

MOCK POLITICAL CONVENTION  
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY FIELD HOUSE  
MANHATTAN, KANSAS  
FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1968  
REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

I WANT TO TALK TO YOU TODAY, NOT JUST AS STUDENTS, BUT AS FELLOW AMERICANS AND FELLOW CITIZENS.

I SAY THIS BECAUSE I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN SKEPTICAL OF CLASSIFYING AMERICANS INTO NEAT POLITICAL GROUPS WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO THINK AND ACT ALIKE.

IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO FIT ANY ONE OF US INTO ONE KIND OF A GROUP OR ANOTHER, BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE THEREBY BECOME IDENTICAL.

YOU, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN CERTAINLY BE CLASSIFIED AS BELONGING TO A GROUP CALLED "AMERICAN YOUTH" SINCE YOU ARE 1) ALL AMERICANS, AND 2) ALL YOUNG. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT YOU THINK OR ACT ALIKE.

YOU ARE INDIVIDUALS. YOU ARE FREE, THINKING HUMAN BEINGS, AND YOU DIFFER WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH OTHERS AS ALL HUMAN BEINGS DIFFER. NOT BECAUSE HE IS OLD AND YOU ARE YOUNG, BUT BECAUSE YOU ARE YOU AND HE IS HE. THE DIFFERENCE IS ALWAYS BETWEEN PEOPLE AS PEOPLE, NOT AS A MEMBER OF ONE GROUP CONTRASTED WITH ANOTHER.

THE DIFFERENCE IS THE GLORY OF THE HUMAN RACE, OF COURSE. IT IS WHAT MAKES LIFE WORTH LIVING. THE RIGHT TO ENJOY THIS DIFFERENCE IS THE HALLMARK OF ANY FREE SOCIETY. IN AMERICA, WE LOOK UPON THIS DIFFERENCE AS A STRENGTH, NOT A WEAKNESS.

SO I SPEAK TO YOU TODAY NOT JUST AS STUDENTS -- NOT JUST AS YOUNG AMERICANS -- NOT AS TO A GROUP, BUT AS INDIVIDUALS.

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YOU SPEAK AND THINK FOR YOURSELF. YOUR WORTH AND DIGNITY AS A HUMAN BEING DEMANDS THAT YOU AND YOU ALONE TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR YOUR OPINIONS AND YOUR OWN ACTIONS. I TAKE IT AS A MATTER OF FAITH IN YOU THAT YOU WANT TO KEEP IT THAT WAY.

- CAN'T AVOID POLITICS -

IF YOU DO, YOU CANNOT AVOID INVOLVING YOURSELF IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF YOUR COUNTRY. POLITICS IS THE MEANS, IN ANY FREE SOCIETY, THROUGH WHICH YOU WILL EITHER PRESERVE OR LOSE YOUR RIGHT TO BE INDIVIDUALS.

I COME HERE, THEN, NOT ONLY TO SPEAK TO YOU AS INDIVIDUALS, BUT AS ONE PROUD TO CALL HIMSELF A POLITICIAN, AND AS A REPUBLICAN WHO INTENDS TO TALK POLITICS AND POLITICAL ISSUES WITHOUT PULLING ANY PUNCHES.

- THE CRISIS: NO NATIONAL LEADERSHIP -

MY MESSAGE IS SIMPLY THIS:

WE ARE CONFRONTED, IN THIS NATION AT THIS TIME, WITH A NUMBER OF DANGEROUS CRISES. THEY ARE CAUSED, OR MADE WORSE, BY A CRISIS IN OUR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. THE LEADERSHIP CRISIS LIES WITHIN THE PARTY IN POWER, THE DEMOCRAT PARTY. IT IS A CRISIS WHICH CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY REPLACEMENT OF THAT LEADERSHIP IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS.

- THE DEMOCRATS SINCE 1932 -

THE DEMOCRATS HAVE CONTROLLED THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH FOR THE PAST EIGHT YEARS AND FOR ALL BUT EIGHT OF THE LAST 36 YEARS. THEY HAVE CONTROLLED THE CONGRESS FOR THE LAST 13 YEARS AND FOR ALL BUT FOUR OF THE LAST 36 YEARS. THEY HAVE MADE MOST OF THE APPOINTMENTS TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY, INCLUDING THE SUPREME COURT, DURING THE LAST FOUR DECADES. THE NATION HAS BEEN LED BY THE DEMOCRATS WITH LITTLE INTERRUPTION SINCE 1932.

