

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE - (R-KANSAS)
DELAWARE YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
DOVER, DELAWARE
MAY 15, 1965

It is always a pleasure to visit with Young Republicans from other areas. I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to appear on the Delaware Young Republican Federation program.

First, let me state that politics is generally a bitterly-serious business, however, if we can't occasionally laugh at ourselves, it's 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

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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).

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

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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.

That is the sum and substance of our heritage as a great national Party -- that is the foundation upon which our Party is built -- and can now, in 1965, be built anew.

The heritage and the foundations I speak of reach all the way back to 1854, in one unbroken line. They go back even further.. They're just as solid as the foundations of the American Republic itself -- for the very good and obvious reason, in my book, that they are essentially the same.

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.

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--- 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.

I ask you -- aren't these the great building blocks of the United States of America? My study of history says that they are: Long before Mr. Johnson got into the act, the American people have been hard at work creating a Great Society.

And aren't these the foundations, in principle and in practice, of our Republican Party? I think they are and feel certain you do, too.

Republicans are making rapid progress with party unity at the very time Democrats are engaged in a quiet but growing power struggle.

President Johnson is frequently embarrassed because too many Democrats in Congress disagree with his foreign and domestic policies. The most striking example of Democrat disunity is the blooming Johnson-Kennedy rift. The relationship between the President and the Senators Kennedy, always strained, may be nearing the breaking point as evidenced by recent remarks and activities of the parties involved.

At the peak of the "Dominican" crisis on May 3, President Johnson, in what has been construed as a reflection on the late President Kennedy's handling of the Cuban crisis, said, "We don't propose to sit here in our rocking chair with our hands folded and

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let the Communists set up any government in the Western Hemisphere." This was followed on May 7, by a critical retort from Senator Robert Kennedy indicating President Johnson erred in not consulting the "Organization of American States" before sending troops to the Dominican Republic. The latest chapter of discord was written on May 11, by Senator Ted Kennedy, who differed with President Johnson on the "poll tax" issue in the Voting Rights bill. Whatever the motives the political pot is boiling fast and top level Democrats are feeling the heat. The American public is witnessing what will develop into a long range "winner take all" political maneuver. Republican differences are small compared to smoldering Democrat disagreements. We cannot succeed solely as a result of Democrat disunity, but bear in mind, Republicans are "uniting" --- Democrats are "fighting".

The question then is, where do we go from here -- and how do we get there?

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

It will not be easy. Nothing worthwhile ever is. But Republicans too often seek an easy solution to problems? We tend to bask in the reflected glories of past victories, past leaders, past strategies.

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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 and 1966. 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 misphaps 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.

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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 fieldmouse.

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 billions 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

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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.

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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. Just since 1961, 23 new Federal agencies have been created under the Democrat Administration, as the files of the Joint Congressional Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures reveal. Well then, what can be done to stop or slow the trend, what 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 about a "new policy" or a "new philosophy," as is being done in some of the comments.

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.

It is time, -- all should agree --, to stop blaming each other

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for what happened. The central issue, as Richard M. Nixon said, is not whether there is to be a third party but whether there is to be a second party.

Can an "out" political party win a campaign in the face of the almost overwhelming communications facilities and vast sums of money available to those now in public office?

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 pictured as 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, particularly the present one, is in the news every day. His words and his thoughts influence countless 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 real alternatives, is the vital problem facing the Republican Party.

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If not corrected, and quickly, there will be a continuing rush toward a one-party government. Already there is a growing public awareness of this danger.

Republicans have before them the greatest and most important challenge in this generation. Young Republicans must take an active interest in creating and supporting action programs to meet the real problems created by our changing, expanding, growing, complex industrial system. The dilemma that has bothered many voters, of both parties, has been created by the pseudo liberal, who trust only the government and the hard-core conservative, who looks only to free enterprise. In this stalemate, the conservative loses and the government grows bigger and bigger, for there are needs that must be satisfied and under present conditions only government is available to fill them.

The challenge to execute needed programs which are in the public interest should be met by your generation through implementation of action programs utilizing the independent sector of our economy. The independent sector is the only one that can accomplish what needs to be done without changing the present balance of relationships between Government --- Individuals --- Business.

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 consensus" or the "vast middle ground of American thought." These are the same persons who are quick to

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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 all through in politics."