

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
REPUBLICAN FUNDRAISING DINNER  
BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1972

AS I LOOK OUT ON THIS GREAT GROUP OF SOUTH DAKOTA REPUBLICANS, IT IS STILL HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THE SAME STATE THAT HAS SPAWNED SO MANY FINE AND DISCERNING REPUBLICANS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE PRESIDENT, HAS ALSO GIVEN US HIS OPPONENT THIS YEAR IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

SINCE SOUTH DAKOTA HAS BEEN THE UNFORTUNATE VICTIM OF SOME UNFAIR CRITICISM IN RECENT MONTHS -- CRITICISM BASED LARGELY ON GUILT BY ASSOCIATION WITH A MAN WHO HAS PROVEN HIMSELF TO BE WAY OUT OF STEP WITH HIS COUNTRY AND HIS TIME -- I THOUGHT I MIGHT SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE WAY GEORGE MCGOVERN WON THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF HIS STATE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

Has Maudt -  
"Come Home Mr. Dole"

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SIMPLE ANSWER TO VEXING QUESTION

THE QUESTION THAT IS OFTEN ASKED, IS WHATEVER POSSESSED THE VOTERS OF SOUTH DAKOTA TO SEND GEORGE MCGOVERN TO WASHINGTON IN THE FIRST PLACE.

AND THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE -- AND AT THE SAME TIME ILLUSTRATIVE OF A VERY IMPORTANT POINT ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION COMING UP TWO WEEKS FROM TOMORROW.

THE ANSWER IS SIMPLY THIS -- IT WASN'T THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA WHO VOTED IN 1962 WHO SENT GEORGE MCGOVERN TO THE SENATE. IT WAS THE PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T VOTE WHO SENT HIM.

LET ME EXPLAIN THAT. AND AS I DO, PLEASE GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO WHAT COULD HAPPEN THIS YEAR.

IN 1961 AFTER GEORGE MCGOVERN HAD SERVED ~~THE SENATE~~ IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SO DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF IN THAT SERVICE THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA OVERWHELMINGLY REJECTED HIS BID FOR A SEAT IN THE SENATE IN THE ELECTION OF 1960, HE WENT TO WASHINGTON FOR A BRIEF SOJOURN AMONG THE ENLIGHTENED OF THE NEW FRONTIER. AND THEN, THUS FORTIFIED, HE CAME BACK, AS YOU KNOW, FOR ANOTHER RUN AT THE SENATE. THIS TIME HE WON -- BUT NOT, I REPEAT BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA WHO VOTED THAT YEAR ELECTED HIM.

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GEORGE MCGOVERN WON IN 1962 BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA WHO DIDN'T VOTE ELECTED HIM.

THE 35.6 PERCENT OF THE ELIGIBLE SOUTH DAKOTA VOTERS WHO DIDN'T BOTHER TO GO TO THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY 1962 ELECTED GEORGE MCGOVERN. HE ONLY WON BY 516 VOTES. ALL IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN TO DEFEAT HIM WAS FOR 517 OF THE PEOPLE WHO STAYED HOME THAT DAY TO HAVE GONE TO THE POLLS INSTEAD. JUST ONE EXTRA REPUBLICAN VOTER IN EVERY OTHER PRECINCT COULD HAVE DONE IT -- COULD HAVE PROVIDED THE MARGIN OF DEFEAT FOR GEORGE MCGOVERN. BUT SOME WERE TOO BUSY WITH OTHER THINGS, OR CONVINCED -- AS TOO MANY PEOPLE ARE -- THAT THEIR ONE VOTE WOULDN'T REALLY COUNT ANYWAY.

IMPORTANCE OF GETTING VOTE OUT

AND IT IS TRUE ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THE SAME ATTITUDE IS ALL TOO COMMON IN ALL TOO MANY PLACES. ONE VOTE DOESN'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE. MILLIONS ARE GOING TO BE CAST -- MINE WON'T REALLY COUNT IN ANY MEANINGFUL SENSE.

