS EMBARKED  
ON A PROGRAM TO STAY THAT WAY. MOST OF THOSE STRATEGIC WEAPONS NOW IN  
OUR ARSENAL -- AND ON WHICH MC GOVERN'S 'ALTERNATIVE DEFENSE BUDGET'  
WOULD CONTINUE TO RELY -- WERE BEGUN DURING THOSE YEARS. AS IF THE



-9-

1960's HAD NEVER HAPPENED AND THE SOVIET ARMS BUILD-UP HAD NEVER BEGUN, MC GOVERN WOULD CUT BACK ON WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS SUCH AS A NEW STRATEGIC BOMBER AND A NEW GENERATION OF MISSILE SUBMARINE. HE WOULD DO SO, AS THE ARTICLE STATES IT, "IN HOPES OF DETERRING THE SOVIET UNION FROM MAKING THE SAME PLUNGE INTO NEW WEAPONRY."

#### MC GOVERN'S PROPHECY

IT WOULD APPEAR FROM THE ANALYSIS IN THE POST ARTICLE THAT GEORE MC GOVERN IS GETTING INTO THIS PREDICTING BUSINESS TOO. BUT ON THIS ONE, IF WE GIVE HIM THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE AUTHORITY TO TRY TO MAKE HIS PREDICTION COME TRUE, WE RISK THE VERY FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY AND THE SECURITY OF THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD.

FOR GEORGE MC GOVERN'S PREDICTION BOILS DOWN TO HIS "HOPE" THAT IF THE UNITED STATES MAKES A UNILATERAL DECISION OT CUT ITS DEFENSE EFFORT BY SOME FORTY PERCENT, AND WEAKEN ITS DEFENSE POSTURE IN THE WORLD, THEN THE SOVIET UNION WILL BENEVOLENTLY OPT TO DO THE SAME.

-10-

PINS A LOT ON 'HOPES'

BUT MC GOVERN DOESN'T WANT TO MAKE ANY PLANS "JUST IN CASE."  
HE PROVIDES FOR NO NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS JUST IN CASE HIS HOPES DON'T  
MATERIALIZE. AND NO NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS, I WOULD REMIND YOU, MEANS  
NO INCENTIVE TO THE SOVIETS FOR NEW ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENTS.

MC GOVERN THOUGHT IT WAS "A GRAVE...BLUNDER" TO BEGIN  
"BUILDING OUR OWN ABM'S AND MIRV'S LONG BEFORE THERE WAS ANY  
MILITARY NECESSITY..." PRESUMABLY, WE SHOULD WAIT UNTIL THERE IS  
AN EMERGENCY TO WORRY ABOUT NEW WEAPONS. MC GOVERN, IT SEEMS, IS  
CONTENT TO BASE OUR DEFENSE ON THE WEAPONS SYSTEMS DEVELOPED UNDER  
EISENHOWER 15 AND 20 YEARS AGO, WITHOUT GOING AHEAD WITH ANYTHING  
NEW -- IN THE "HOPE" WE WOULD NEED IT.

THERE IS, AS THE ARTICLE SAYS, A LOT OF DWIGHT EISENHOWER  
IN THE MC GOVERN 'ALTERNATIVE' DEFENSE BUDGET. ALL OF THE MUSCLE IN  
IT COMES FROM IKE. BUT THERE IS NONE OF HIS VISION AND NONE OF HIS  
UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICA TOWARD ALL OF THE NATIONS  
OF THE FREE WORLD AND OF THE NEED FOR THIS NATION TO CONTINUE AS THE  
WORLD'S STRONGEST IN ORDER TO MEET THAT RESPONSIBILITY.

-11-

UNOFFICIAL ADVISERS

I BEGAN WITH SOME TALK OF PREDICTIONS. I SHALL END IN THE SAME VEIN. THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF SPECULATION AND CRYSTAL BALL GAZING ABOUT WHERE MC GOVERN GOES AFTER THE CONVENTION, ASSUMING HE GETS THE NOMINATION. FROM THE LIBERAL PRESS, OF COURSE, IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN JUST SPECULATION. IT'S ADVICE -- ADVICE FROM A NUMBER OF WOULD-BE CAMPAIGN MANAGERS WHO ADVISE HIM ALMOST DAILY FROM THEIR COLUMNS AND OVER THE AIRWAVES.

HE WILL HOLD TO HIS RADICAL VIEWS, SOME SUGGEST. OTHERS SAY HE WILL MOVE TO THE RIGHT. MOST SEEM TO PREDICT -- THAT IS TO SAY THEY ADVISE HIM THAT HE SHOULD MAKE -- A MOVE INTO THE CENTER.

MC GOVERN MAY MOVE -- NOT TO WHITE HOUSE

WELL, I HAVE MY OWN PREDICTION. MC GOVERN MAY MOVE LEFT. HE MAY MOVE RIGHT. HE MAY TRY TO MOVE INTO THE CENTER.

BUT ONE PLACE HE WILL NOT MOVE INTO <sup>after</sup> NOVEMBER IS THE WHITE HOUSE.



-12-

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY -- WHAT IS LEFT OF IT -- IS HAVING A HARD ENOUGH TIME RECONCILING ITSELF TO THE PROSPECT OF GEORGE MC GOVERN AS ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS A WHOLE, I AM SURE, COULD NEVER BE RECONCILED TO HAVING HIM AS THEIR PRESIDENT.

WE ARE GOING TO MAKE SURE OF IT, IF WE WORK HARD ENOUGH. AND WE ARE GOING TO HAVE PLENTY OF ~~TR~~ADITIONAL DEMOCRATS WORKING RIGHT ALONG WITH US, YOU CAN BE SURE, IF GEORGE MC GOVERN IS THE DEMOCRAT NOMINEE. AND THEY WILL BE WORKING WITH US TO RETAIN WHAT RICHARD NIXON HAS GIVEN THIS COUNTRY, CENTRIST PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP THAT HAS TAKEN US FAR IN THE PAST THREE-AND-A-HALF YEARS AND THAT WILL TAKE US, IN THE NEXT FOUR, EVEN FARTHER TOWARDS THE GOALS WE ARE ALL AGREED UPON, A BETTER AMERICA IN A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.