

BOB DOLE
1ST DISTRICT, KANSAS

244 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
CAPITOL 4-3121, EXT. 2715

COMMITTEE:
AGRICULTURE

DISTRICT OFFICE:
210 FEDERAL BUILDING
HUTCHINSON, KANSAS 67501

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE - (R-KANSAS)
ANNUAL FREDERICK COUNTY MARYLAND DINNER
APRIL 28, 1965

It is always a pleasure to visit with Republicans from other areas. First, let me state that politics is generally a bitterly-serious business, however, if we can't occasionally laugh at ourselves, its hardly worth the effort and to illustrate there are no hard feelings over the November election, I want to pay tribute to our President.

Without any qualms whatsoever, I want to state publicly that we're all indebted because of his Administration -- even generations yet unborn --.

Moreover, it looks like the Great Society is going to make this a land of plenty -- owe plenty, tax plenty, spend plenty, waste plenty and perhaps in 1966, switch plenty seats in Congress.

There is, as nearly as I can determine, no provision in the "Great Society" for a 2 party system -- just government by consensus. While Johnson works as President to bury partisanship in a spirit of consensus, he is working as a Democrat toward the extinction of the Republican party in the congressional elections of 1966.

Republicans all over the country are eager to work. The Republican Party never has had a greater responsibility at a time when more than ever the world looks and waits and waits and looks again to the United States for guidance and inspiration in the fight to preserve and extend freedom.

The Republican Party has plenty to do as a party of responsible opposition. I personally feel we must continue with renewed energy as the "G.O.P." -- not -- just for the sake of it -- become the G.A.P. (Great Alternative Party). - *Rest of speech like that of April 26, 1965*

Our role should be opposition to all ill-advised schemes and programs that damage the people -- now or hereafter. In addition, our role should be equally strong in our advocacy and support of proposals which help the private enterprise systems to increase earnings of management and the share of the workers.

What this country needs -- and needs now -- is a political party truly representative of the needs of the people. Rather than imposing restraints on human progress, we invite the broadest implementation by the self-governed to meet the challenges of any age.

If Lincoln were alive today he would warn against complacency and drift -- he would caution that America cannot maintain its position as a symbol of hopes for all mankind if only lip service is paid to the grand design outlined by our Founding Fathers. In this spirit, Republicans humbly acknowledge a responsibility to serve the Nation in all things dedicated to the common good.

Let me add that in the rush to improve our image let us not overlook the real sources of our strength. Yes, we want to win but not sacrifice our fundamental principles in the process. The American people must have a real choice and a real alternative to Democrat leadership. The surest road to future victories is the way of principle.

These are some of the principles I'm talking about:

- Ours is a Constitutional Republic, of limited, balanced, and dispersed powers.
- We are a federation of sovereign states, and a community of sovereign individuals.
- Our people, all of them without distinction, are guaranteed equality of opportunity, and equality before the law.
- And above all else, ours is a Society that is Great, and always has been, because it is Free.

And these principles are applicable today, for example, one point overlooked in the so-called "Voting Rights" legislation is the protection of the integrity of a man's vote-- to insure that his vote be properly counted and that it not be canceled by another vote fraudulently cast.

The voting rights bills now pending before Congress are aimed primarily at only one kind of abuse--the use of literacy tests and other devices to deprive Negroes of their right to vote. These bills would do little to correct other conditions which also deprive voters of their rights, and those conditions, namely, election frauds, do exist. The Administration voting rights bill and other voting rights bills do nothing to provide federal policing of elections

in many cities and States where the big political machines control elections. In some cities charges of vote buying and stealing have been made year after year. These charges and complaints often are not investigated under present law.

One example of the dire need for legislation to curb voting frauds in federal elections can be found in Chicago. In a March 19 speech in Chicago, T. P. Sheehan, Chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Cook County, made charges of vote buying. He pointed out wards in which eggs were passed out to voters, or a half pint of gin, coupons redeemable in food, or \$5 per vote. None of these instances of vote buying will be prosecuted in Chicago or anywhere else under the voting rights bills pending. Who can forget the famous incident in Chicago in the 1960 election when in one precinct 82 votes were cast although the voting list showed only twenty-two qualified voters? The right of all people to vote, regardless of race or color, will be of little value if coercion is used to influence the outcome of elections or if the votes are fraudulently counted.

Republicans are taking action to correct such abuses which unfortunately can be found in too many parts of the United States. Senator Williams (R-Delaware) has offered an amendment to the "Voting Rights" bill to make it a federal crime to give false information in connection with registering to vote, to pay or accept payment for registering or for voting, with respect to a Federal election. Many of us in the House have introduced similar legislation. In addition to the provisions of the Williams amendment the House version contains provisions making it a federal crime to alter any ballot or voting record or to fraudulently count or tabulate ballots, with respect to a Federal election.

