

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
EIGHTH DISTRICT REPUBLICAN MEETING
SALISBURY, NORTH CAROLINA
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1975

I HAVE BEEN IN POLITICAL LIFE FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. ALL OF THEM HAVE BEEN AS A REPUBLICAN. AND, DURING THAT PERIOD OF TIME, YOU LEARN LIVE WITH A LOT OF THINGS.

YOU LEARN, FOR EXAMPLE, TO LIVE WITH DEATH -- OR AT LEAST WITH OBITUARIES.

FOR, IN THOSE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, I MUST HAVE READ HUNDREDS OF REPORTS ABOUT THE SO-CALLED DEATH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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SOME CLOUDS....

THE OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS OF THE EISENHOWER ERA, 1964, 1970, AND 1974, HAVE ALL, IN VARYING DEGREES, BROUGHT OUT THE DEATH NOTICES IN THE MEDIA AND SOMETIMES FROM WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF, ABOUT THE END OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

NEVER HAVE THESE PREDICTIONS COME WITH MORE FREQUENCY AND INTENSITY THAN IN THE PRESENT INSTANCE, IN THE WAKE OF WATERGATE AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1974,

AND I DON'T MIND TELLING YOU THAT, AS ONE WHO FOUND HIMSELF RUNNING IN 1974 -- IN THE WAKE OF WATERGATE -- I NEVER CAME CLOSER TO BELIEVING THOSE GLOOMY PREDICTIONS THAN LAST YEAR WHEN THEY SEEMED TO COME TRUE FOR SO MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES AND, INDEED, ALMOST FOR MYSELF.

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UP UNTIL NOW, REPORTS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S DEATH, IN MARK TWAIN'S PHRASE, HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE "EXAGGERATED."

AND NOW, THERE ARE THOSE OUTSIDE THE PARTY WHO INSIST THAT WATERGATE AND THE AFTERMATH ELECTIONS OF 1974 BROUGHT US THE REAL THING -- THE DEATH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

AND THERE ARE THOSE WITHIN THE PARTY WHO APPARENTLY HARBOR SOME SORT OF DEATH WISH AND MAINTAIN THAT THE PARTY IS ON ITS LAST LEG AND ENJOYING ITS LAST DAYS.

AND A SILVER LINING

BUT I AM HERE TO BRING YOU SOME GOOD NEWS ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S FUTURE.

FIRST OF ALL, FOR THOSE WHO MAY NOT HAVE NOTICED, WATERGATE IS BEHIND US.

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AS A NATION -- IT IS BEHIND US. AND LET ME SAY
AS AN ASIDE, THAT IT IS A TESTAMENT TO PRESIDENT JERRY
FORD THAT HE HAS BEEN ABLE TO DISPERSE THE CLOUDS
WATERGATE PUT OVER THE WORKINGS OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT,
AND REFOCUS THE ATTENTION OF THE PEOPLE ON THE CHALLENGES
OF THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE -- INSTEAD OF THE CRISIS-
OF-CONFIDENCE PROBLEMS OF THE RELATIVELY RECENT PAST.

YES, WATERGATE IS BEHIND US.

STRING OF SPECIAL ELECTION WINS

AS A PARTY IT IS BEHIND US. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S
"WOULD-BE" OBITUARY WRITERS HAVE TRIED TO MAKE A LOT OF THE
WELL-KNOWN AND DISAPPOINTING RESULTS IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE
SPECIAL ELECTION. BUT THAT RACE PROVES NO GENERAL RULE.
THE REAL MESSAGE FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION IS THAT
ORGANIZED LABOR IS, CAN, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE A POWERFUL
POLITICAL MACHINE.

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ORGANIZED LABOR SHOULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE, BUT IT IS MY VIEW THAT LABOR LEADERS ENJOY TOO MUCH POWER IN THE CONGRESS. IN EFFECT, GEORGE MEANY, ET AL, DICTATE THE POLICIES OF THE DEMOCRATS AND, UNFORTUNATELY, INFLUENCE MANY IN THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY, THERE MUST BE BALANCE. THIS WILL COME ONLY WHEN BUSINESSMEN, FARMERS, HOUSEWIVES, RANK-AND-FILE UNION MEMBERS, AND AMERICANS IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, JOIN TOGETHER.

IN SHORT, IF WE FAIL TO DO THIS, AND IF A LIBERAL DEMOCRAT SHOULD BE ELECTED PRESIDENT IN 1976, FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, GEORGE MEANY WILL CALL THE SHOTS.

TO GET BACK TO THE POINT I WANTED TO MAKE -- NOTWITHSTANDING THE POWER OF LABOR LEADERS -- THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT QUITE A DIFFERENT TREND IS BEING ESTABLISHED. THIS IS SHOWING UP ALL OVER THE COUNTRY IN LITTLE-PUBLICIZED AND PERHAPS WIDELY-SCATTERED, BUT STILL VERY SIGNIFICANT VICTORIES ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY.

