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rom the collections at the a http://dolearchives.ku.edu REMARKS OF SENDTOR BOB DOLE Man ended of ILLINOIS

IT IS A REAL PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH ALL OF YOU, AND LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET, THAT THIS GATHERING, WHETHER IT HAS OCCURRED TO YOU OR NOT, DEMONSTRATES ONE MAJOR, VERY POSITIVE POINT ABOUT REPUBLICANS AND ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

HERE WE ARE, ONLY 20 MILES FROM WHAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE AS SOLIDLY A DEMOCRAT STRONGHOLD AS THERE IS ANYWHERE IN THE NATION.

HERE WE ARE, ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF WHAT THE PUNDITS SAY IS "AS SAFE A DEMOCRAT TERRITORY AS YOU CAN FIND."

HERE WE ARE, CLOSE BY WHAT THE DEMOCRATS THEMSELVES HAVE ALWAYS SEEMED TO CONSIDER THEIR OWN SPECIAL TURF.

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AND HERE WE ARE -- BY THE HUNDREDS -- ALL REPUBLICANS, I TRUST ALL <u>ENTHUSIASTIC</u> REPUBLICANS, WHO COULDN'T CARE LESS WHAT THE PUNDITS OR THE DEMOCRATS SAY,

### GRASS ROOTS STRENGTH

We are here because we are Republicans and because we know that Republicans can win. They can win even in Chicago As Alderman Block did just this past election and they can win anywhere they put their minds and energies to it.

IN THE MIDST OF DEMCORAT-CONTROLLED LAKE COUNTY, Republicans can be strong.

IN THE MIDST OF THE SUPPOSEDLY DEMOCRATIC TOWN, CHICAGO, REPUBLICANS CAN BE STRONG. -3-

IN THE MIDST OF AN OVERWHELMINGLY DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON, REPUBLICANS CAN BE STRONG. AND WE'VE BEGUN TO DEMONSTRATE THAT. WE CAN BLOCK THE BIG SPENDERS. WE CAN THWART THE FAR-OUT SCHEMES OF THE FAR-OUT DEMOCRATS.

AND IN THE MIDST OF ALL THE PREDICTIONS OF REPUBLICAN DECLINE, REPUBLICANS CAN BE STRONG ENOUGH TO COME BACK TO REGAIN OUR PREVIOUS STRENGTH AND TO PUT OUR MARK ON THE POLITICS AND POLICIES OF THIS COUNTRY.

### LEADERSHIP

THERE IS A LOT OF TALK ABOUT A LEADERSHIP VACUUM IN WASHINGTON. LET'S LOOK AT THE REALITY THAT'S BEHIND THAT TALK FOR A MOMENT.

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Let's go back to the beginning of the year when the Demcorats, still FRESH FROM THEIR VICTORIES IN THE 1974 elections, were confidently asserting that the real solutions to our real problems in this country -the problems of recession, inflation and the energy crisis -- were going to come from the Congress. They were going to come from the Democrats who controlled Congress.

### OVER-PROMISE

The Democrats knew one thing. They knew that the upheavals which had shaken the Presidency had shaken the people too. And they tried to capitalize on it. The Congressional Democrats saw what they thought was an opportunity and, characteristically for Democrats, they responded with inflated rhetoric and over-promise. -5-

Speaker Albert went on a Nation-wide broadcast at the beginning of the year and told the American people "I realize that you are now looking to the Congress, the institution most directly responsive and responsible to the people, to find the constructive measures we so desperately need. You demand that we legislate well, that we legislate with urgency, and that we meet four-square the complex and varied miseries that afflict our country."

# CONGRESSIONAL INACTION

IF THE UNITED STATES DOES, IN FACT, HAVE A CASE OF THE "MISERIES", THEN IT APPEARS CONGRESS HAS CAUGHT THE SAME DISEASE.

#### -6-

THE DEMOCRAT CONGRESS HAS SHOWN PRECIOUS LITTLE URGENCY, AND PRODUCED EVEN LESS LEGISLATION, TO CURE IT.

AND I SAY TO THE DEMOCRATS, BEFORE YOU PROMISE TO CURE THE ILLS OF THE COUNTRY, CURE YOURSELVES.

ON THE ENERGY ISSUE ALONE -- SECOND ONLY TO THE RECESSION ITSELF AS THE NATION'S TOP LEGISLATIVE PRIORITY --CONGRESS WHICH PROMISED TO LEGISLATE WELL, TO LEGISLATE URGENTLY, AND TO LEGISLATE RESPONSIVELY, HAS LEGISLATED NOTHING AT ALL,

## ENERGY BILL DELAYS

Who are the Democrats to chastise anyone for a lack of leadership? The Ways and Means Committee has labored for four months. When it finally came up with an energy bill, the Democrat leadership itself delayed bringing the bill to the Floor because they knew they would have trouble holding their own two-to-one majorities in line to pass it. -7-

BUT IT HAS FINALLY BEEN BROUGHT UP. IT WAS PASSED JUST YESTERDAY ONLY AFTER THE DEMOCRATS THEMSELVES TURNED ON THEIR OWN PROPOSAL AND VOTED DOWN ITS MOST SUBSTANTIAL PROVISIONS. IN PLACE OF THE COMMITTEE'S SERIOUS -- THOUGH I BELIEVE FLAWED -- ATTEMPTS TO PROMOTE ENERGY CONSERVATION, HOUSE DEMOCRATS OFFERED ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS.

IN THE WORDS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN CONGRESS "SAVAGED" THE BILL, LETTING THE TIMES' HOPES FOR A "COHERENT ENERGY POLICY....FALL VICTIM TO POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM AND TEMPERITY."

ONLY OPPORTUNISM COULD EXPLAIN WHY THEY WOULD EVEN CONSIDER A FEDERAL INCOME TAX CREDIT OF UP TO \$200 -- AND THIS WAS ONLY NARROWLY DEFEATED IN THE HOUSE -- FOR ANY CITIZEN WHO, IN THE INTERESTS OF ENERGY CONSERVATION, MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE IN 1975 AND PURCHASED -- A WOODBURNING STOVE. -8-

THAT'S ANOTHER VIEW OF "RESPONSIVENESS", OF "MEETING FOUR-SQUARE THE COMPLEX AND VARIED MISERIES THAT AFFLICT THE NATION."

# CONTESTED SENATE RACE

While the House Democrats were grappling with the complexities of the energy policy, the Democrats in the Senate were insisting that the Senate -- and not the voters -- were the proper judges of whom should be the junior Senator from New Hampshire.

AND BELIEVE ME, IF YOU THINK IT'S TOUGH TO ELECT A REPUBLICAN IN COOK COUNTY, IT'S NO EASIER IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. THAT'S A PRETTY SAFE DEMOCRAT PRECINCT ITSELF. -9-

There have been charges made about the way the Democrats are pursuing this matter and about their motives. There are suspicions of partisan game-playing. But I am not here to accuse the Democrats of anything more sinister than making a very big mistake.

### **BIG MISTAKE**

WITHOUT GOING INTO ALL THE DETAILS, THEY'RE MAKING A BIG MISTAKE IF THEY SERIOUSLY THINK THE SENATE HAS ANY BUSINESS SUBSTITUTING ITS WILL FOR THE CHOICE OF THE VOTERS OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

BESIDES, THE ISSUE IS SO CONFUSED NOW THAT THE BEST EVEN THE MOST CONSCIENTIOUS SENATOR COULD DO IS GUESS WHO REALLY WON THAT ELECTION. IS IT FAIR TO MAKE THE PEOPLE OF New Hampshire Accept a Senator who has been chosen by MAJORITY GUESS? -10-

And, the Democrats are making a big mistake too, if they think they can avoid the appearance of partisanship. The American people can count. Assume the Senate decides in favor of Durkin, the Democrat, over Wyman. Even if they do so for the purest of reasons, you'll never be able to erase the suspicion that Durkin won because the Democrats have a 61 to 38 majority in the Senate.

IN ANY EVENT, NO MATTER HOW IT TURNS OUT, THE SENATE WILL BE SPENDING DAYS ON NOTHING BUT THIS ISSUE, PUTTING EVERYTHING ELSE ASIDE. THAT, IN THE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED SENATE, IS WHAT PASSES FOR LEADERSHIP.

AND "SAVAGED" LEGISLATION IN THE DEMOCRAT HOUSE IS WHAT PASSES FOR LEADERSHIP IN THE ENERGY CRISIS.

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EDITORIALS HINT AT IT. REPORTERS TEND TO TALK AROUND IT. COMMENTATORS SUGGEST IT. AND I SUPPOSE EDITORIAL CARTOONISTS COME CLOSEST TO ACTUALLY SAYING IT. BUT WHAT MOST OF US REFER TO, CHARITABLY, AS THE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP IN THE CONGRESS, SEEMS POWERLESS TO GET THIS CONGRESS MOVING TOWARD REAL ANSWERS TO REAL PROBLEMS, AND OFF THE SILLY STUFF.

### WHY A REPUBLICAN

BUT IN SPITE OF ALL OF THIS, THERE ARE STILL SOME OF US, STILL SOME OF US REPUBLICANS, WALKING AROUND ASKING OURSELVES WHY WE ARE REPUBLICANS.

AND IF SOMEBODY ASKS ME THESE DAYS WHY I AM A Republican, I am almost tempted to answer that I'm a Republican just so I won't have to be a Democrat. -12-

IT WOULD BE BAD ENOUGH TRYING TO DEFEND AN OVERWHELMINGLY DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS THAT HASN'T DONE MUCH OF ANYTHING BUT MAKE PROMISES IT COULDN'T KEEP.

THAT WOULD BE ONE THING.

BUT COULD YOU IMAGINE THE AGONY OF HAVING TO CHOOSE BETWEEN FRED HARRIS OR MORRIS UDALL AS YOUR CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT? IT'S REALLY WORSE THAN THAT. THE WHOLE DEMOCRAT FIELD IS BEGINNING TO LOOK MORE AND MORE LIKE A DOZEN CANDIDATES FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

BUT, MORE SERIOUSLY, NOT BEING A DEMOCRAT MAY BE A NECESSARY RATIONALE FOR BEING A REPUBLICAN. BUT IT'S HARDLY A SUFFICIENT ONE. THERE HAS TO BE SOMETHING ELSE.

AND BELIEVE ME, THERE IS.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS TO STAND FOR SOMETHING. AND YOU AND I KNOW IT DOES.

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### REPUBLICAN PROMISE

In fact, if you hold to my optimistic view, what the Republican Party stands for is what more and more and more American people are beginning to demand. What the Republican Party means to its members is what the American people more and more and more are seeking for themselves. In a word -- perhaps over-simplified, perhaps over-used, and almost always understated -- in a word, what we mean and what the American people seek is freedom.

IF YOU WONDER WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ALL ABOUT THESE DAYS, IF YOU WONDER WHETHER IT HAS A FUTURE THESE DAYS, THEN ASK YOURSELF WHETHER FREEDOM STILL MEANS ANYTHING THESE DAYS, AND WHETHER FREEDOM HAS A FUTURE THESE DAYS. -14-

That may be over-simplification; it may be naive. But I say this: The Republican Party means nothing, the Republican Party is nothing, the Republican Party has no future, unless it is pre-eminently the freedom party in this country.

### HEIRS OF THE NEW DEAL

The Democrats of today, the Democratic Leadership in the Congress of today, the Democratic Presidential candidates of today, are the spiritual and intellectual God-Children of the New Deal -- and they haven't had a new idea since the New Deal came along 40 years ago.

WE REPUBLICANS HAVE HAD SEVERAL WE CAN BE PROUD OF --REVENUE SHARING, DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT, GREATER LOCAL CONTROL OF LOCAL MATTERS. SEVERAL IDEAS THAT HAVE MOVED THE COUNTRY FORWARD AND, AT THE SAME TIME, MOVED IT AWAY FROM THE OUTDATED FUTILE AND ESSENTIALLY STERILE DEMOCRAT NOTIONS THAT BIG GOVERNMENT AND BIG GOVERNMENT SPENDING IS ALWAYS THE ANSWER TO EVERY PROBLEM.

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AND OUR IDEAS HAVE WORKED.

BUT ALL OF A SUDDEN, SOME REPUBLICANS HAVE COME UP WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW IDEA. ONE THAT, FRANKLY, DISTURBS ME.

It's the idea that the Republican Party is dead. It's the idea that the Republican Party is no more than an empty shell with no vitality, no life of its own.

## THIRD PARTY MISTAKE

IF THESE REPUBLICANS MEAN BY THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS TO BE REPLACED -- THEN I CANNOT AGREE.

IF THESE REPUBLICANS BELIEVE THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SHOULD BE REPLACED BY AN IDEOLOGICAL MOVEMENT, BY CONSERVATISM ALONE, OR BY SOME INCOMPATIBLE MIX OF MOVEMENTS DILUTING CONSERVATIVE PHILOSOPHY WITH POPULIST OVERSIMPLIFICATION THEN I REJECT IT.

#### -16-

BUT I CAN EASILY FIND AGREEMENT WITH THOSE REPUBLICANS WHO EXPRESS CONCERN THAT OUR PARTY CAN'T CONTINUE TO DRIFT FROM CAMPAIGN TO CAMPAIGN UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHAT IT MEANS AND WHAT IT HAS TO OFFER THE VOTERS.

ON THAT MUCH I CAN AGREE, AND AS A COROLLARY TO THAT, I CAN FORESEE MUCH THAT IS USEFUL TO THE GOP IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE OUR INTERNAL DEBATES AND RECAPTURE A MORE UNIFIED PARTY SENSE OF PURPOSE THROUGH CONTESTS THAT MAY MATERIALIZE IN THE COMING PRIMARY SEASON. WE NEED THIS KIND OF DEBATE WITHIN THE PARTY, NATION-WIDE, AS MUCH AS WE NEED IT WITHIN EACH OF THE STATE PARTIES.

#### NO DISLOYALTY IN DIVERSITY

IT IS NO DISSERVICE TO PRESIDENT FORD AND NO DISLOYALTY TO OUR PARTY. IF ALTERNATIVE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES EMERGE AND CONTEST THE NOMINATION IN THE PRIMARIES, SO BE IT. -17-

THAT'S NO SIGN OF REPUBLICAN WEAKNESS. IT'S NOT EVEN A SIGN OF PRESIDENT FORD'S WEAKNESS. IT WOULD BE MUCH PREFERABLE, IN MY VIEW, TO THE MUCH-DISCUSSED ALTERNATIVE OF A THIRD PARTY SPIN-OFF THAT WOULD DEBILITATE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND LIKELY SINK OUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS ALONG WITH ITS OWN.

## LONG WAY FROM DECISION

We are fully sixteen months from the Next Election. More than twelve months from the '76 Convention. Nine months from even the first primary. Can anyone seriously propose that the nomination is closed at this point -- that the Convention outcome is predetermined?

I THINK NOT.

#### -18-

GERALD FORD IS NOW TEN MONTHS INTO HIS PRESIDENCY. HE HAS DONE A GOOD JOB AND HE SEEMS, AS THE DAYS PASS, TO BE DOING IT BETTER AND BETTER. HE HAS AN INCREASING SUPPORT FROM AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND HE HAS, AS IMPORTANTLY, THEIR DEVOUT WISH AND PROFOUND DESIRE THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO WELL.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE SYMPATHETICALLY ON THE SIDE OF THIS PRESIDENT. AFTER THE TRAGEDIES AND UPHEAVALS THAT HAVE SHAKEN THE PRESIDENCY OVER THE LAST DECADE, THEY DESPERATELY WANT A PERIOD OF STABILITY AND A PRESIDENT WHO CAN MAINTAIN IT.

HE HAS GOTTEN WHAT HE ASKED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO GIVE HIM, LAST AUGUST. THEY HAVE CONFIRMED HIM AS THEIR PRESIDENT, BECAUSE HE HAS GUIDED THEM WELL THROUGH THE RECENT TRIALS OF THEIR COUNTRY.

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HE MAY, IN A POLITICAL CONTEXT, RECEIVE THE SAME SORT OF CONFIRMATION FROM HIS PARTY, BUT ONLY THROUGH THE SAME KIND OF PROCESS -- BY SUCCESSFUL PASSAGE THROUGH THE PRIMARY PROCESS.

### OPEN OR CLOSED CONVENTION?

TALK OF THE '76 CONVENTION -- SHALL IT BE "OPEN" OR "CLOSED" -- IS EMPTY DEBATE.

The Convention is not an isolated event. It is the culmination of a process that is starting now. It's the culmination of a process that involves the gathering of support, through organization, through primaries, through State conventions, to secure the requisite number of delegates to win the nomination. -20-

IF THE CONVENTION NEXT SUMMER IS "CLOSED", IT WILL BE BECAUSE THE DELEGATES WHO ARRIVE THERE WILL BE THERE TO REAFFIRM AND CONFIRM THE RESULTS OF THE "OPEN" PROCESS THAT LED UP TO IT.

Gerald Ford is going to be very deeply immersed in that process. I spoke with him at length just last night, and there is no doubt in my mind, not only that he intends to run for the nomination, but that he intends to run hard. He, and any candidate who may seek to go through that process with him, will be the better for it. Our Republican Party and our candidates, at all levels, will be the better for it.

AND, WHOEVER THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE MAY BE IN 1976, HIS VICTORY AND OUR VICTORY WILL BE THE SWEETER FOR IT.

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I AM CONFIDENT, EVEN CERTAIN, WE CAN WIN. WE CAN WIN THE PRESIDENCY AGAIN, AND WE CAN MAKE SUBSTANTIAL GAINS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE AND IN STATE AND LOCAL RACES.

AND I SAY THIS WITH ALL THE CONFIDENCE OF A SURVIVOR FROM LAST NOVEMBER'S CATASTROPHE.

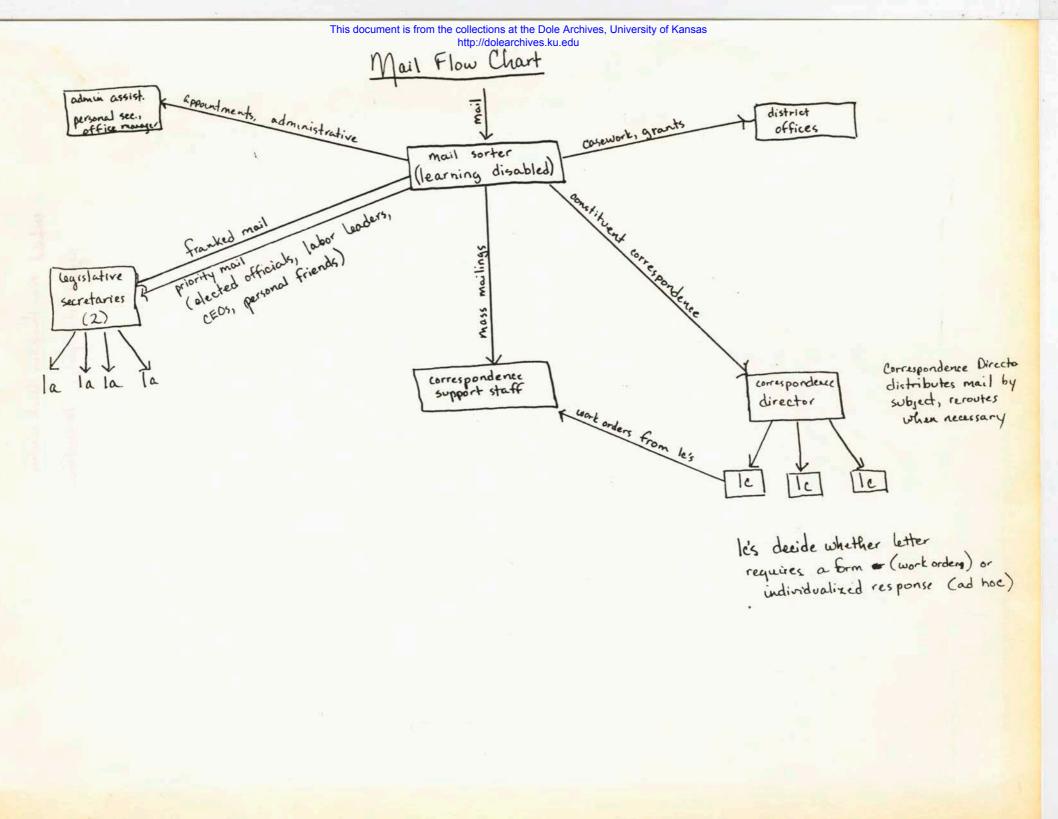
I won in November because Republicans in Kansas didn't give in to the prophets of Republican doom. And so that no one will think that I found a magic formula all by myself, let me remind you that if you made a list of all the states that have a Republican Governor and Republican control of both Houses of the legislature, the list is Kansas.

That's not because of anything Bob Dole did by himself. It's because of what Republicans in Kansas did together. If there is a magic formula, that's it. And if you want a Republican victory in 1976, in the Presidential race, in the Congressional races and, yes, in the Cook Counties of the country, too, then that's how you have to do it. This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

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I COMMEND YOU FOR MAKING A START BY JOINING THIS GROUP -- THIS GRASS ROOTS GROUP OF REPUBLICANS WHO ARE READY TO WORK -- AND I ONLY ASK IN ADDITION, THAT YOU NOT LET ANYONE KID YOU ABOUT ITS IMPORTANCE -- IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT REALLY IS UP TO YOU.

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