

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
TEXAS YOUNG REPUBLICAN FEDERATION STATE CONVENTION
HOTEL ADOLPHUS, DALLAS, TEXAS
SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1970

AS ACTIVISTS IN TODAY'S POLITICAL LIFE, YOU ARE IN A UNIQUE AND ENVIABLE POSITION. YOU ARE PRESENT AT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW AMERICAN POLITICAL ERA. WE ARE NOT SEEING A MERE SWITCH OF SLOGANS LIKE "FAIR DEAL", "NEW FRONTIER", OR "GREAT SOCIETY". A PROFOUND REALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL FORCES IS UNDERWAY, AND YOUTH HAS THE CHANCE BOTH TO OBSERVE IT FIRST HAND AND TO EXERT SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE ON IT.

EVERYONE HOPES TO ENCOUNTER THIS SORT OF SITUATION SOMETIME IN HIS LIFE, WHETHER IN POLITICS, BUSINESS OR THE ARTS. IT IS IN DEAN ACHESON'S PHRASE, BEING "PRESENT AT THE CREATION".

-2-

A BASIC CHANGE

A RENUNCIATION OF THE ESTABLISHED ORDER AND INSTITUTION OF NEW LEADERS MANDATED TO TAKE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE NATION'S PROBLEMS OCCURS RARELY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. THE 1932 ELECTION OF FDR WAS SUCH AN EVENT, AND THE 1968 ELECTION OF RICHARD NIXON WILL MARK A WATERSHED OF COMPARABLE SIGNIFICANCE.

THE NEW DEAL MET THE NEEDS OF A TROUBLED TIME AND SET THE PATTERN OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE FOR MORE THAN THREE AND A HALF DECADES. THE PROBLEMS OF THE 1930'S DID RESPOND TO A CENTRALIZED BUREAUCRACY. NEW PROGRAMS, CHANGED POLICIES AND IMPOSED ALTERATION OF ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS WERE EFFECTIVE THEN. BUT THE TIMES CHANGE AND WITH THEM THE PROBLEMS AND BEST MEANS OF SEEKING SOLUTIONS.

IN THE COURSE OF 35 YEARS, CHANGE-ORIENTED LIBERALISM HAS ATTAINED THE HISTORICALLY UNIQUE POSITION OF BECOMING ESTABLISHMENT.

-3-

PAST ENTRENCHED ORDERS HAVE STOOD FOR NO-CHANGE AND THE PRESERVATION OF STABILITY. THE BUREAUCRATIZED LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND, SEEKS PERPETUATION OF UPHEAVAL AND SANCTIFIES THE CONCEPT OF "BETTER NEW THAN PROVEN". IT IS THE POLITICS OF PLANNED OBSOLESCENCE -- THE THROW-AWAY PROGRAM, THE DISPOSABLE SOLUTION AND THE YEARLY CHANGE-OVER OF ANSWERS.

A NEW FORCE

THIS NEW FORCE HAS NOT YET TAKEN ON A READILY IDENTIFIABLE STRUCTURE, BUT CERTAIN OUTLINES ARE VISIBLE. IT HAS TWO BROAD ELEMENTS WHOSE UNION IS UNIQUE TO THIS POLITICAL AGE. THE CORE OF POPULAR POLITICAL TRADITION, THE SOUTH, WESTERN POPULISTS, AND BLUE-COLLAR URBAN DWELLERS, FINDS ITSELF ALIGNED WITH WHAT CAN BE DESCRIBED AS THE HEART OF TRADITIONAL REPUBLICANISM, THE SUBURBAN NORTH AND SMALL TOWN, RURAL POPULATIONS.