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- THE DEMOCRATS AND AMERICA IN 1968 -

LET US SEE JUST WHERE DEMOCRAT CONTROL HAS LED US.

WE ARE ENGAGED IN A MAJOR WAR WHICH IS COSTING US DEARLY -- IN LIVES,  
IN DOLLARS, IN UNITY AT HOME, IN PRESTIGE ABROAD.

WE HAVE THE HIGHEST CRIME RATE IN HISTORY, AND IT IS STILL CLIMBING --  
9 TIMES FASTER THAN OUR POPULATION. A MAJOR CRIME IS COMMITTED EVERY 8  
SECONDS.

WE HAVE SUFFERED SOME OF THE WORST CIVIL DISTURBANCES IN OUR HISTORY,  
AND WE ARE TOLD TO GIRD OURSELVES FOR EVEN WORSE RIOTS THIS SUMMER.

WE HAVE AN ALL-TIME HIGH COST OF LIVING, AND IT IS STILL GROWING.  
WE HAVE NEAR-RECORD INTEREST RATES, AND SKY-HIGH TAXES WHICH MAY GO STILL  
HIGHER. WE HAVE BACK-TO-BACK FEDERAL DEFICITS AND A WEAKENED DOLLAR REQUIRING  
DRASTIC STEPS TO PRESERVE ITS INTEGRITY IN INTERNATIONAL MARKETS.

WE HAVE A SPRAWLING FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHOSE SIZE AND POWER HAVE GOTTEN  
OUT OF CONTROL AND WHICH THREATENS TO DOMINATE OUR LIVES AND ERODE OUR  
FREEDOMS.

THE RECORD IS PLAIN.

- THE DEARTH OF LEADERSHIP -

WE ARE IN TROUBLE BECAUSE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP FAILED OR BECAUSE DEMOCRAT  
LEADERSHIP ABDICATED ITS RESPONSIBILITY.

- BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER -

LET'S LOOK CLOSER. FIRST, IN THE FIELD OF CRIME AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.  
THERE HAS BEEN A FRIGHTENING BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER IN THIS NATION.  
CRIME IS RAMPANT. WE ARE BESET WITH VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS.

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LAST MONTH, A PROMINENT AMERICAN WAS MURDERED. WITHIN ONE WEEK, 125 CITIES WERE RIPPED BY RIOTING AND INSURRECTION. MORE THAN 40 PERSONS WERE KILLED, MORE THAN 3,500 INJURED, MORE THAN 20,000 ARRESTED, MORE THAN 2,600 FIRES SET, AND PROPERTY DAMAGE ACROSS THE NATION AMOUNTED TO AT LEAST 50 MILLION DOLLARS.

THERE IS NO SIMPLE SOLUTION. I CAN TELL YOU THIS, HOWEVER:

- NEGROES NOT THE ENEMY -

WE MAKE A SERIOUS MISTAKE IF WE BLAME THESE RIOTS SOLELY ON RACE EVEN THOUGH IT IS TRUE THAT IN MANY CASES, PARTICIPANTS WERE PREDOMINANTLY NEGROES. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF NEGROES ARE APPALLED AT THE RIOTS, BECAUSE THEY JEOPARDIZE THE REALLY SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

RIOTS CANNOT BE BLAMED ON ANY ONE RACE OR GROUP. THE ENEMY IS NOT THE NEGRO POPULATION.

- ENEMIES: LAWLESSNESS & POVERTY -

THE ENEMIES ARE: GROWING DISRESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER AND POVERTY.

LAWLESSNESS AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAN REDUCE THIS NATION TO A STATE OF BRUTAL ANARCHY UNLESS IT IS STOPPED. IT IS THE GROWING NUMBER OF PEOPLE OF WHATEVER RACE, WHO TAKE THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS, WHO DESTROY THE FREEDOM OF OTHERS IN ORDER TO GET WHAT THEY WANT. THEY BELIEVE THEY ARE ABOVE THE LAW AND THAT THE LAW CAN BE DISOBEYED IF IT INTERFERES WITH THEIR DESIRES, THEIR CAUSE, OR THEIR BELIEF.

