

GOP ALABAMA JUBILEE
MOBILE, ALABAMA
OCTOBER 9, 1965
REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

NEVER IN MY FIFTEEN YEARS IN POLITICS HAVE I SEEN SUCH ENTHUSIASM AS DISPLAYED BY ALABAMA REPUBLICANS IN THIS STATEWIDE GOP JUBILEE. THIS GENUINE ENTHUSIASM IN ALABAMA AND THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH WILL BE A DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE 1966 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

THERE WERE SKEPTICS -- IN AND OUT OF CONGRESS -- WHO WONDERED IF THE FIVE ALABAMA REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN SHOULD EVEN BOTHER TO PACK FOR THE TRIP TO WASHINGTON, D. C., LAST JANUARY. THE SKEPTICS, HOWEVER, HAVE SCATTERED, AND THOSE WHO CAN SENSE THE CHANGING POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE SOUTH NOW STATE THAT IF THERE IS ANY PACKING, IT WILL BE THAT OF DEFEATED DEMOCRATS LEAVING WASHINGTON.

THE ELECTION OF YOUR OUTSTANDING CONGRESSMAN, JACK EDWARDS, WAS THE DIRECT RESULT OF A REPUBLICAN EFFORT, SECOND TO NONE. THE FACT THAT 85 PERCENT OF THE REGISTERED MOBILIANS VOTED IN 1964 WAS NO ACCIDENT. VICTORY WAS ACHIEVED THROUGH A COMBINATION OF HARD WORK, ORGANIZATION, PROPER FINANCING, STRONG REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, PLUS AN OUTSTANDING CANDIDATE CARRYING THE REPUBLICAN BANNER. A SIGNIFICANT REASON FOR YOUR GREAT SUCCESS WAS THE

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DEDICATION AND HARD WORK OF COUNTY CHAIRMEN THROUGHOUT YOUR DISTRICT AND THE EFFORTS OF STRONG ORGANIZATIONS IN MOBILE, WASHINGTON, CHOCTAW, WILCOX, CLARKE, AND MONROE COUNTIES.

THE FUTURE OF ALABAMA IS TIED TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY JUST AS THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WILL, IN A LARGE PART, DEPEND ON CONTINUED SUCCESS THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH. IN THE WAKE OF THE TAKEOVER OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY BY ~~LIBERALS~~-LIBERALS, THERE ARE MANY HOMELESS "JEFFERSONIAN" DEMOCRATS IN ALABAMA WHO CAN FIND A HOME IN OUR PARTY.

LET ME STATE AT THE OUTSET THAT POLITICS IS GENERALLY A BITTERLY-SERIOUS BUSINESS BUT IF WE CAN'T OCCASIONALLY LAUGH AT OURSELVES, IT'S REALLY NOT WORTH THE EFFORT. 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.

UNLESS THERE'S A SWING NEXT YEAR, IT IS QUITE LIKELY THE COUNTRY WILL

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MOVE PERMANENTLY TOWARD ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT UNDER ONE-MAN RULE. TRADI-
TIONALLY, THE PRESIDENT PROPOSED, AND THE CONGRESS DISPOSED: NOW LBJ DOES
BOTH ----- AND EVEN MORE ALARMING, THOUGH NOT SURPRISING, WAS HIS FIRST
APPOINTMENT TO THE U. S. SUPREME COURT.

"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 EXECU-
TIVE 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 UNLESS
SANCTIONED BY THE WHITE HOUSE. THERE IS LITTLE OR NO TIME FOR PUBLIC UNDER-
STANDING, 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", IN THE LITTLE OLD SCHOOL HOUSE,
THE TRUMAN LIBRARY, THE STATUE OF LIBERTY, OR AT SOME OTHER PLACE WHERE HE
MIGHT DERIVE POLITICAL MILEAGE.

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THE APPALACHIA PROGRAM AND FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION LEGISLATION ARE
EXAMPLES OF BILLS RUSHED THROUGH THIS "NO CHANGE" CONGRESS. THE MOST RECENT AND
MOST FLAGRANT EXAMPLE OF STEAM ROLLER TACTICS BY THE WHITE HOUSE-DIRECTED MAJORITY
IN THE HOUSE WAS DISPLAYED ON THE HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT, STARTING AT 11:00 A.M.
THURSDAY AND ENDING AT 12:^{out}51 A.M. FRIDAY (YESTERDAY). THE WORD WAS ^{its} TO PASS THE
BILL THURSDAY EVENING SO IT COULD BE PRESENTED TO LADY BIRD ^{its} CHIEF SPONSOR, AT
A WHITE HOUSE PARTY DESIGNATED "A SALUTE TO CONGRESS." IF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC
COULD HAVE WITNESSED THE TACTICS EMPLOYED DURING THIS 14-HOUR MARATHON TO REPEL
ALL OPPOSITION AND, IN MANY INSTANCES FORCLOSE DISCUSSION, THERE WOULD SOON BE A
TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY. ~~CONGRESS HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A UNICAMERAL
BODY.~~

A "FLOOD" OF NEW LAWS HAVE BEEN ENACTED, 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. COLUMNIST CHARLES
BARTLETT RECENTLY STATED, AND I QUOTE: "JOHNSON AIMS AT EXTINCTION OF GOP."
MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT -- EVEN NOW, THE PRESIDENT IS USING THE POWER AND THE
PURSE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN PURSUIT OF THAT GOAL.