-4-

SEVERAL TAGS HAVE BEEN HUNG ON THIS POLITICAL PHENOMENON. THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN OF "THE SILENT MAJORITY". KEVIN PHILLIPS CALLS IT THE "EMERGING REPUBLICAN MAJORITY". PERHAPS AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION WOULD BE THE "MERGING REPUBLICAN COALITION", BECAUSE, RATHER THAN A MONOLITHIC OR HOMOGENEOUS MASS, IT IS A MELDING OF REGIONS, ATTITUDES, AND INTERESTS. THIS COALITION, HOWEVER, DOES EXHIBIT A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT SHARED CHARACTERISTICS.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COALITION

FIRST OF ALL, IT IS PRAGMATIC. IT FACES PROBLEMS WITH A MIND TO THE QUALITY OF THE SOLUTION AND UNCONCERN FOR THE NICETIES OF BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMIZATION. THIS IS NOT TO IMPLY THAT ENDS JUSTIFY MEANS, BUT THE TAIL DOES NOT WAG THE DOG. PROBLEM SOLVING IS FOR SOLUTIONS, NOT JUST FOR THE HEADY EXERCISE OF THE PROCESS.

-5-

SECOND, THE COALITION IS MODERATE. THIS FACT STANDS OUT IN PRACTICE ABOVE THE SHEET-HANGING AND HAND-WRINGING OF THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT. NO BETTER EXAMPLES OF THIS CHARACTERISTIC CAN BE FOUND THAN IN THE TWO NEW REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS IN NEW JERSEY AND VIRGINIA. BILL CAHILL AND LINWOOD HOLTON RAN OUTSTANDING, HIGH LEVEL CAMPAIGNS WHICH THOROUGHLY DISPROVED ANY NOTIONS THAT MODERATE REPUBLICANISM WAS A ONE-YEAR PHENOMENON IN 1968. THEIR DYNAMIC EXAMPLE COULD NOT HAVE COME AT A BETTER TIME, AND WE CAN ALL TAKE ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THEIR SUCCESSES AS WE BEGIN THE 1970 CAMPAIGN.

A THIRD GREAT CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NEW REPUBLICAN COALITION SWEEPS ACROSS BROADER AREAS AND STRIKES STRONGER CHORDS WITH MORE PEOPLE THAN ANY OTHER FACTOR. SIMPLY STATED, THIS COALITION IS FED UP WITH THE REPEATED IMPOSITIONS AND FAILURES OF ESTABLISHMENT LIBERALISM. PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF THE FLASH AND FLOURISH OF NEW SCHEMES, BIGGER ATTACKS AND BOLDER CRUSADES WHICH ARE INEVITABLY FOLLOWED BY MORE RED TAPE, A BIGGER BUREAUCRACY AND AN ULTIMATE FIZZLE.

-6-

LIBERAL CRITICISM

FASHIONABLE LIBERALISM DELIGHTS IN BELITTling THIS NEW FORCE AS BLAND, SQUARE, NEGATIVISTIC AND SELFISH. THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT POURS OUT ITS SCORN ON BLUE-COLLAR ETHNIC GROUPS, FARMERS, AND SUBURBANITES. BUT THIS ATTITUDE REFLECTS A FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THE REALITIES OF TODAY'S POLITICS. IT IS PRECISELY ESTABLISHMENT LIBERALISM WHICH NOW STANDS FOR THE HEGEMONY OF PRIVILEGE, THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ENFORCED CHANGE AND THE INERTIA OF THE BUREAUCRATIC STATUS QUO. THE ESTABLISHMENT LIBERAL PHILOSOPHY AND PROGRAM ARE NO LONGER PROGRESS, BUT PERVERSION OF PROGRESS. IT DOES NOT HEAR AMERICA SAYING, "ENOUGH PLANS, ENOUGH PROMISES, ENOUGH WASHINGTON CENTRALIZATION".

THE POWER FOR PROGRESS

WHEN THE SELF-PROCLAIMED ORACLES OF CHANGE AND ADVOCATES OF NEWNESS DOWNGRADE THE EMERGING FORCES FOR BEING REACTIONARY AND DULL, THEY LOSE SIGHT OF HISTORY. THEIR OWN FASCINATION WITH FORM OVER SUBSTANCE AND TALK OVER ACTION CLOUDS THEIR VISION. THE PARTNERS IN

-7-

THIS NEW CONSTITUENCY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE DRIVING ENERGY BEHIND SUBSTANTIVE NATIONAL PROGRESS. THE VERY ELEMENTS NOW DRAWING TOGETHER ARE THE FORCES WHICH GAVE VITALITY TO JEFFERSONIAN AND JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY AND PROPELLED THE NEW DEAL. GRANTED, IT IS A NEW POLITICAL COMBINATION. IT IS UNTRIED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LATE 20TH CENTURY POLITICS, AND A SERIOUS TEST HAS BEEN SET OUT FOR THE NEW REPUBLICAN COALITION. ITS SUCCESS WILL NOT BE MEASURED IN THE EXPANSE OF THE PROMISES IT MAKES, NOR BY THE NUMBER OF PLANS IT DEVICES. ITS SUCCESS WILL BE MEASURED BY THOSE HARD STANDARDS WHICH AMERICANS HAVE TRADITIONALLY USED TO GAUGE THEIR PERSONAL LIVES. IT WILL BE MEASURED BY THE RESULTS IT PRODUCES, AND IN THE POSITIVE SOLUTIONS IT EFFECTUATES FOR THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE GREATEST NUMBERS OF AMERICANS. IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY MEASURES UP TO THESE YARDSTICKS -- AND NOTHING IN HISTORY SUGGESTS IT CANNOT -- THE ENTIRE COUNTRY WILL BENEFIT.

-8-

MAJOR PROBLEMS

LOOK AT THE FOUR MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS FACING THE NATION TODAY:
THE ECONOMY; THE WAR IN VIETNAM; OUR ENVIRONMENT; AND CRIME.
ACTION IN THESE AREAS HAS WIDE RAMIFICATIONS THROUGHOUT ALL LEVELS
OF OUR SOCIETY.

THE ECONOMY

THE PRESENT INFLATIONARY SPIRAL BEGAN FIVE YEARS AGO WITH THE
MASSIVE EXPANSION OF AMERICAN FORCES INTO VIETNAM. THE WAR BUILD-UP
INFUSED A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY INTO THE ECONOMY, BUT THERE WERE INSUF-
FICIENT GOODS TO ABSORB THIS BURST OF SPENDING POWER. THE RESPONSIBLE,
BUT **POLITICALLY** UNPOPULAR, THING TO DO WOULD HAVE BEEN TO GET THE MONEY
OUT OF THE ECONOMY BY TAX INCREASES, BUT THE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENT, AND
THE DEMOCRAT CONGRESS, REFUSED TO DO THIS. THE ARCHITECT OF THE "GREAT
SOCIETY" DECIDED WE COULD HAVE BOTH "GUNS AND BUTTER", WHICH NECESSITATED
DEFICIT SPENDING. IN THE LIBERAL TRADITION, THIS POLICY RESULTED IN A
DEFICIT OF \$25 BILLION FOR FISCAL 1968.

-9-

AFTER A \$57 BILLION DEFICIT FOR THE '60's, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN FAMILY OF FOUR FOUND THAT THE 1970 COST-OF-LIVING HAD INCREASED \$200 PER MONTH OVER 10 YEARS AGO.

INFLATION IS A BLIND CANCER WHICH ERODES THE LIVES OF EVERYONE -- BLACK AND WHITE, OFFICE WORKER AND FIELD HAND, TEACHER AND BRICK LAYER. IT DESTROYS DOLLARS IN A BANK THE SAME AS DOLLARS IN A PAYCHECK.

WHEN INFLATION BEGINS AND NO STEPS ARE TAKEN TO REMEDY IT, IT ACCELERATES AND DEVELOPS A CERTAIN INERTIA. TO SUDDENLY SLAM ON THE BRAKES WOULD BE DISASTROUS. AND IT WOULD BE SIMPLE ENOUGH TO SLAM ON THE BRAKES -- IT WOULD CERTAINLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION. BUT THEN WE WOULD HAVE RECESSION, OR WORSE YET, A DEPRESSION.