LET ME SAY HERE PARENTHETICALLY, THAT I FIND IT EXCEEDINGLY STRANGE THAT THIS DOCTRINE OF DISOBEDIENCE TO LAWS WHICH INTERFERES WITH THE PROMOTION OF ONE'S CAUSE SHOULD BE ADVANCED BY MANY HOLDING MINORITY VIEWPOINTS. THE LAW, I WOULD REMIND THEM, IS THE ONLY THING THAT STANDS BETWEEN THEM AND THE COMPLETE SUPPRESSION OF DISSSENT AND MINORITY VIEW.

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- NEEDED: LEADERS TO UPHOLD LAW -

TO COMBAT LAWLESSNESS, WE OUGHT TO HAVE THE STRONGEST KIND OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. NO MAN CAN SPEAK WITH GREATER AUTHORITY THAN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. IT IS HE WHO MUST MAKE CLEAR, BY WHAT HE SAYS AND WHAT HE DOES, THAT THE LAW MUST AND WILL BE OBEYED.

THAT LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN LACKING. INSTEAD WE HAVE HAD SUCH STATEMENTS FROM THE PRESIDENT AS THE ONE MADE ON JULY 30, 1964:

"IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THOSE WHO ARE AGGRIEVED WOULD TAKE TO THE STREETS WHETHER RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY."

IT IS NOT UNDERSTANDABLE TO ME. THAT IS NOT MY CONCEPTION OF A FREE PEOPLE AND A FREE SOCIETY. FREEDOM DISAPPEARS WHEN GRIEVANCES ARE TAKEN TO THE STREETS IN UNLAWFUL VIOLENCE AND PILLAGE.

IT IS FAULTY LEADERSHIP TO GIVE EVEN THE APPEARANCE OF CONDONING MOB RULE. EVEN WORSE, IT IS A FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP WHEN DISRESPECT FOR THE LAW IS ENCOURAGED BY FAILURE TO ENFORCE IT.

DO NOT MISUNDERSTAND -- I BELIEVE -- THAT CONDITIONS WHICH HAVE LED TO RIOTS AND CIVIL DISORDER DO REQUIRE URGENT STUDY AND ACTION DIRECTED TOWARD THEIR ERADICATION.

BUT THE DEMOCRAT ANSWER IS AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN TO CREATE MORE FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND INJECT MASSIVE SUMS OF FEDERAL MONEY AND MANPOWER INTO DEPRESSED AREAS.

LET'S FACE IT. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT DO EVERYTHING: NEITHER SHOULD WE WANT IT TO.

THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS PROVEN THAT BEYOND A SHADOW OF A DOUBT. BILLIONS OF DOLLARS HAVE BEEN EXPENDED, MUCH OF IT IN AREAS LIKE DETROIT, WASHINGTON, AND NEWARK, AND STILL THERE ARE RIOTS AND LOOTING AND DEMANDS FOR MORE FEDERAL AID.

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IN MY OPINION, IF 5 OR 10 BILLION DOLLARS HAS NOT MADE ANY APPRECIABLE  
DENT IN THE POVERTY OF THIS COUNTRY, THE ULTIMATE ANSWER IS NOT THE EXPENDITURE  
OF 20 OR 50 BILLION DOLLARS BY THE GOVERNMENT.

- DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP AND MONEY -

A NATION FIGHTING A COSTLY WAR, A NATION FACING SERIOUS INTERNAL DISORDERS  
IS A NATION ILL PREPARED TO COPE WITH FISCAL AND ECONOMIC CRISES.

YET WE DO FACE THESE CRISES, AND IT IS ON THIS COUNT -- THE FAILURE OF  
DEMOCRAT ECONOMIC POLICIES -- THAT THE DEMOCRAT PARTY DESERVES ITS SEVEREST  
INDICTMENT.

- THE DOLLAR AT HOME AND ABROAD -

PRICES ARE GOING UP AT ONE OF THE FASTEST RATES SINCE THE EARLY POST-WAR  
YEARS. LIVING COSTS ARE NOW RISING AT AN ALARMING RATE OF ABOUT 5 PERCENT A  
YEAR. IF THIS KEEPS UP, WHAT NOW COSTS YOU \$100 WILL COST YOU ABOUT \$105 A  
YEAR FROM NOW.

