

CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE  
1965 CONVENTION  
OHIO LEAGUE OF YOUNG REPUBLICANS  
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CINCINNATI, OHIO

It is always a pleasure to visit with Young Republicans. First, let me state that politics is generally a bitterly-serious business but, if we can't occasionally laugh at ourselves, it's really not worth the effort and to illustrate there are still no hard feelings over the November election, I want to pay tribute to the President.

Without any reservations whatsoever, I want to publicly state 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, more specifically, recapture the seats lost in Ohio -- plus another half-dozen -- from your great state.

Nationally, unless there's a swing next year, we will move even more rapidly toward one-party government under one-man rule. Traditionally, the President proposed, and the Congress disposed:

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Now, LBJ does both.

"Developing a consensus" sounds like a democratic process, but in operation this device is smothering all constructive opposition. Detailed provisions of legislation are drafted, not in the committees of Congress, but in the bureaucratic factories within the Johnson Administration's executive departments. Leading Democrats in Congress are then induced to introduce the legislation. LBJ bills move hurriedly through legislative subcommittees, full committees and the Congress itself, with no amendments permitted except those sanctioned by the White House. There is little or no time for public understanding, evaluation, suggestion or other popular participation in our supposed system of self government.

Once the Senate or House has acted, the legislation must then be rushed through the other body without changing so much as a word or a comma so that LBJ can set up the "Signing Ceremony" on schedule in the little old school house -- the Truman Library, or any other place he might derive some political mileage.

The Appalachia program and federal aid to education legislation are examples of bills rushed through this "no change" Congress. Thus the Congress is being transformed into a new type of unicameral body. This past week, just as an example, the House completed the vast Medicare program, rent subsidies

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were authorized, and Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Law was repealed. Literally a "flood" of new laws have been enacted since January, and in the process, an all-powerful Central Government is rising ---- and equally important is the dangerous move toward one-party ---- yes, one man rule and domination.

"When the balance in Congress is so steeply tilted by an overwhelming majority in one political party -- as it is today with 293 Democrats and 141 Republicans in the House -- our system of checks and balances is endangered.

This is because our two-party system, although not written into the Constitution, builds into government an additional set of checks and balances. Early in our history a wise decision was made to follow the pattern of a two-party system. We avoided the loss of freedom of a one-party government; we avoided the chaos and confusion of a multi-party government.

Not only does a strong second party provide the electorate with legislative alternatives but also with a remarkably high level of honesty and frankness.

We can all agree that a strong two-party system is Democracy's life insurance -- protection for our children against any drift toward authoritarianism. Conversely, a crushing over-balance of strength in either party for too long will make a mockery of our

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traditions in government and weaken the voice of the people.

It seems to me the major goals to be sought in the area of government are two-fold. First: a sensitive balance between executive, legislative and judicial branches; Second: a strong two-party system.

Let there be no mistake about it... the present weakness of the Republican Party is not simply a problem for the Republicans. It is a national problem. It is a problem all Americans must understand. And it is a responsibility that all Americans must shoulder.

The ultimate contest in which we are engaged is the defense of our traditional two-party system which, since the founding of the Republic, has furnished the flesh and blood for the raw skeleton of our constitutional system.

All Americans who love their country deeply surely are aware of the importance of the role of a MAJORITY AND A MINORITY PARTY. If this system fails, our governmental system fails with it. None of us must ever lose sight of the dangers involved when one political party becomes so strong that it dominates our government year after year, from one generation to the next, without any fear of being held accountable for its conduct in office.

Continuous landslide victories over successive periods of time, whether they be Republican or Democratic, are not good for

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either party.

If the Republican Party is to provide the kind of two-party system I believe most Americans want, then the Republican Party first must create in voters the desire to associate themselves with it.

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 Republicans should invite the broadest implementation by the self-governed to meet the challenges of any age.

Let me add that in the rush to improve our image we should 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:

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---- 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.

Reports about the death of the Republican Party have been greatly exaggerated, in my opinion. The very intensity of 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.

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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 future of the Republican Party is in your Hands!!!! Why?:

---- Because in the age group 21-35 there are today over 32 million American citizens.

---- Because this year over half of our entire national population is under 28 years of age.

---- Because by 1970 almost 100 million Americans will be under 25 years of age.