In addition to the fraudulent practices cited in Chicago, the following types of voting abuses have been used in recent years and would be covered by this Republican legislation.

1. Padded registration lists--lists contain names of deceased voters, former residents, or fictitious names for whom votes will be recorded.
2. Repeating--sending persons from precinct to precinct to vote under the names of bona fide or fictitious voters.
3. Altering ballots--election officers may complete an incomplete ballot, may change the vote cast, or may spoil the ballots.
4. Substitution of ballots--discarding of legitimate ballots and substitution of others.
5. False count and false returns--deliberate errors in tabulation and in reporting totals.
6. Altering returns.
7. Tampering with voting machines--jamming is most common.
8. Counting of ballots not marked in accordance with the election law.

Regardless of your feeling about the present "Voting Rights" legislation, certainly you would agree that each qualified citizen has the right to vote and to have his vote counted honestly; if elections are fraudulent, a citizen's vote is diluted or nullified to the extent to which votes are illegally cast.

Recent reports about the death of the Republican Party have been greatly exaggerated. The very intensity of the debate among Republicans about our Party's future is

convincing evidence that the Grand Old Party is alive and kicking -- sometimes, and far too often, each other.

The question preoccupying all of us is, where do we go from here -- and how do we get there?

I suggest two steps: (1) to keep in mind that the differences between Republicans today are not one fraction as great as the common interests which bind us together as a Party; and (2) to build a stronger Party on the basis of our common interests, not our differences.

It will not be easy. Nothing worthwhile ever is. But haven't we been seeking an easy solution to our problems? Haven't we tended to bask in the reflected glories of past victories, past leaders, past strategies?

This is not to say that we cannot learn from the past and from those who have gone before. The lesson is clear for the Republican Party in 1965. We lost an election last November, a battle certainly, but not the war. We must not become so preoccupied with the why of our last defeat that we neglect the how of our next victory. The lessons of history strongly suggest that we can expect victory for our Party in the 1966 elections as the large flock of Democratic chickens come home to roost, as the Great Society begins to shrink under the test of time and as Republicans begin to concentrate their fire on the mishaps and misjudgements of the Democrats.

Some of us, discouraged and frustrated may ask, "why worry about 1966." Because, in my opinion, the people of our Republic are entitled to a strong competitive 2 party system. Because, in my opinion, a majority of Americans do believe in sound constitutional government -- freedom of the individual -- individual rights and responsibilities provided in a Free Society -- just to mention a few -- Because, we must resist -- yes even for those who may presently disagree -- the concentration of power in our federal government -- the continuing administration efforts to control the news and manipulate public opinion -- Administration efforts to "wink" at scandal in high places -- Vague Administration "promises" designed too often for political purposes -- Because of grave responsibilities to generations yet unborn to preserve basic freedom, and because of a fundamental responsibility to Republicans (past - present and future), to strengthen our party.

It may be dubbed the "Great Society" by the President, but for those who must pay -- I suggest more descriptive terminology might well be "The Great Anxiety". As proof their fear is not groundless, think back to the evening of January 4, when American television viewers were subjected to the "longest uninterrupted commercial in history."

The Johnson State of the Union Advertisement outlined a plan for creation of the land of milk, honey and sunshine for all -- particularly urban dwellers. In his 47 minute "live" program he pledged his Administration to solve all problems, but failed to mention the cost. He didn't say how much the withholding taxes, the Social Security taxes, State and local taxes would have to rise to pay for Government programs which will be applied to everything from A to Z.

The message was a blueprint for further Federalizing nearly every aspect of American life. An invitation to all to find a seat at the public trough, and take what a beneficent father in Washington was ready to hand out.

The President prescribed a liberal dose of "Federal Elixir" for each and every American. No problem appears too difficult, that creation of another Federal agency -- and throwing a few millions of tax dollars at it -- will not solve. Since then we have had the Economic message, an Inaugural Address, and most recently a belabored 44 minute effort designed to create emotional hysteria, and at least one Presidential message a week to Congress proposing new or renewed programs.

The primary emphasis in Washington today is to expand the Federal Government as fast and as far as possible. The men running the show are setting up new agencies as soon as they can ramrod the bills through the "rubber stamp" Congress. They have ceased to think about the next generation, or even the present one and are thinking only about the next election. They have hit upon what they think is a perfect system. Just use the people's own money to buy their votes. In some areas, it works. But where people think, where people want their children to grow up in a land of free opportunity, where people realize that perpetually growing debt means more and more interest and eventually higher taxes, the LBJ hocus-pocus is recognized for what it is .. a cynical scheme to keep himself in office.