TRUE, AS THE LABOR DEPARTMENT SAYS, WAGES HAVE INCHED UP TOO, BUT NOT  
ENOUGH TO CATCH UP WITH RISING PRICES.

I SUBMIT THE LYRICS TO THE DEMOCRAT SLOGAN "YOU NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD"  
NEED CHANGING. IT OUGHT TO BE: YOU NEVER HAD IT SO HIGH!

INFLATION -- THE HIGH PRICES -- HURTS EVERYONE, BUT ESPECIALLY THE VERY  
PEOPLE WE MOST NEED TO HELP...THE POOR...THE SICK...THE RETIRED...THE WIDOWED.

MOREOVER, AS THE DOLLAR DECLINES IN VALUE AT HOME, THERE IS LESS CONFIDENCE  
IN IT ABROAD.

- YOU CAN BLAME THE DEMOCRATS -

WE CAN BLAME INFLATION, WE CAN BLAME THE WEAKENED DOLLAR ABROAD SQUARELY  
UPON A COMPLETE ABDICATION OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

WE HAVE HAD A DEMOCRAT PRESIDENT AND A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS SINCE 1960 WHO  
HAVE FLUNG MONEY AROUND WITHOUT REGARD TO THE CONSEQUENCES.

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TODAY WE FACE THOSE CONSEQUENCES.

WHILE ASSURING US THAT THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM WAS UNDER CONTROL, THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF HAS RIDICULED INFLATION.

IN DES MOINES IN JUNE 1966, HE SAID:

"ON THE INFLATION FRONT, IF YOU ARE DISTRAUGHT, IF YOU ARE WORRIED ABOUT HIGH PRICES, AND YOU ARE REALLY WORKED UP ABOUT INFLATION, IT MAY BE THAT YOU OUGHT TO VOTE REPUBLICAN."

WE DON'T HEAR THAT KIND OF TALK ANYMORE.

- ACTION, NOT WORDS NEEDED -

THE DEMOCRATS ARE DISCOVERING DEFICITS CANNOT GO ON AND ON AND ON. THE DEMOCRATS ARE DISCOVERING THAT HUGE DEFICITS CREATE HUGE, CRITICAL PROBLEMS. WE CAN'T LIVE BEYOND OUR MEANS.

THE SAME PRESIDENT WHO SUGGESTED THOSE WHO ARE WORKED UP ABOUT INFLATION OUGHT TO VOTE REPUBLICAN HAS CHANGED HIS TUNE.

THE TEST OF LEADERSHIP BY THE DEMOCRATS -- AND THE KEY TO SINCERITY OF THE ADMINISTRATION -- WILL COME WHEN IT ACTUALLY MOVES TO TAKE STEPS NECESSARY TO REDUCE FEDERAL SPENDING.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS TALKED ECONOMY. HE SAYS HE IS FREEZING FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT, BUT HE ADDED A HALF MILLION FEDERAL EMPLOYEES SINCE HE TOOK OFFICE. HE DEPLORED DEFICITS, WHILE HIS OWN LOBBYISTS SWARMED OVER CAPITOL HILL ASKING FOR MONEY TO FUND NEW AND OLD GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS.

- CAN'T HAVE EVERYTHING -

THE GREAT FAILURE OF DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN TO ESTABLISH PRIORITIES AND ECONOMIC DISCIPLINE. NO MATTER HOW YOU CUT IT, WE CAN'T HAVE EVERYTHING WE NEED AT ONCE.

THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT AMERICA TRIED TO DO UNDER DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP, AND TODAY WE'RE FACING THE MUSIC.

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IT REQUIRES STRONG AND COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP TO ESTABLISH SPENDING PRIORITIES. THIS MEANS FOREGOING MANY THINGS ALL OF US WOULD LIKE TO DO, CUTTING BACK ON POPULAR PROGRAMS IN ORDER TO MEET THE MORE URGENT DEMANDS UPON THE MONEY AVAILABLE.