THE PRESIDENT HAS CHOSEN NOT TO SUBJECT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THIS EFFECTIVE, BUT PAINFUL, CURE. INSTEAD, HE IS TRYING TO END INFLATION BY SLOWLY COOLING THE ECONOMY DOWN. THE PROCESS IS DELICATE AND DIFFICULT -- HOW DIFFICULT CAN BE SEEN IN THE FACT THAT NOBODY

-10-

HAS EVER SUCCEEDED IN ENDING INFLATION WITHOUT CAUSING RECESSION. THE PRESIDENT'S WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE THIS EFFORT IS A MEASURE OF BOTH THE PUBLIC CONCERN AND THE POLITICAL COURAGE OF RICHARD NIXON, AND HE DESERVES THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN THIS EFFORT.

VIETNAM

THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAS BEEN A TREMENDOUS DRAIN ON OUR NATIONAL FIBRE. IT HAS INFLATED THE ECONOMY, DIVERTED RESOURCES FROM DOMESTIC PROGRAMS, TAKEN OUR YOUNG MEN'S LIVES, AND DIVIDED THE NATION.

HANOI'S LEADERS HAVE SOUGHT TO TEST THE PRESIDENT'S WILL AND HAVE LEARNED THAT IT IS FIRM. FOLLOWING HIS CAREFULLY CONCEIVED POLICY OF STRENGTHENING BOTH THE FORCES AND WILL TO WIN OF FREE VIETNAM, THE PRESIDENT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE CREATION OF A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE FIGHTING FORCE WHOSE SKILL INCREASES EVERY DAY. BY CONTRAST,

-11-

THE COMMUNISTS HAVE RESORTED TO DRAFTING 8- AND 9-YEAR OLD BOYS. NOW WE ARE WITHDRAWING OUR MEN. THERE WILL BE MORE FIGHTING -- BUT INCREASINGLY, IT WILL BE DONE BY THE MEN OF VIETNAM. OUR BOYS ARE COMING HOME.

THE BENEFITS OF AMERICAN DISENGAGEMENT FROM VIETNAM WILL PENETRATE TO EVERY LEVEL OF OUR COUNTRY. RESOURCES AND MANPOWER WILL BE REDIRECTED TO THE PRIORITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN WAITING AT HOME FOR FREEDOM'S WORK TO BE FINISHED ABROAD.

VIETNAM - LAOS

WHILE WE ARE ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICA'S OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS, LET ME SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT EVENTS IN ANOTHER SMALL ASIAN COUNTRY.

FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS, SOME SENATORS AND PART OF THE PRESS HAVE TRIED TO MAKE IT SEEM THAT A SECRET WAR, INSPIRED BY PRESIDENT NIXON, IS BEING WAGED IN LAOS. IN THEIR DETERMINATION TO CREATE A NIXON "CREDIBILITY GAP", THESE PEOPLE HAVE IGNORED THE PRESIDENT'S

-12-

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS AND ARE FALLACIOUSLY PROCLAIMING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS SECRETLY ORDERED THE C.I.A. AND THE GREEN BERETS TO CONDUCT MAJOR OPERATIONS IN LAOS.

SUCH DESPERATE TACTICS BY THOSE OPPOSING OUR PRESIDENT ARE NOTHING NEW. THESE PEOPLE HAVE REPEATEDLY TRIED -- AND FAILED -- TO MAKE THE DEMOCRAT WAR IN VIETNAM RICHARD NIXON'S WAR. NOW THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO MAKE THE WAR IN LAOS A NIXON ENDEAVOR.

IN FACT, THEY ARE SO BUSY TRYING TO MAKE POLITICAL PROFIT OUT OF WAR THAT THEY WOULD PLACE THE BLAME FOR THESE WARS ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES RATHER THAN WHERE IT BELONGS -- ON THE BACKS OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, AND THEIR COHORTS IN CHINA AND RUSSIA.

YES, WE HAVE HAD CASUALTIES IN LAOS AS A RESULT OF ENEMY ACTION. BUT, WHERE, I MIGHT ASK, WERE THOSE WHO ARE NOW DECRYING ALL OF THIS WHEN IT BEGAN, WHEN POLICY WAS ESTABLISHED, WHEN, IN FACT, THE GENEVA ACCORDS WERE DRAWN UP AND PROMPTLY VIOLATED BY THE COMMUNISTS?

-13-

FRANKLY, I AM TIRED OF THIS SANCTIMONIOUS OUTRAGE BEING LEVELED AGAINST A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT FOR THE BLUNDERS AND ACTIONS OF HIS DEMOCRAT PREDECESSORS.

IF THERE IS BLAME TO BE ASSESSED -- LET US ASSESS IT WHERE IT BELONGS -- AGAINST THOSE WHO BROUGHT IT ABOUT.

CRIME

RETURNING TO THE FOUR MAJOR PROBLEMS, OF COURSE, CRIME IS HIGH ON THE LIST OF TARGETS FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. FEAR FOR THE SAFETY OF CHILDREN AND LOVED ONES, OF HOLD-UPS AND RACKETEERING GROWS DAILY IN THE SUBURBS, IN SMALL TOWN BUSINESSES AND AMONG SUPERMARKET PATRONS. THE PROBLEM IS INDEED SERIOUS TO THEM. BUT, AS THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE POINTED OUT, CRIME TAKES AN UNCALCULABLE TOLL ON THE POOR. ASSAULT, EXTORTION, THEFT AND OTHER CRIME PERVADES THE DAILY EXISTENCE OF URBAN POOR TO AN EXTENT UNIMAGINED BY THOSE OUTSIDE IT.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS DIRECTING A THREE-PHASE EFFORT TOWARD REALIZING THE SECURITY AND SAFETY OF A TRULY FREE SOCIETY. CRACKING DOWN ON ORGANIZED CRIME, PROVIDING MORE COURTS WITH MORE EFFICIENT JUDICIAL PROCEDURES, AND ASSISTING STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN THEIR PROGRAMS WILL RELIEVE THE TERROR AND INTIMIDATION WHICH HAUNTS SO MANY OF OUR CITIZENS AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY.

-14-

ENVIRONMENT

WE MIGHT RESOLVE THE REST OF OUR CHALLENGES, BUT TO LITTLE USE
IF OUR WORLD IS UNFIT FOR HABITATION.

SMOG IS NO RESPECTER OF WEALTH OR RACE OR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.
RAW SEWAGE IN THE RIVER RUINS IT FOR RICH AND POOR ALIKE.

IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, PRESIDENT NIXON COMMITTED
HIS ADMINISTRATION TO THE FIGHT TO IMPROVE AND PRESERVE OUR RAPIDLY
DETERIORATING ENVIRONMENT. IN HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON THE ENVIRON-
MENT, THE PRESIDENT TRANSLATED THAT COMMITMENT INTO LEGISLATIVE AND
ADMINISTRATIVE PROPOSALS.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE ENVIRONMENT ARE SO VAST AND CRITICAL THAT
THEY DESERVE THE ATTENTION AND COMMITMENT OF THE BEST PROBLEM SOLVERS
IN THE NATION. THEY ARE NOT SIMPLE PROBLEMS WHOSE SOLUTIONS LIE MERELY
IN RHETORIC. NOR ARE THERE REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT SOLUTIONS TO THESE
PROBLEMS. THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS TOUCH THE MAJOR AREAS OF AIR AND

-15-

WATER POLLUTION, SOLID WASTE DISPOSAL, AND THE USE OF FEDERAL LANDS FOR PUBLIC RECREATION. AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE WAS HIS APPEAL FOR ACTION AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND FROM EVERY SEGMENT OF SOCIETY.