---- Because, in brief, our nation is rapidly becoming a nation of young voters.

It is a matter of the plain, hard fact that we must sharply increase our support among young voters.

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The big question is whether the Republicans can successfully compete for those voters 35 years of age and younger.

Can we as Republicans vigorously and successfully compete for those five million young people who will become potential first voters between 1964 and 1966?

Can we as Republicans successfully compete for those 12 million Americans who will become eligible to vote for the first time in a Presidential election in 1968?

I believe we can. ----- Do you?????

The answer, in my opinion, lies in the seriousness of our intent, in our ability to learn, and in our willingness to work.

Some of us, discouraged and frustrated may ask, "Why worry about 1966" or why worry at all? 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



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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."

Whatever called, it is still government by a slogan and as proof this is the Democrat approach, would remind you of the contest, "Why I Am a Democrat," recently announced by the National Chairman of that party. Entries are limited to 25 words and must be accompanied by a \$10 contribution. The grand prize is a "free ride" to Hawaii. Results will probably be announced from the White House, and while a complete list of entries is not yet available, it would be fair to assume that Bobby Baker, Walter Jenkins, and Abe Fortas were either early entrants or "Judges."

The Democrat Party is noted for slogans and jingles in selling the legislative program: The New Deal -- The Fair Deal -- New Frontier -- Great Society -- Medicare -- War on Poverty -- and countless others. So, it is not surprising a similar approach is used to sell the Party. -- The point is -- have we allowed the Administration to win by default -- by selling the

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slogans instead of the products? Does every voter know that the Republicans have products of their own? Is the voter being invited to compare quality and cost before he buys?

One task the Republican Party has before it is a vast job of merchandising. We have a quality product to sell and we ought to feel that we are doing our voting customers a favor by bringing it to their attention.

I like to believe that the raw materials that go into the Republican legislative product are produced in the minds of every Republican.

From one source comes a conservative idea and from another a liberal thought. From another supplier comes a moderate interpretation and from another a critical analysis. Properly put together, all the raw materials of ideas, thought, interpretations and analyses produce an outstanding quality product.

"This is not," as stated in a Wall Street Journal editorial only yesterday, "the moment to rehash the semantics of words like "Moderate" and "Extremism," or to debate what ought to be the policy of the Republican Party. It is simply the moment to note that so long as that debate is dominated by such slogans, and by the heated passion of dogmatism, the Republicans have no future. A party divided against itself cannot lead."

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Certainly we subscribe to this, and as good Republicans should recognize we cannot afford further "intra-party struggles", though it is idle, in my opinion, to talk about a completely "new policy" or a completely "new philosophy." It isn't so much that the Republican Party must change -- although all political parties, as well as institutions, must turn with the times -- but that the impressions regarding our party must be changed. The issues which really bring about defeats are not always the positions of the Party, nor of its candidates. In my opinion, we have a quality product. We should have a genuine appeal to American voters and what we now need is the full support of your generation as Republican salesmen and women. We need your commitment to your society to begin now so that we may work together to meet the challenges next year and in 1968. We need a more involved citizenry, and the young people of America offer the best hope of the Republican Party. Unfortunately, the great majority of Americans are inactive politically. It is estimated that only 7% of our total adult population attends meetings, dinners, and rallies; that only 4% contribute financially; that only 3% actually work for a party or a candidate; and only 2% belong to a political club or organization. Obviously, it will be necessary for leaders such as yourselves to become aware of and interested in

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matters in your own communities to convince your fellow Americans that the individual is still the major concern of the American Republic and that the Republican goal is to continue to champion the individual against the excesses of big business, big labor, or big government. Young Republicans have before them the greatest and most important challenge in this generation, and the central issue as stated by Richard M. Nixon recently is not whether there is to be a third party, but whether there is to be a second party.

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 consensus" 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

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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 a fellow  
Ohioan, Chairman 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."

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1. Melrose - - Newsletter - - when it passed - - Joseph Bailey Spahr
2. "Oh My God" - - That Night - - I forgot - -
3. ~~Report~~ - - Bill Miller - - brother-in-law about 1960  
Died like H H H.
4. Viet - Nam - - World War - - Johnson House A  
New England - - Monte  
Sumner, in D.C. ->
5. head me - -