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AND IT IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE. THOSE 35.6 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE WHO STAYED HOME HERE IN 1962, WERE JUST FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF MILLIONS WHO STAYED HOME TWO YEARS BEFORE WHEN ALL IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN WAS LESS THAN ONE EXTRA NIXON VOTE PER PRECINCT NATIONWIDE TO ELECT RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENT.

THAT 1960 LOSS WASN'T THE FAULT OF YOU OR I. THE ELECTION OF GEORGE MCGOVERN IN 1962 WASN'T YOUR FAULT. BUT WE KNOW WHY IT HAPPENED NOW AND WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT. AND BECAUSE WE KNOW WHY IT HAPPENED AND WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT, IF WE FAIL TO GET OUT THE VOTE IN THIS YEAR OF 1972 -- IN THIS CRUCIAL ELECTION -- THEN THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE OUR FAULT.

THE PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T VOTE IN 1962 ELECTED GEORGE MCGOVERN SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA. THE PEOPLE WHO DON'T VOTE IN 1972, COULD ELECT GEORGE MCGOVERN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THAT SOUNDS INCONCEIVABLE, DOESN'T IT. GEORGE MCGOVERN ACTUALLY WINNING. I HAVE SUFFICIENT FAITH IN THE GOOD SENSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY NOT TO WORRY A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THAT HAPPENING.

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COULD WIN ELECTION, STILL LOSE OPPORTUNITY

BUT I AM CONCERNED THAT WE MIGHT SUFFER A DIFFERENT KIND OF LOSS IN THIS ELECTION AT THE HANDS OF THOSE VOTERS WHO DON'T BOTHER TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY THINK THEIR VOTE DOESN'T COUNT OR BECAUSE THEY MAY THINK THE PRESIDENT HAS THE ELECTION ALL SEWED UP.

WE COULD MISS THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITY WE HAVE HAD -- AS A PEOPLE, AS A PARTY, AS AMERICANS -- TO BUILD A NEW MAJORITY AND A NEW COALITION OF COMMON INTEREST IN THESE UNITED STATES. WE CAN FASHION A COALITION ROOTED IN THE VALUES AND TRADITIONS OF OUR PAST AND COMMITTED TO BUILDING OUT OF THEM A BETTER AND MORE SECURE FUTURE.

BUT UNLESS WE GET THE VOTE OUT ON ELECTION DAY, WE COULD MISS THAT CHANCE AND FAIL TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

WE COULD MISS THE CHANCE TO GIVE RICHARD NIXON THE POSITIVE MANDATE FOR FOUR MORE YEARS OF PROGRESS AND LEADERSHIP WHICH HE HAS EARNED SINCE 1969. AND WE COULD MISS THE CHANCE TO DELIVER GEORGE MCGOVERN THE KIND OF REPUDIATION WHICH HIS VIEWS AND HIS CAMPAIGN TACTICS HAVE EARNED HIM SINCE HE WAS NOMINATED IN JULY.

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ON NOVEMBER 7TH, THE ELECTORATE IS GOING TO CHOOSE FOUR MORE YEARS OF LEADERSHIP WITH PRESIDENT NIXON. IF WE SUCCEED IN GETTING OUT THE VOTE IN NUMBERS PROPORTIONATE TO THE REAL DEGREE OF SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT ENJOYS IN THIS COUNTRY, THEN WE CAN MAKE THAT CHOICE MORE THAN JUST AN ELECTION VICTORY.

WE CAN MAKE IT A DEMONSTRATION -- TO THE WORLD AND TO OURSELVES -- THAT AMERICA IS STILL ONE AMERICA, DIVERSE BUT NOT DIVIDED, DIFFERING ON MANY THINGS BUT STILL IN AGREEMENT ON THE IMPORTANT THINGS, ABOUT THEIR COUNTRY AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR -- AND UNITED AS WELL IN STRONG AND UNEQUIVOCAL DISAGREEMENT WITH GEORGE MCGOVERN AND THE ARROGANT ELITIST IDEOLOGY HE STANDS FOR.

INSULTS DAKOTANS

ON SEPTEMBER 10, SENATOR MCGOVERN WROTE AN OPEN LETTER TO YOU AND THE OTHER PEOPLE OF YOUR STATE WHICH HE PUBLISHED IN THE SIOUX FALLS ARGUS ~~LETTER~~. IN IT HE APPEALED FOR YOUR VOTES ON THE BASIS OF WHAT HE WOULD DO FOR SOUTH DAKOTA. "ONE NEED ONLY LOOK," HE WROTE, "AT THE FEDERAL ACTIVITIES THAT WERE PROGRAMMED FOR MISSOURI, MASSACHUSETTS AND TEXAS AS AN EXAMPLE, DURING THE PAST ADMINISTRATION TO RECOGNIZE WHAT IT WOULD MEAN TO SOUTH DAKOTA IF I WIN IN NOVEMBER."

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ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT SUCH A LETTER IS IN THE FIRST PLACE AN INSULT TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA, WHO LIKE MOST AMERICANS ARE GOING TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT NOT OUT OF SELFISH MOTIVATION BUT ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IS BEST FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE; ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT THE LETTER POSSIBLY VIOLATES FEDERAL LAW BY PROMISING SPECIAL REWARDS FOR POLITICAL SUPPORT -- ASIDE FROM ALL OF THAT -- THE LETTER STILL COMES ACROSS LIKE SOMEBODY'S IDEA OF A BAD JOKE.

YOU PEOPLE HERE TONIGHT ARE FAR BETTER ABLE THAN I TO JUDGE WHAT GEORGE MCGOVERN HAS ALREADY DONE -- AND FAILED TO DO -- FOR THE PEOPLE OF YOUR STATE. YOU ALREADY KNOW WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA TO HAVE GEORGE MCGOVERN AS THEIR U. S. SENATOR. BUT LET ME TELL YOU WHAT I THINK IT WOULD MEAN TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA TO HAVE GEORGE MCGOVERN IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

5,000 JOBS THREATENED

TO ALMOST 5,000 OF THE PEOPLE WHO WORK AT ELLSWORTH AIR FORCE BASE, HIS DEFENSE BUDGET CUT PROPOSALS WOULD VERY POSSIBLY MEAN THE LOSS OF THEIR LIVELIHOOD. THAT IS PART OF WHAT IT WOULD MEAN TO SOUTH DAKOTA IF GEORGE MCGOVERN WON IN NOVEMBER.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA AND INDEED TO ALL AMERICANS, IT WOULD MEAN AN INCREASE IN FEDERAL TAXES -- AN INCREASE VARIOUSLY ESTIMATED FROM 35% TO 100% OR MORE. THAT IS WHAT HIS FREE SPENDING BIG GOVERNMENT POLICIES WOULD MEAN FOR US ALL.

FOR ALMOST HALF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY HIS SO-CALLED WELFARE REFORM PROPOSALS COULD REQUIRE THAT THEY END UP PAYING THE SALARIES OF THE OTHER HALF OF OUR POPULATION WHOM HIS PROPOSALS WOULD MAKE ELIGIBLE FOR RELIEF.

TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH DAKOTA AND INDEED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, GEORGE MCGOVERN IN THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD MEAN A RETURN TO AN EARLIER ERA OF ANXIETY AND APPREHENSION ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF WORLD PEACE.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF RICHARD NIXON IS TAKING US FROM AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION INTO A NEW ERA OF NEGOTIATION. GEORGE MCGOVERN'S FOREIGN POLICY WOULD TAKE US FROM THAT HOPEFUL ERA OF NEGOTIATION FROM STRENGTH INTO AN ERA OF CAPITULATION IN WEAKNESS.

THESE THINGS ABOUT WHAT A MCGOVERN VICTORY IN NOVEMBER WOULD MEAN, I CAN STATE WITH SOME CONFIDENCE. THEY SEEM THE SELF-EVIDENT CONSEQUENCES OF SOME OF HIS STATED PROPOSALS. IT IS LESS CLEAR, HOWEVER, WHAT HE MIGHT DO IN OTHER AREAS.

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HE HAS PROMISED TO DO A GREAT MANY THINGS IF HE WERE PRESIDENT AND AS ONE 72-YEAR-OLD RESIDENT, OF HIS HOME TOWN OF MITCHELL -- HIMSELF A DEMOCRAT AND ACTIVE IN HIS PARTY FOR 38 YEARS -- HAS SAID WITH CHARACTERISTIC MIDWESTERN UNDERSTATEMENT, "MCGOVERN'S PROMISES ARE NOT TOO GOOD." LET ME LIST SOME OF THOSE PROMISES FOR YOU:

PROMISES TO KEEP

HE PROMISED TO BACK TOM EAGLETON 1000 PERCENT. BUT HE DIDN'T.

HE PROMISED TO RUN A CAMPAIGN ON THE ISSUES -- BUT HE DIDN'T BECAUSE HE CAN'T. BECAUSE ALL OF THE ISSUES ARE IN RICHARD NIXON'S FAVOR. AND SO INSTEAD HE IS RUNNING A SMEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AGAINST THE PEOPLE WHO DON'T BELIEVE HIM AND THE NEWSPAPERS WHO DON'T SUPPORT HIM, AGAINST THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE ABANDONED HIM, AND AGAINST WORKERS WHO AREN'T GOING TO VOTE FOR HIM.

YES, MCGOVERN'S PROMISES "ARE NOT TOO GOOD." HE HAS PROMISED TO SLASH \$32 BILLION OUT OF A DEFENSE BUDGET THAT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LAIRD SAYS IS ALREADY CUT TO THE "BARE BONES." AND AT THE SAME TIME HE PROMISES TO MAINTAIN AMERICA'S DEFENSES SECOND TO NONE.

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HE PROMISES US THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS, SUPER-POWER STATUS ON THE CHEAP. BUT THAT IS A PROMISE NO PRESIDENT COULD KEEP.

FOR THE FARMER HE PROMISES TO RAISE PARITY UP TO ANYWHERE FROM 90% TO 110% -- I AM SURPRISED HE DOESN'T PROMISE 1000% PARITY.

AND AT THE SAME TIME HE PROMISES THE CONSUMER LOWER FOOD PRICES. ONE OF THOSE, QUITE OBVIOUSLY, IS A PROMISE HE COULDN'T KEEP.

AND HE PROMISES TO END THE WAR, BRING HOME ALL OUR TROOPS AND SECURE THE RELEASE OF EVERY AMERICAN PRISONER WITHIN 90 DAYS OF HIS INAUGURATION. HE CAN KEEP PART OF THAT PROMISE BY SIMPLY SURRENDERING -- WHICH IN MY VIEW HE ALSO PROMISES TO DO. HE CAN BRING OUR TROOPS HOME AND HE CAN EVEN END THE WAR BY GIVING IN TO HANOI. BUT GEORGE MCGOVERN CAN NEVER KEEP HIS PROMISE TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF OUR PRISONERS.

HE CAN MAKE THAT PROMISE AS HE HAS DONE MORE THAN ONCE. BUT WITH THE POLICIES HE PROPOSES, THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO CAN KEEP IT FOR HIM ARE THE COMMUNISTS IN NORTH VIETNAM.

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AS ANOTHER DEMOCRAT RESIDENT OF MCGOVERN'S HOME TOWN PUT IT, "MCGOVERN IS AN OVER-PROMISER...HE MUST THINK THE PEOPLE ARE STUPID ENOUGH TO BELIEVE HIM."

BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DON'T BELIEVE HIM. THEY DON'T BELIEVE HE CAN KEEP ALL OF THOSE PROMISES HE HAS MADE. AND HE MADE ONE OTHER PROMISE AT THE START OF THIS CAMPAIGN -- A PROMISE TO SPEAK THE TRUTH.

BUT THE ONLY ONE WHO BELIEVES GEORGE MCGOVERN IN THAT OR ANY OTHER PROMISES HE MAKES IS GEORGE MCGOVERN HIMSELF.

ON ONLY ONE THING I CAN THINK OF IS MOST EVERYONE IN AGREEMENT WITH SENATOR MCGOVERN. HE ONCE SAID OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT "THEY ARE LOOKING FIRST AND FOREMOST FOR SOMEONE WHO WILL TAKE A STAND, WHO WILL TAKE A POSITION HE HONESTLY BELIEVES -- THEN HOLD TO THAT POSITION IN THE INTEREST OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE."

THAT IS WHAT THEY LOOK FOR ALL RIGHT BUT THEY HAVEN'T FOUND IT IN MCGOVERN. WHAT THEY HAVE FOUND IN HIM IS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WHO HAS COMPILED PERHAPS THE LONGEST LIST OF POSITION SWITCHES, INCONSISTENCIES, IMPOSSIBLE PROMISES AND JUST PLAIN SILLY STATEMENTS OF ANY MAJOR CANDIDATE IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS.

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THE SELF-PROCLAIMED CANDIDATE OF CANDOR AND TRUTH SUCCEEDED IN ONE THING DURING HIS LONG THOUGH DISMAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY. THE CANDIDATE OF TRUTH TOLD US THE TRUTH ABOUT GEORGE MCGOVERN AND FOR THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE LIKED TO SUPPORT HIM -- THAT THE TRUTH HURTS.

FOR THE TRUTH ABOUT GEORGE MCGOVERN IS SIMPLY THIS -- HE DOESN'T HAVE WHAT IT TAKES TO BE PRESIDENT.

IT TAKES EXPERIENCE TO BE PRESIDENT AND GEORGE MCGOVERN DOESN'T HAVE IT. IT TAKES IMAGINATION AND INSIGHT TO BE PRESIDENT AND GEORGE MCGOVERN HAS NEITHER. IT TAKES A CAPACITY FOR LEADERSHIP TO BE PRESIDENT AND GEORGE MCGOVERN DOESN'T HAVE IT.

AND IT TAKES A SIMPLE UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICA -- OF WHAT IT MEANS TODAY TO ITS OWN PEOPLE AND TO PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD AND OF WHAT IT HAS ALWAYS MEANT -- IT TAKES THAT TO BE PRESIDENT AND GEORGE MCGOVERN DOESN'T HAVE IT.

THERE WAS A POPULAR SAYING IN THIS COUNTRY DURING THE LAST CENTURY THAT WENT SOMETHING LIKE THIS: "IT'S NOT IGNORANCE SO MUCH THAT HURTS, AS KNOWING ALL THOSE THINGS THAT AIN'T SO."

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AND THAT IS THE SIMPLE TRUTH ABOUT GEORGE MCGOVERN THAT HURTS. ALL THE THINGS HE ASSERTS WITH SUCH CONFIDENCE AND CONVICTION ABOUT THIS COUNTRY, ALL THE THINGS HE DECLARES WITH SUCH DOGMATIC CERTAINTY AND SELF-RIGHTEOUS SELF-ASSURANCE, JUST "AIN'T SO."

MANDATE NEEDED TO BUILD ON BEGINNINGS

AND SO HE DOESN'T HAVE WHAT IT TAKES TO BE PRESIDENT.

HE DOESN'T HAVE WHAT IT TAKES TO CONTINUE THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS TOWARD A REDUCTION OF WORLD TENSION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LASTING PROSPERITY HERE AT HOME FOR ALL AMERICANS.

RICHARD NIXON SET THESE TRENDS IN MOTION. HE TOOK HISTORIC INITIATIVES THAT STARTED US ALONG THE ROAD TO PROGRESS.

AND HE HAS WHAT IT TAKES -- IN ABUNDANCE -- TO CONTINUE THAT PROGRESS AND BUILD ON THOSE BEGINNINGS. HE HAS THE INTELLIGENCE AND THE IMAGINATION. HE HAS THE EXPERIENCE. HE HAS THE VISION. AND HE HAS THE SUPPORT OF MOST AMERICANS.

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING HE DOESN'T HAVE AS YET -- A MANDATE -- BUT WE CAN GET IT FOR HIM. AND WE SHALL GET IT FOR HIM IF WE ONLY DO OUR JOB THESE NEXT TWO WEEKS, AND GET OUT THE VOTE FOR RICHARD NIXON AND SPIRO AGNEW ON ELECTION DAY.

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