It is too often said that America is at the crossroads. Today we may be beyond the crossroads and perhaps heading into the uncharted swamps of Socialism. Socialism has wrecked every country that has tried it. England, once the ruler of the seas, is now a second-rate power with doctor strikes, steel strikes and the foreign policy of a field mouse.

Oh, you hear about Norway, Sweden, Denmark and some of those countries that have a form of socialism that seems to work out very well. There's just one little factor that makes us different. Those people have given up on the defense of freedom. They do not support a defense budget like we do. They have thrown themselves on the mercy of the

world as professional neutrals, hoping in the case of conflict to make a profit from both sides. We can't afford to do that; although there are those in Washington who would have us surrender our freedoms as individuals and as a Nation.

We are now spending over 50 billion a year on defense. We are doing this to keep our Country free and to help keep other countries that want to be free out of the clutches of Communism, which has a single aim: To seize control of the world.

The heavy defense burden that we must bear if we are to lead the free world, makes it difficult for us to support these massive socialized programs that the planners in Washington want to hang around our necks. We can't have more than half of our budget going into defense and foreign aid, and still spend billions and billions to buy a Great Society.

That's why it is important that we work to elect Republicans. We are now almost a voice in the wilderness. The Democrats have a patented method of refuting arguments about the cost of Federal programs. They say that we are the richest Nation on earth and we can easily afford to do this or that. To provide this or that service. Or to pay this one or that one for not growing, or not doing, or for rehabilitation or training, or just anything to get the Government in on the private lives of the people.

Are we the richest Nation on earth? We are living high. But we are living high on \$315 billion in debt. Interest on this debt, \$11 billion, is the second largest item in our national budget today. As the debt grows, this annual cost grows. We owe more money than all the rest of the Nations of the world combined. We are adding to this debt...in these times of relative prosperity, we are adding to the debt. What happens if there is a downturn? What happens if we must add more billions to the debt and find that interest is taking not 11 percent, but 25 percent of our national budget each year?

But, above and beyond living too high on the Federal hog, the Government is seeking more and more controls. That is where you and I face a real challenge. If we want our families to live in a land where freedom of choice remains, where freedom of expression and opportunity remain the right of the individual, we had better stop the expansion of Federal agencies into our schools, into our daily lives.

The history of Federal agencies is a one-way street. They just grow and grow and they grab more power and hire more people to dream up more projects to grab more power so they can expand and hire more people ... and so on, on and on.

The preceeding remarks indicate my distaste for many Great Society programs. I know many who concur are wondering what can be done to stop or slow the trend, so let me conclude with what, in my opinion, are the Republican challenges.

Although outnumbered in both Houses of Congress by two to one majorities, it will be our duty during the next two years to continue to function as a vocal, yet responsible, opposition. To do otherwise would be to destroy the very fabric of our two party system.

Republicans simply can't afford an intra-party struggle, nor can they escape the past. It is idle, though, in my opinion, to talk/solely about a "new policy" or a "new philosophy," as is being done in some quarters.

It isn't so much that the Republican Party must change -- though all political parties as well as institutions must turn with the times -- but that the impressions regarding the party must be changed.

The issues which really brought about defeat were not the positions of the party nor of its candidates. The central issue, as Richard M. Nixon recently stated, is not whether there is to be a third party but whether there is to be a second party.

In the last campaign the nation experienced the effect of an attack that so distorted the positions of its candidates and of the party itself that they were made to seem entirely out of step with American life.

The impossibility of countering this attack, in the short time of a campaign, resulted in the alienation of independent voters and many Democrat conservatives who often are found voting with Republicans.

On the other hand, a President is in the news every day. His words and his thoughts influence our daily lives. Federal bureaucracies are entwined even in community life, and daily we are told how this and that agency has produced the necessities or benefits of individual existence.

The problem of an effective answer, and of a consistent and persistent presentation of sound alternatives, is the vital problem facing the Republican Party.

Republicans have before them the greatest and most important challenge in this generation.

And mark my words, there are those who would destroy our two-party system under the false label of what they euphemistically call a "great national concensus" or the "vast middle ground of American thought."

These are the same persons who are quick to label practically any opposition to the so-called Great Society as being either generated by extremists or smacking of disloyalty. These are the people who have tried to create the national myth that the Great Society is, in actuality, equally attractive to Democrats and Republicans alike.

But, like the Pied Piper, their real purpose is to paint a false picture of something for everybody in order to lure Independents and Republicans into a permanent one-party structure of government. Just a quick glance at the history books will point to the decay and corruption that march in cadence with one party rule.

The task that lies ahead won't be easy, but as Chairman elect Ray Bliss recently remarked, "When you begin pondering either the lateness of the hour or the length of the road ahead, you're through in politics."