IN THE HOUSE, A BLOC OF DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMEN -- ELECTED IN THE 1964
LBJ SWEEP -- IS PROVIDING THE PRESIDENT WITH THE RUBBERSTAMP APPROVAL HE NEEDS
TO ENACT HIS KEY GREAT SOCIETY PROPOSALS.

DON OBERDORFER, THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, PROVIDED A MEASURE OF THE SCOPE
OF LBJ'S EFFORT TO RE-ELECT THESE FRESHMEN. HE REPORTED:

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"EVERY THURSDAY MORNING SINCE EARLY JUNE, FRESHMEN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN HAVE BEEN SLIPPING DOWNTOWN, ONE BY ONE, TO THE MOST WHISPERED -ABOUT BUT LEAST PUBLISHED SERIES OF POLITICAL MEETINGS IN YEARS.

"SITTING IN ON THESE SESSIONS ARE HIGH-POWERED DEMOCRATIC PARTY OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION BIGWIGS, INCLUDING PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANTS AND PERSONAL AIDES TO CABINET HEADS.

"BEFORE HIS APPOINTED DAY IN COURT AT THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, EACH FRESHMAN LAWMAKER IS PRESENTED WITH A DETAILED LISTING, USUALLY 20 PAGES OR MORE, OF FEDERALLY FINANCED ACTIVITIES IN HIS DISTRICT AND THOSE PENDING FOR DECISION."

NATURALLY DEMOCRATS ARE RELUCTANT TO DISCUSS THESE SECRET MEETINGS, BUT DAVID S. BRODER IN THE NEW YORK TIMES REPORTED THAT THE FRESHMEN GO TO THE MEETINGS CARRYING "SHOPPING LISTS" OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS AND GRANTS WHOSE AWARD WOULD BE POLITICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS.

ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO GAIN RE-ELECTION OF THESE CONGRESSMEN ARE NOT LIMITED TO THE "WHAT-CAN-WE-DO-FOR-YOU-WITH-PUBLIC-FUNDS?" MEETINGS AT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HEADQUARTERS. DEMOCRATIC FRESHMEN ARE PROMINENT AT LBJ BILL-SIGNINGS AND OTHER WHITE HOUSE CEREMONIES. AND EACH MONTH THEY REPORTEDLY RECEIVE A NOTICE OF ALL CABINET MEMBERS AND OTHER TOP APPOINTEES WHO WILL BE IN THEIR DISTRICTS THE COMING MONTH ON GOVERNMENT BUSINESS -- AND WILL BE WILLING TO STAY ON TO SPEAK AT FUND-RAISING DINNERS. AND WHY IS LYNDON SO ANXIOUS?

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HERE ARE A FEW EXAMPLES. OF THE 48 DEMOCRATS WHO UNSEATED REPUBLICANS LAST NOVEMBER, 46 OF THEM VOTED AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S MEDICARE BILL -- A PROPOSAL REJECTED BY ONLY 45 VOTES.

FORTY-FOUR OF THEM VOTED FOR THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS -- APPROVED BY ONLY 33 VOTES.

THIRTY-NINE OF THEM VOTED AGAINST THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN MOTION TO KILL THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONTROVERSIAL RENT SUBSIDY PLAN -- REJECTED BY ONLY SIX VOTES.

IN ANOTHER STORY, TIME MAGAZINE REPORTED, AUGUST 2, THAT A GROUP OF 58 FRESHMEN DEMOCRATS VOTED THIS WAY ON KEY ISSUES:

54-0 FOR DOUBLING AUTHORIZATION FOR THE LBJ POVERTY PROGRAM

54-3 ~~54-8~~ FOR THE APPALACHIA PROGRAM

58-0 FOR THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

58-0 AGAINST RECOMMITTAL OF THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