ON ITS PAST RECORD, IT IS DOUBTFUL, WE WILL GET THAT KIND OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE DEMOCRATS. AND THE PUBLIC UTTERANCES OF DEMOCRATS JOHNSON, HUMPHREY, KENNEDY, AND MCCARTHY RIGHT NOW DON'T HOLD OUT MUCH FOR THE FUTURE.

- THE HOPE IN 1968 FOR THE FUTURE -

WHAT DOES HOLD OUT HOPE IN 1968 FOR THE FUTURE IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. FIRST, WE'VE GOT THE CANDIDATES -- RICHARD NIXON AND NELSON ROCKEFELLER -- WHO HAVE PLEDGED THEMSELVES NOT TO SLIP, DUCK, OR HIDE FROM THE ISSUES, BUT TO MEET THE ISSUES HEAD-ON AND WITH POSITIVE, RESPONSIBLE STATEMENTS AND ACTION.

THESE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND ALL OTHER REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES DOWN TO CITY HALL ARE READY TO MOVE, WITH HUMILITY AND ENERGY, TO TURN AMERICA'S GAZE IN NEW DIRECTIONS -- TO GUIDE THIS COUNTRY'S VAST RESOURCES AND UPLIFT ITS PEOPLE TO WORK TO HOUSE, EDUCATE, BUILD, CREATE, AND INSPIRE.

REPUBLICANS KNOW -- AND FOR THAT MATTER, MOST AMERICANS KNOW -- THAT LEANING ON THE GOVERNMENT TO CURE THE NATION'S ILLS IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH.

REPUBLICANS KNOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, OTHER GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS -- BUT THAT GOVERNMENT ALONE CANNOT WAGE THE WARS OR WIN THE PEACE -- AT HOME OR ABROAD.

REPUBLICANS CAN PROVIDE THE IMAGINATIVE, NEW LEADERSHIP THAT CAN INSPIRE THE EXCITE OTHERS. REPUBLICANS UNDERSTAND AND BELIEVE IN PEOPLE -- THEY VIEW THEIR FELLOW AMERICANS AS INDIVIDUALS, NOT AS MEMBERS OF VOTING BLOCS TO BE MOVED ABOUT LIKE PAWNS IN A POLITICAL CHESS GAME.



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REPUBLICANS CAN PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP THIS YEAR FOR THE FUTURE AND BELIEVE ME, THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY, OUR NATION RESTS ON ELECTING THAT REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP.

- ELECTIONS 1968 -

EVERY ELECTION IS IMPORTANT. EVERY CAMPAIGN IS SIGNIFICANT.

BUT THIS YEAR'S ELECTION IS MORE IMPORTANT, MORE SIGNIFICANT. EVERY REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE NEEDS YOUR ENERGY, YOUR DEDICATION.

AMERICA IS BEING CHALLENGED AT HOME AND ABROAD AS NEVER BEFORE. THE VERY FOUNDATION OF OUR SOCIETY IS BEING TESTED. WE ARE AT A CROSSROADS.

THIS NOVEMBER, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL CHOOSE THEIR CONGRESSMAN, THEIR SENATOR, THEIR GOVERNOR, THEIR PRESIDENT.

I HAVE FAITH IN THE PEOPLE. I BELIEVE THEY WILL MAKE THE RIGHT CHOICE -- IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CARRIES ITS MESSAGE TO THEM.

AS INDIVIDUALS IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, YOU CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE. THIS YEAR, AS NEVER BEFORE AMERICA SEEKS CHANGE, IT SEEKS RESPONSIBLE, COURAGEOUS NATIONAL LEADERS.

THIS YEAR, THIS NATION MUST RECLAIM ITS GENUINE HUMANITARIAN MOTIVES, TRUE VALUES, AND RIGHT PRIORITIES. THEN LET US CLOSE THE DOOR FOREVER ON THE UGLY CHAPTER IN WHICH WE USED OUR TREMENDOUS WEALTH AND POWER TO SHATTER, MISLEAD, DESTROY, AND CONFUSE.

YOUR WORK IN THE PRECINCTS, IN THE POLLING BOOTHS, IN THE SHOPPING CENTERS, IN THE AUDITORIUMS, AT THE AIRPORTS, ON THE CAMPUSES AND SO ON CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE.