

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
WYANDOTTE COUNTY REPUBLICAN WOMEN
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS
FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1974

IT IS MY PLEASURE AND PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE WITH YOU THIS EVENING AND TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE SOME OF MY OWN FEELINGS ABOUT THE POLITICAL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THIS COUNTRY AND MORE PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR OUR PARTY.

THERE IS NO SENSE IN PUTTING OUR HEADS IN THE SAND ABOUT IT. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DOES HAVE ITS PROBLEMS. AND TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE, OUR OPPOSITION IS SURE TO LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN TO MAGNIFY THOSE PROBLEMS. IN SHORT, WITHOUT MINCING ANY WORDS, PARTISAN DEMOCRATS WILL TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO TAR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH THE WATERGATE BRUSH.

FACE FACTS

POLITICALLY, THEY SEE A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY IN WATERGATE. AND THEY WILL PROTEST LOUD AND LONG THAT THEY DON'T WANT TO MAKE IT AN ISSUE. THEY WILL TALK SO MUCH ABOUT HOW MUCH THEY DEPLORE IT AND HOW MUCH THEY REGRET IT -- AND ALWAYS -- HOW DESPERATELY MUCH THEY WANT NOT TO MAKE IT AN ISSUE IN THE CAMPAIGN. THAT IT ~~WILL~~ ALMOST SURELY BECOME AN ISSUE IN THE CAMPAIGN.

AND WE MIGHT AS WELL FACE IT.

PROPER RESPONSE

IN FACING IT, WE ARE ONLY FACING THE FACTS. BUT THE MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION BY FAR, IS WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT IT.

DO WE GO ON THE DEFENSIVE, APOLOGIZING FOR POLITICAL WRONG-DOING WE BEAR NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR. I SAY NO.

DO WE IGNORE THE ISSUE, GIVING THE DEMOCRATS FULL FREEDOM TO HURL THEIR CHARGES AND INNUENDO AT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES. AGAIN, I SAY NO.

MY OWN VIEW IS THAT WE REPUBLICANS OUGHT TO AKE THE INITIATIVE IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF 1974. WE HAVE A LOT THAT IS POSITIVE TO TALK ABOUT -- A LOT WE SHOULD BE PROUD TO TALK ABOUT.

WATERGATE WILL BE THERE AS AN ISSUE. I CAN'T SAY IT WON'T BE. BUT IN THIS OFF-YEAR CONGRESSIONAL ISSUES OUGHT TO BE AND --IF WE WORK AT IT-- WILL BE THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN.

INFLATION, ENERGY CRISIS, HEALTH CARE, AND THE REST--THESE ARE ISSUES OF REAL AND IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO THE AMERICAN VOTER. THESE ARE PROBLEMS WHICH OUGHT TO BE ON THE NATIONAL AGENDA. THESE ARE PROBLEMS THAT THE CONGRESS OUGHT TO BE SOLVING INSTEAD OF AGGRAVATING.

TWENTY YEARS TOO LONG

AND THE FACT THAT FOR THE LAST TWENTY YEARS THE CONGRESS HAS FAILED TO MAKE MANY SIGNIFICANT INROADS AGAINST THESE PROBLEMS OUGHT TO BE AN ISSUE-- AND A MAJOR ONE --IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

THE FACT THAT FOR THOSE SAME TWENTY YEARS THE CONGRESS HAS BEEN IN THE

IRON-FISTED CONTROL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OF COURSE, OUGHT TO MAKE IT OUR ISSUE. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE CONGRESS MEANS THAT DEMOCRATS EFFECTIVELY DETERMINE WHAT BILLS ARE CONSIDERED, OR NOT CONSIDERED: WHICH ISSUES ARE CONFRONTED, OR SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG: EVEN WHOSE OPINIONS ARE HEARD BY COMMITTEES AND WHOSE OPINIONS ARE IGNORED.

IGNORED ENERGY WARNINGS

FIVE YEARS AGO, ON THE SENATE FLOOR, I URGED MY COLLEAGUES TO COME TO GRIPS WITH WHAT EVEN THEN, WAS A MAJOR DEVELOPING PROBLEM. I TOLD THEM IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT STEPS BE TAKEN TO REVERSE A DECLINE IN OIL AND GAS EXPLORATION WHICH HAD THEN BEEN GOING ON FOR THE PREVIOUS TWELVE YEARS.

THREE YEARS AGO, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, IN AN ENERGY MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS PROPOSED SEVERAL PIECES OF LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO HELP STAVE OFF A SERIOUS FUEL SUPPLY PROBLEM FOR THIS COUNTRY.

→ BUT TEN YEARS AGO, WHEN WARNINGS WERE BEING MADE

BUT TEN YEARS AGO, WHEN WARNINGS WERE BEING HEARD, FIVE YEARS AGO WHEN I MADE SOME MYSELF, AND THREE YEARS AGO, WHEN THEY WERE PRESENTED WITH A FAIRLY COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE OF LEGISLATION, THE DEMOCRATS IN CONTROL OF THE CONGRESS FAILED TO ACT.

AND IN FAILING TO ACT, THEY PUT US FARTHER AND FARTHER BEHIND IN THE RACE AGAINST THE INEVITABLE. LAST FALL, THE INEVITABLE MATERIALIZED AND WE WENT INTO AN ENERGY CRISIS VERY BADLY PREPARED FOR IT.

THE SCANDAL OF INACTION

I AM NOT SAYING THAT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION COULD HAVE COMPLETELY AVOIDED THE ENERGY CRISIS. THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO WOULD HAVE HAD A MAJOR EFFECT ON THIS COUNTRY'S FUEL SUPPLIES NO MATTER WHAT. BUT WE COULD HAVE BEEN MUCH FARTHER ALONG TOWARDS OUR GOAL OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY BY NOW HAD CONGRESS ACTED MUCH SOONER THAN IT DID.

EVEN NOW, WITH ALL OF THE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY INITIATED BY THE ENERGY

CRISIS--ALL THE MANY HOURS OF DEBATE WE HAVE HAD IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE ON THE SUBJECT --CONGRESS IS HARD PUT TO POINT TO ANY BILL IT HAS PASSED THAT HAS PUT EVEN ONE EXTRA GALLON OF GAS IN THE NATIONS GAS-TANK.

WHEN FUEL SUPPLIES DWINDLED, THE BEST THE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS COULD DO WAS GIVE US YEAR-ROUND DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME. AND THEY TALK ABOUT SCANDAL.

LAST TUESDAY, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AGAIN BROUGHT UP AN EMERGENCY ENERGY ACT. MANY MEMBERS TREATED THE BILL AS THEY HAD TREATED EARLIER VERSIONS WHICH HAVE FAILED -- NAMELY AS THE ALMOST TOTAL CURE-ALL FOR THE ENERGY PROBLEMS OF THIS COUNTRY.

LIKE EARLIER BILLS, THIS ONE HAD HIGH-SOUNDING LANGUAGE ABOUT PRICE ROLL-BACKS AND GAS RATIONING AUTHORITIES. LIKE EARLIER BILLS, THIS ONE HELD LITTLE OR NO PROMISE OF MEETING THE BASIC ENERGY PROBLEM THIS COUNTRY FACES -- A SHORTAGE OF FUEL.

NOT ONE EXTRA GALLON

IT WOULD HAVE ROLLED-BACK PRICES. IT WOULD HAVE AUTHORIZED RATIONING. IT WOULD HAVE DONE MANY THINGS. BUT IT WOULD NOT HAVE PRODUCED A SINGLE EXTRA GALLON OF GAS OR HEATING OIL OR DIESEL OR PROPANE FOR THE AMERICAN FUEL CONSUMING PUBLIC.

IT HAD THE SUPPORT OF THOSE WHO SEEM TO THINK WE NEEDN'T WORRY ABOUT SHORTAGES ANY MORE, NOW THAT THE ARAB EMBARGO IS OVER. IT HAD THE SUPPORT OF THOSE WHO HAVE BY THEIR VOTES EVIDENCED NO CONCERN WHATEVER FOR THE FUTURE OF THE INDEPENDENT OIL PRODUCERS IN THIS COUNTRY -- AND IN KANSAS -- OR FOR THEIR FUTURE ABILITY TO EXPLORE AND DEVELOP NEW SUPPLIES OF PETROLEUM.

IT HAD THE SUPPORT, NOT SURPRISINGLY OF THE KANSAS CONGRESSMAN WHO WOULD LIKE TO BE MY OPPONENT IN NOVEMBER AND WHO HAS CONSISTENTLY VOTED FOR SUCH SIMPLISTIC AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE PROPOSALS TO SOLVE COMPLEX PROBLEMS.

IF WE MAKE IT THROUGH THE SUMMER WITHOUT GAS LINES, IF WE ARE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO AVOID GAS RATIONING -- WHICH THE MAN WHO WOULD BE MY OPPONENT WOULD HAVE HAD US ADOPT LAST WINTER IF HE COULD HAVE --IT WILL BE IN PART BECAUSE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SHOWED THE GOOD SENSE, T THIS TIME, NOT TO PASS THE BILL.

ON THE ISSUE OF GROWING CENTRALIZATION OF POWER--A RESULT OF YEARS OF ABDICATION BY CONGRESS TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF ITS PROPER ROLE IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE NATION--THE DEMOCRATS ARE ALMOST WHOLLY TO BLAME.

ON THE EROSION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM OF ACTION AND THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON ALL OUR LIVES--THE RESULT OF THE PASSAGE OF ILL-CONCEIVED SOCIAL REFORM LEGISLATION BY A CONGRESS WHICH THINKS IT CAN RUN YOUR COMMUNITIES, YOUR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, YOUR LIVES BETTER THAN YOU CAN --THE FAULT LIES WITH THE CONGRESS WHICH PASSES THE LAWS, OR FAILS TO TAKE ACTION TO REFORM EXISTING LAWS IN NEED OF REFORM.

CONGRESS RATING LOW

FOR TWENTY YEARS, THE POWER OF CONGRESS ITSELF IS SAID TO HAVE ERODED AWAY, AS HAS THE POWER OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, WHILE THE STRENGTH OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH HAS GROWN BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS. IF THAT IS THE CASE -- AND I FIRMLY BELIEVE IT IS--THEN WHO IS TO BLAME IF NOT THOSE MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY WHO WERE CHARGED WITH THE TASK OF LEADERSHIP AND FAILED SO CONSISTENTLY AND SO DISMALLY TO FULFILL IT.

-10-

IT SHOULD TAKE NO BIG POLITICAL SELLING JOB, NO MAJOR PARTISAN CAMPAIGN, TO BRING THIS POINT HOME TO THE VOTERS. THEY HAVE ALREADY MADE THEIR EVALUATION OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH, AND ACCORDING TO THE POLLS HAVE GIVEN IT A LOFTY TWENTY-ONE PERCENT APPROVAL RATING.

MORE OF THE SAME?

THAT IS THE REAL ISSUE IN 1974--THE LOW ESTATE TO WHICH THE CONGRESS HAS FALLEN. WE CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE OPPOSITION WILL DO ITS BEST TO FRAME THE CAMPAIGN IN DIFFERENT TERMS THAN THAT. BUT THE ELECTIONS IN 1974 ARE FOR SEATS IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES..THEY OUGHT NOT TO BE REFERENDUMS ON ANY QUESTION BYT "WHAT KIND OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP DO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WANT"? DO THEY WANT MORE OF THE SAME INEFFECTUAL AND LACKLUSTER--OFTENTIMES IRRELEVANT--POSTURING ON ISSUES, OR DO THEY WANT LEADERSHIP THAT, AT LAST, CAN AND WILL MAKE AN HONEST ATTEMPT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH NATIONAL PROBLEMS THROUGH PRODUCTIVE LEGISLATION.

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WILL TRY TO SHIFT BLAME

THAT IS THE ISSUE, YET THE DEMOCRATS ARE AFTER ALL, POLITICIANS AND THEY WILL TRY TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM THEIR OWN FAILURES AND CENTER THE CAMPAIGN ON THE FAILURES, REAL AND IMAGINED, OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

WE CAN EXPECT FROM THEM, FIRST, CROCODILE TEARS OVER THE PROBLEMS WHICH THEIR OWN ILL-CONCEIVED, HIGH-PRICED PROGRAMS HAVE EITHER CAUSED OR AGGRAVATED. AND IN A CLASSIC POLITICAL VERSION OF THE OLD SHELL-GAME, THEY*LL DO THEIR BEST TO PIN THE BLAME FOR THEIR OWN MISTAKES ON REPUBLICANS.

NEGATIVE CAMPAIGN

SECOND, I WOULD SAY WE CAN EXPECT FROM DEMOCRATS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF OUTRIGHT AD HOMINEM--THAT IS TO SAY, SMEAR TACTICS. WHEN YOU'VE GOT NOTHING POSITIVE TO POINT TO, YOU RUN A NEGATIVE CAMPAIGN. YOU GRASP AT STRAWS. YOU BEND THE TRUTH, STRETCH THE TRUTH, IGNORE THE TRUTH.

IF WE GO ON THE DEFENSIVE, IF WE OPT TO STAY ON THE DEFENSIVE, WE WILL

BE PLAYING RIGHT INTO THEIR HANDS. BUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS MORE GUMPTION THAN THAT.

AND THE WOMEN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, I AM CERTAIN, HAVE MORE GUMPTION THAN THAT.

WE KNOW, BASED ON PAST HISTORY, PRETTY MUCH WHAT TO EXPECT. SOME DEMOCRATS, ARE GOING TO SEIZE EVERY AVAILABLE PRETEXT ON WHICH TO TRY TO DISCREDIT REPUBLICANS. THERE'LL BE NONE OF THIS HIGH-MINDED CAMPAIGN ON THE ISSUES WHICH DEMOCRATS SO LOUDLY PROCLAIM AS THEIR STRATEGY IN EVERY CAMPAIGN.

THE GOAL WILL BE NOT SO MUCH TO TRY TO DISPUTE A REPUBLICAN POSITION OR PROVE A CANDIDATE WRONG ON GROUNDS OF POLICY.

THE GOAL WILL BE TO DISCREDIT THAT CANDIDATE, TO RAISE SUSPICIONS ABOUT HIS MOTIVATIONS OR HIS INTEGRITY.

AND, INEVITABLY, THEY MUST PULL OUT AN OLD DOUBLE-STANDARD TO PULL THIS OFF. THE VOTER MUST BE ASKED TO IGNORE THE FAILINGS OF DEMOCRATS AND BUY THE FICTION THAT VOTING DEMOCRAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO ELIMINATE VENALITY IN PUBLIC OFFICE. THAT IS FICTION ALRIGHT, BUT IT ISN'T VERY GOOD FICTION

BECAUSE IT DOESN'T PASS THE ONE CRUCIAL TEST OF BELIEVABILITY.

IF THE RADICAL ELEMENT IS PERMITTED TO CLOUD THE REAL AND BASIC ISSUES,
AND ELECT A VETO-PROOF CONGRESS--WE WILL HAVE MANY TOUGH YEARS AHEAD OF US.

WE MUST NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO FORGET THE FACT THAT REPUBLICAN
POLICIES --REPUBLICAN APPROACHES TO PROBLEM SOLVING-- DO HAVE THE
OVERWHELMING SUPPORT OF AMERICANS.

THE BIG CONTROVERSY TODAY IS OVER THE WAY THE LAST CAMPAIGN WAS RUN--
NOT THE ISSUES WHICH IT DECIDED.

WHAT THEY VOTED FOR

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE VOTED FOR LESS CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT: AND
FOR A RESTORATION OF POWER TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS POWER TO PEOPLE:
AND FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A STRONG U.S. DEFENSE CAPABILITY: AND FOR A
FAIR SHAKE FOR THE FARMER: AND FOR A CONTINUED AND RESPONSIBLE ASSERTION
OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE: AND THEY VOTED, IN SHORT,

FOR A REVERSAL OF THE DAMAGING AND DANGEROUS TRENDS WHICH DEMOCRATS IN POWER HAVE ESTABLISHED AND NURTURED FOR SO MANY YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES.

DO NOT, I ASK YOU, LET THE EFFORTS OF SOME TO PIN GUILT BY ASSOCIATION ON THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DISCOURAGE YOU.

MANY COMING OVER

AFTER YEARS OF BEING SECOND BEST, IN TERMS OF NUMBERS, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BEGUN TO WIN OVER ~~TO~~ ITS SIDE, MEMBERS OF WHAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CALLED THE DEMOCRATIC COALITION.

BLACKS AND MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS ARE SICK OF BEING TAKEN FOR GRANTED BY GENERATIONS OF DEMOCRATS. AND I WELCOME THOSE WHO ARE HERE WITH US TODAY.

RANK AND FILE WORKERS, TOO, ~~HAVE~~ HAD THEIR FILL OF DEMOCRAT PATERNALISM. THEY WANT TO ELECT PEOPLE WHO WILL REPRESENT THEM AND THEIR VIEWS ~~IN~~ CONGRESS, INSTEAD OF A SET OF DEMOCRAT TAX COLLECTORS WHO VIEW IT AS THEIR JOB OF CONGRESS ALMOST SOLELY TO DREAM UP NEW WAYS TO SPEND LARGER PIECES OF THE WORKING MAN AND WOMAN'S PAYCHECK.

PEOPLE, ISSUES ON OUR SIDE

BLACKS, CHICANOS, LABOR, ETHNIC GROUPS, WOMEN, YOUTH. ALL CAN FIND
A NEW AND PERMANENT HOME WITH REPUBLICANS.

NONE WILL FORGET WATERGATE, NOR SHOULD THEY. NONE WILL REST UNTIL
THE MATTER IS RESOLVED. BUT THEY MUST NOT FORGET THE SCANDAL OF TWENTY-
YEARS OF CONGRESSIONAL INEFFECTIVENESS UNDER DEMOCRATS AND THE PROMISE OF
WHAT REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES CAN ACCOMPLISH.

IF WE CAN SUCCEED IN MAKING THIS CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1974 JUST
THAT--A CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION ON CONGRESSIONAL ISSUES-- THEN THE ISSUES WILL
BE WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE -- ON OUR SIDE.