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IN IOWA -- IN AN AREA WHERE DEMOCRATS OUTNUMBER REGISTERED REPUBLICANS BY FOUR-TO-ONE -- THE SAME REPUBLICAN WHO HAD LOST THE 1974 REGULAR NOVEMBER ELECTION FOR THE STATE LEGISLATURE, SUBSEQUENTLY WON THE SEAT IN A SPECIAL ELECTION LAST DECEMBER, HE WON AGAINST A DEMOCRAT WHO HAD THE BACKING OF NOT ONLY THE DEMOCRAT ORGANIZATION, BUT OF ORGANIZED LABOR, IN A HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED AREA. AND LOCAL OBSERVERS SAID HE WON BECAUSE THE VOTERS HAD GOTTEN WATERGATE OUT OF THEIR SYSTEM.

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IN GEORGIA, A THREE-TERM REPUBLICAN INCUMBENT WAS DEFEATED FOR RE-ELECTION TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE IN NOVEMBER 1974. IN AUGUST OF 1975, A SPECIAL ELECTION WAS HELD FOR THE SEAT. SAME SEAT, SAME REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE. BUT THE OUTCOME THIS TIME WAS A REPUBLICAN VICTORY. AND LOCAL OBSERVERS SAID IT WAS BECAUSE THE VOTERS HAD GOTTEN WATERGATE OUT OF THEIR SYSTEM.

IN WILMINGTON, DELAWARE, LAST AUGUST -- WHERE A REPUBLICAN WON ELECTION TO THE STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN A DEMOCRAT-MAJORITY DISTRICT; AND IN RURAL MINNESOTA, LAST DECEMBER -- WHERE THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR STATE LEGISLATURE, WHO HAD LOST IN NOVEMBER, WON THE SUBSEQUENT SPECIAL ELECTION BY ALMOST A TWO-TO-ONE MAJORITY. THE SAME STORY IS BEING TOLD IN SPECIAL ELECTIONS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY BECAUSE, BY THEN THE VOTERS HAD GOTTEN WATERGATE OUT OF THEIR SYSTEM.

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AND, PUTTING ALL OF THESE VICTORIES TOGETHER, PROMPTED A RESPECTED WASHINGTON POLITICAL REPORTER, WRITING IN THE PRESTIGIOUS NATIONAL JOURNAL, TO DESCRIBE A REPUBLICAN RECOVERY FROM THE SET-BACKS OF 1974.

SOME DEMOCRATS, HE POINTS OUT, "CONTINUE TO CHERISH THE HOPE" THAT WATERGATE WILL GIVE THEM THE SAME FREE RIDE IN 1976 -- AND FOR YEARS TO COME AFTER '76 -- THAT IT DID IN 1974. BUT, HE GOES ON, "THE EVIDENCE FROM THE SPECIAL ELECTIONS HELD AROUND THE NATION DURING THE PAST YEAR SUGGESTS THAT THE DEMOCRATS' FONDEST HOPES MAY NOT BE FULFILLED."

LESSON IN THIS FOR NORTH CAROLINA

LET ME TELL YOU THAT WHAT WAS TRUE DURING THE PAST YEAR IN DUBUQUE, IN DEKALB COUNTY, GEORGIA, IN WILMINGTON, IN MINNESOTA, AND ELSEWHERE, CAN BE TRUE FOR THE 8TH DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA NEXT YEAR.

YOU CAN REGAIN THIS DISTRICT FOR THE GOP.

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FOR WHAT HAPPENED IN 1974, I NOTICED, WAS NOT JUST THE WATERGATE REACTION. DEMOCRATS PERCEIVED THAT THEY HAD THE BUILT-IN ADVANTAGE OF A DEMOCRAT YEAR IN 1974, AND THEY DECIDED TO CAPITALIZE ON THAT ADVANTAGE AND, GILDING THE LILY, THEY RAN -- OF ALL THINGS -- AS CONSERVATIVES.

IT HAPPENED IN MY OWN STATE, WHERE MY OPPONENT, A LIBERAL DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMAN HAD A LOT OF PEOPLE CONVINCED FOR A LONG TIME THAT HE WAS CONSERVATIVE.

IT HAPPENED IN COLORADO, WHERE GEORGE MCGOVERN'S FORMER CAMPAIGN MANAGER, OF ALL PEOPLE, RAN AS AN ANTI-BIG GOVERNMENT CONSERVATIVE.

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RHETORIC AND REALITY

IT HAPPENED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY AS I SUSPECT,
AND AM TOLD, IT HAPPENED HERE IN THIS 8TH DISTRICT OF
NORTH CAROLINA.