GROWING PUBLIC ALARM OVER THE DANGERS OUR ENVIRONMENT FACES CAN, HOWEVER, SERVE TO AWAKEN ONE OF THE NATION'S GREATEST RESOURCES, THE POWER OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS DIRECTED TOWARD A COMMON GOAL.

THE CHALLENGE OF PRESERVING OUR ENVIRONMENT IS TAILOR-MADE TO LOCAL COMMUNITY EFFORTS. AN ENDANGERED TROUT STREAM, AN UNSIGHTLY DUMP, LOCAL SEWAGE TREATMENT DEFICIENCIES ARE HIGHLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO LOCAL SOLUTIONS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN PAINT WITH A BROAD BRUSH IN THIS FIELD, BUT THE FINE DETAIL, WHICH CAN ONLY BE FILLED IN AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, WILL DETERMINE THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF OUR ENDEAVORS.

-16-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN OFTEN OF VOLUNTEER ACTION AND ITS TREMENDOUS POTENTIAL TO CARRY AHEAD OUR QUEST FOR A QUALITY EXISTENCE. NOWHERE IS THIS POTENTIAL GREATER THAN IN THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE OUR RESOURCES AND MAKE OUR WAY OF LIFE TRULY WORTHWHILE.

WE MUST ACT NOW, INDIVIDUALLY, IN SMALL GROUPS AND THROUGH COMMUNITY EFFORTS. EACH OF US MUST PARTICIPATE IF WE ARE TO "SUCCEED IN RESTORING THE KIND OF ENVIRONMENT WE WANT FOR OURSELVES AND THE KIND THE GENERATIONS THAT COME AFTER DESERVE TO INHERIT".

THE COST OF ACHIEVING OUR GOAL WILL BE HIGH, BUT NO AMOUNT OF MONEY WOULD BE ABLE TO BUY BACK WHAT WE STAND TO LOSE IF WE DO NOT MAKE THIS INVESTMENT IN EFFORT, DEDICATION AND MONEY.

-17-

CONCLUSION

SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THESE FOUR AREAS WOULD NOT OPEN THE GATES TO UTOPIA. BUT IF THE MOCKING CRITICS OF THE NEW REPUBLICAN CONSTITUENCY WOULD DENY THE LEGITIMACY OF SUCH PROGRESS FOR THE OVER-ALL NATIONAL GOOD, THEY WOULD NEGATE THE GREATEST TRADITION OF OUR AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS.

CONCRETE BENEFITS DELIVERED, NOT MERELY PROMISED, WILL EVENTUALLY REASSURE ELEMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY WHICH ARE NOW DISTRUSTFUL OF THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY'S MOTIVES AND AIMS. AS THESE MISGIVINGS ARE OVERCOME, EVEN MORE CONSTITUENCIES WILL BE MOBILIZED AND AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT WILL BE AT WORK IN THIS COUNTRY. BOTH THE FERVOR AND QUALITY OF THIS ENGAGEMENT WILL BE UNIQUE IN OUR POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.

WE ARE AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW REPUBLICAN ACTION-ERA IN POLITICS. THE COMING DECADES WILL REQUIRE MORE THAN MERE BALANCING OF SKILLS AND GOOD INTENTIONS. A SENSE OF DIRECTION IS VITAL TO THIS AGE.

THIS DIRECTION CAN COME FROM ONLY ONE SOURCE, THE POPULAR WILL, EXPRESSED THROUGH THE DYNAMICS OF DAY-TO-DAY, PRECINCT-LEVEL POLITICS. YOU ARE THE SOURCE OF THAT DIRECTION.

Young Brumer

Tanner → (frat. brother)

Prue
Clem } House M.
Buel }

Senate } Const. says you are
entitled 2 Senators

18 yr. old vote - Celler.

Head injury - Parker.