BUT THE DEMOCRATS WHO RAN AS CONSERVATIVES MAY
HAVE OUTSMARTED THEMSELVES.

FOR, BY RUNNING AS CONSERVATIVES, THIS SET UP A
WHOLE HOST OF EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE ELECTORATE ABOUT
WHAT THEY WOULD DO WHEN THEY GOT TO WASHINGTON. BUT WHAT
THEY DID WAS NOT AT ALL WHAT THEY PROMISED THEY WOULD DO.

WHAT THEY DID, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS PRECISELY NOTHING
TO SOLVE THE ENERGY PROBLEM.

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WHAT THEY DID -- TO BE MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT THE, QUOTE, CONSERVATIVE, UNQUOTE, WHO REPRESENTS YOU IN THIS DISTRICT -- WHAT HE DID WAS JOIN AN EFFORT TO TRY TO FORCE ON THE COUNTRY AND THE FEDERAL TREASURY, A VARIETY OF UNWORKABLE PROGRAMS, FOR INSTANCE, THERE WAS THE MASSIVE PUBLIC JOBS PROGRAM OF PURE PORK BARREL, WHICH YOUR CONGRESSMAN SUPPORTED, AND THE ONLY REASON THAT PROGRAM ISN'T IN OPERATION AND THE DEFICIT ISN'T HIGHER BY THE \$5.3 BILLION IT WOULD HAVE COST US, IS BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT, GERALD FORD, HAD THE COURAGE TO VETO IT.

YES, THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO RAN AS CONSERVATIVES IN 1974, INCLUDING YOUR OWN CONGRESSMAN, WILL LEARN THE LESSON IN 1976, THAT EVERY SILVER LINING HAS ITS CLOUD. THEIR '74 VICTORIES SOWED THE SEEDS FOR '76 DEFEATS.

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IN 1974, THEY WON BECAUSE OF WATERGATE AND
BECAUSE THEY FALSELY FLEW THE FLAG OF CONSERVATISM.

IN 1976, THEY WILL FIND THAT WHAT I HAVE JUST TOLD
YOU IS TRUE. WATERGATE IS BEHIND US AND WON'T BE THERE FOR
THEM TO REST THEIR CAMPAIGNS ON. AND THEY WILL FIND THAT
THE PEOPLE WHO VOTES FOR THE FALSE CONSERVATIVES OF 1974
WILL BE LOOKING FOR THE REAL THING IN 1976.

AND THE PEOPLE ARE GOING TO FIND THAT RESPONSIBLE
CONSERVATISM WHERE IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN -- IN THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY. AND WHEN THEY DO, THEY ARE GOING TO RESTORE TO THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY THE LIFE SO MANY THINK HAS BEEN SNUFFED
OUT OF IT.

I AM NOT GOING TO PREDICT THAT REPUBLICANS ARE GOING
TO REGAIN A MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS. NOR THAT WE WILL WIN
A LANDSLIDE PRESIDENTIAL VICTORY. THAT WOULD BE EXPECTING
TOO MUCH.

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BUT I CAN MAKE THE MODEST PREDICTION THAT
REPUBLICANS CAN REGAIN THE SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA,
WHICH WATERGATE AND FALSE CONSERVATISM LOST FOR THEM IN
1974.

AND IF YOU CAN DO IT HERE, IT CAN BE DONE
ELSEWHERE.

AND IF WE CAN DO IT IN CONGRESSIONAL RACES, WE
CAN DO IT WITH THE PRESIDENCY.

ALMOST A SURE THING

REPUBLICANS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS IN 1976
AGAINST A PARTY -- THE DEMOCRATS -- WHO GAVE US BUSING,
IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT AT LEAST THREE OUT OF EVERY
FOUR AMERICANS ARE OPPOSED TO IT.

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REPUBLICANS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS AGAINST A PARTY WHICH STILL TRIES TO MAINTAIN BUSING AND FIGHTS EFFORTS TO PROHIBIT IT, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT SO MANY AMERICANS ARE AGAINST IT.

[REPUBLICANS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS IN 1976 AGAINST A PARTY WHICH APPARENTLY CONSIDERS THE CITY OF NEW YORK SO ATTRACTIVE THAT THEY HAVE SCHEDULED THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTION THERE.] AND COME TO THINK OF IT, NEW YORK -- A CITY WHICH THE DEMOCRAT PHILOSOPHY OF SPEND, SPEND, SPEND HAS SPENT INTO VIRTUAL BANKRUPTCY -- IS THE IDEAL PLACE FOR THAT PARTY'S CONVENTION. BECAUSE THE MAN THEY MAY NOMINATE THERE, IF HE WERE TO BE ELECTED PRESIDENT, WOULD BE LIKELY TO MODEL HIS ECONOMIC MASTER PLAN FOR THE NATION ON THE DEMOCRAT RECORD OF "SUCCESS" IN NEW YORK.

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DEMOCRAT PHILOSOPHY GIVES GOP ADVANTAGE

REPUBLICANS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS AGAINST
A PARTY WHICH HAS GIVEN US THE KIND OF BIG GOVERNMENT
WHICH CAN NOW DO FEW THINGS WELL, AND ONLY ONE THING
VERY WELL -- IT CAN TAX US.

REPUBLICANS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS AGAINST
SUCH A PARTY AND AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHY OF BIG GOVERNMENT
WHICH IT REPRESENTS.

REPUBLICANS ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS AGAINST
A PARTY WHOSE DOMINANT REACTION TO PRESIDENT FORD'S TAX
REDUCTION-SPENDING REDUCTION PLAN HAS BEEN THE ALMOST
ADOLESCENT WHINING OF THOSE WHO CAN EASILY CHOOSE THE EASY
PATH OF CUTTING TAXES, BUT BALK AT TAKING THE RESPONSIBLE
NEXT STEP OF CUTTING SPENDING BY A SIMILAR AMOUNT.

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REPUBLICANS, I REPEAT, ARE BOUND TO MAKE SOME GAINS AGAINST SUCH A PARTY -- PROVIDED THAT THE REPUBLICANS I AM TALKING TO THIS AFTERNOON, AND REPUBLICANS LIKE YOU AROUND THE COUNTRY, DECIDE TO WORK AT IT.

PULL TOGETHER OR LOSE SEPARATELY

WE CAN PULL TOGETHER, AS A PARTY, OR WE CAN HANG SEPARATELY, AS LOSERS IN 1976,

IT IS AS SIMPLE, AS FUNDAMENTAL, AS THAT.

THE ISSUES, BELIEVE ME, ARE ALL ON OUR SIDE.

HIGH TAXES, THE INFLATION THAT A BIG-SPENDING, BIG GOVERNMENT CAN CREATE, THE RECESSION WHICH INFLATION BRINGS ABOUT, AND THE FREEDOM WHICH ALL OF THE ABOVE TEND TO DIMINISH, REPRESENT OUR ISSUES.

AND WITH THE ISSUES ON OUR SIDE, ONLY ONE THING CAN GET IN THE WAY OF OUR VICTORY, IN MY OPINION,

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AND THAT IS -- IF WE AREN'T ON OUR SIDE. AND I MEAN BY THAT, THAT WE MUST ALL WORK TOGETHER, AVOIDING THE DIVISIONS THAT MAY THREATEN US AND OUR PARTY. WE HAVE TO AVOID THE TEMPTATION TO GO OFF AND DO OUR OWN THING, AS CONSERVATIVES, AT SOME TIMES, LIBERALS, AT OTHERS, HAVE IN THE PAST, MUCH TO THE DETRIMENT OF OUR REPUBLICAN PARTY'S FORTUNES.

THIS PARTY, THIS REPUBLICAN PARTY -- LIKE THIS COUNTRY -- IS IN NO LITTLE TROUBLE. A GOOD TOMORROW IS FAR FROM BEING A SURE THING FOR THE COUNTRY OR FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. WE HAVE TO WORK AT IT.

WE HAVE TO WORK TO MAKE IT HAPPEN, AND WE HAVE TO DO IT ALL TOGETHER.

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IF WE DON'T, THEN THE WORN-OUT PHILOSOPHIES OF LIBERAL DEMOCRAT POLITICS WILL PREVAIL AND CARRY THEMSELVES OUT TO THEIR ILLOGICAL EXTREMES. NEITHER TAXES NOR GOVERNMENT SPENDING WILL GO DOWN. BUT BOTH WILL KEEP ON RISING, WHILE YOUR FREEDOM TO SPEND YOUR PAYCHECK AND RUN YOUR LIVES AS YOU SEE FIT, CONTINUES TO DECLINE.

BUT IF WE DO -- IF WE WORK TO MAKE REPUBLICAN VICTORIES HAPPEN AS THEY ARE BOUND TO HAPPEN IF ONLY WE WILL WORK TOGETHER AND WORK HARD -- THEN WE CAN REVERSE THE TREND TOWARD EVER-EXPANDING GOVERNMENT. WE CAN REVERSE THE TREND TOWARD EVER LARGER TAX BILLS. WE CAN REVERSE THE TREND TOWARD EVER-DIMINISHING PERSONAL FREEDOM,

AND WE CAN WIN FAR MORE THAN A VICTORY FOR OUR PARTY. WE CAN WIN A VICTORY FOR OUR COUNTRY AND FOR ITS SYSTEM.

AND THAT, MY FELLOW REPUBLICANS, WOULD BE A VICTORY WORKING -- TOGETHER -- FOR,

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