NOW IF ANY DOUBT REMAINS ABOUT THE TRAGEDY OF BLIND VOTING ON THE PART OF RUBBERSTAMP DEMOCRATS, TAKE A LOOK AT THE COST OF SOME OF THE GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS. CONGRESS, WITH WHITE HOUSE URGING, HAS PASSED SOME REAL WHOPPERS THIS SESSION. LOOKING AT ANTICIPATED EXPENDITURES FOR THE NEXT 5 YEARS, WE GET SUCH STAGGERING FIGURES AS:

32 BILLION DOLLARS FOR MEDICARE AND OTHER SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES.

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7 BILLION 400 MILLION FOR URBAN RENEWAL AND OTHER HOUSING LEGISLATION;
26 BILLION FOR SPACE EXPLORATION;
5 BILLION 400 MILLION FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY;
4 BILLION 700 MILLION FOR FEDERAL AID TO COLLEGES;
6 BILLION 600 MILLION FOR FEDERAL AID TO ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY SCHOOLS;
1 BILLION 400 MILLION FOR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMS;
1 BILLION 800 MILLION FOR MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING;
3 BILLION 200 MILLION FOR AREA REDEVELOPMENT AND SMALL PUBLIC WORKS;
1 BILLION FOR AID TO APPALACHIA;
5 BILLION 200 MILLION FOR THE MILITARY PAY RAISE; AND
6 BILLION 800 MILLION FOR THE FEDERAL EMPLOYEES PAY RAISE.

THESE ARE JUST A FEW OF THE TREMENDOUS EXPENDITURES. IF THE PEOPLE REALLY BELIEVE IN SUCH OUTRAGEOUS SPENDING PROGRAMS AND THE BALANCE IN CONGRESS CONTINUES TO BE DOMINATED BY ONE POLITICAL PARTY, OUR SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES WILL BE IN GREAT JEOPARDY; FOR A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, THOUGH 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.

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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 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 TWOFOLD. FIRST: A SENSITIVE BALANCE BETWEEN EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES; SECOND: A STRONG TWO-PARTY SYSTEM TO INSURE BALANCE IS MAINTAINED.

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.

WE ARE, I SUGGEST, REQUIRED TO OFFER TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT ALIKE, A PHILOSOPHY AND A PROGRAM WHICH WILL SUCCESSFULLY CORRECT THE ERRORS OF THE PAST AND PROVIDE A VALID BASIS FOR NEW HOPE AND ULTIMATELY SATISFY THE ASPIRATIONS OF MANKIND TO BE FREE.

I AM NOT SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE THAT MY REMARKS WILL BE SO COMPELLING AS TO CAUSE ANY OF YOU TO ALTER A PARTICULAR VIEWPOINT, YET I AM BOLD ENOUGH

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TO SUGGEST THAT IF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS TO SERVE THE NATION, IF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IS TO SURVIVE, IF FREE ENTERPRISE IS TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE US WITH ADEQUATE GOODS AND SERVICES, IT IS FIRST REQUIRED THAT THIS POLITICAL INSTRUMENT IN WHOSE SERVICE WE HAVE ENLISTED, ACCEPT AND THEN ARTICULATE WITH BOLDNESS AND VIGOR A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY SO EASILY UNDERSTOOD, SO CRYSTAL CLEAR IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS AS TO PERMIT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO RECOGNIZE US FOR WHAT WE TRULY ARE.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND I PRAY ALWAYS WILL BE A GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE DETERMINED TO PRESERVE ALL THAT IS GOOD IN THE PAST, REJECT ALL THAT HAS BEEN PROVEN OF LITTLE VALUE, MOVING FORWARD WITH STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION TO CREATE A BETTER WORLD TOMORROW.

REPUBLICANS ARE OPPOSED TO SOCIALISM AND SO, INDEED, ARE THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

REPUBLICANS HAVE REVERENCE FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND SO, INDEED, DOES THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

REPUBLICANS RECOGNIZE THAT AS GOVERNMENTS INCREASED IN SIZE AND COST THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS DIMINISHED AND THERE DEVELOPS A DANGEROUS CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF GOVERNMENT. AND SO, INDEED, DOES THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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REPUBLICANS BELIEVE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS CREATED TO "FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY." AND I WOULD SUGGEST THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ACCEPT THIS LANGUAGE FROM THE PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION AS AN ADEQUATE DESCRIPTION OF WHAT THEY DESIRE IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

IN THE 104 YEARS SINCE ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS HAVE OCCUPIED THE WHITE HOUSE 64 YEARS, AND DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTS ONLY A TOTAL OF 40 YEARS.

AND I SUGGEST THAT THOSE 64 YEARS OF REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP SAW THIS NATION, IN EVERY AREA WHERE MEN DESIRED PROGRESS, OUTSTRIP ALL THE OTHER PEOPLES OF THIS EARTH UNTIL TODAY WE HAVE BECOME THE GREATEST MILITARY AND INDUSTRIAL POWER IN THE WORLD, ENJOYING A STANDARD OF LIVING WHICH EXCEEDS THAT OF THE PEOPLE OF ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH.

SOME MAY ASK WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AS I SEE IT, AND THE GROUP PRESENTLY IN CONTROL OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS. LET ME SPELL IT OUT FOR YOU. WE DIVIDE ON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF MAN AND THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS PERFECTABILITY.

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WE REPUBLICANS BELIEVE THAT MEN AND WOMEN SHOULD BE GIVEN AN UNLIMITED OPPORTUNITY TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION OF THEIR OWN ABILITIES. WE BELIEVE THAT AS MEN AND WOMEN BECOME MORE RESPONSIBLE AND MORE COMPETENT, THEY MUST PERFORCE BECOME MORE SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THEIR FELLOWS AND THUS A BETTER SOCIETY IS PRODUCED.

IT IS MY OPINION THOSE CURRENTLY IN CONTROL OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS CONFIDENTLY BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO PERFECT MAN IN THE MASS BY EMPLOYING STATUS LAW, SUBSIDY, CONTROLS, AND ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION, IN SHORT, BY FEDERALIZING AMERICA. THEIRS IS A FROM-THE-TOP-DOWN PHILOSOPHY; OURS IS FROM-THE-INDIVIDUAL-UP. FOR THEY SEE MAN IN GROUPS AND CLASSES AND COMPONENT PARTS OF A HIGHLY-ORGANIZED, SKILLFULLY DIRECTED, PRODUCTIVE, INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX; WHILE WE SEE MAN AS A UNIQUE, IMPORTANT, SIGNIFICANT, INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITY -- A CHILD OF GOD WHO IS NOT TO BE TREATED AS A MEMBER OF A CLASS, OR DESCRIBED AS A GROUP, RESPONSIBLE TO HIS FELLOWMEN ON A PERSONAL, INDIVIDUAL BASIS.

THE EXISTING IMPERFECTIONS OF MAN ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL THE MISERY IN OUR WORLD TODAY. AND IF THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT IS TO SERVE MAN, THEN IT IS SURELY FIRST REQUIRED THAT GOVERNMENT ACHIEVE AN ADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF MAN.

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THE CONGRESS CAN ENACT A THOUSAND LAWS, BUT THESE LAWS WILL NOT MAKE MAN JUST, OR PEACEFUL, OR WISE, OR GOOD, OR KIND, OR PRODUCTIVE. THE GOVERNMENT CAN CONFISCATE ALL THE TREASURES OF THE RICH AND DISTRIBUTE THEM EQUALLY TO THE POOR, BUT THIS WILL NOT WIPE OUT POVERTY OR MISERY.

HISTORY IS FILLED WITH EXAMPLES OF FROM-THE-TOP-DOWN SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION, AND I SUGGEST THESE PAGES ARE WRITTEN IN FAILURE. YET THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS AND THIS PROGRESS HAS COME AS A RESULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S INSTINCTIVE OUT-REACH FOR THAT WHICH IS NOBLE AND GOOD.

AND I SAY TO YOU IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN A CLIMATE WHERE INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY IS DEMANDED, WHERE THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS ARE RESPECTED, AND THE NEEDS OF OTHERS RECOGNIZED NOT BY EXERCISING THE COMPULSIVE POWER OF THE OMNIPOTENT STATE, BUT BY FULFILLING OUR PERSONAL OBLIGATIONS.

ARE WE NOT READY NOW TO AGAIN FLY THAT BANNER? SHOULD WE NOT IN 1966 ONCE AGAIN RAISE THAT FLAG AND MARCH PROUDLY TRUSTING IN THE TRUTH OF OUR FAITH, PROUD IN THE ACHIEVEMENTS IT HAS BROUGHT TO THIS SOCIETY, CONFIDENT THAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA IN THEIR GOOD JUDGMENT WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS TRULY FREEDOM'S FLAG? THAT THIS IS THE GOAL --- ONE NATION UNDER GOD, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

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FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE I URGE YOU TO SEARCH YOUR CONSCIENCE, TO REVIEW THE
EVENTS OF THE PAST 50 YEARS, TO EXAMINE YOUR OWN CONCEPT OF THE NATURE OF MAN,
TO RESOLVE THAT THIS REPUBLICAN PARTY SHALL, BECOME A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT
CLEARLY RECOGNIZABLE AS SOMETHING APART AND DIFFERENT FROM THAT COLLECTION OF
PROMISES AND PANACEAS WHICH PARADES ACROSS THE SCENE BEHIND THE DEMOCRAT
DONKEY.

PRESERVING AND ZEALOUSLY PROTECTING ALL THAT IS GOOD IN THE PAST,
REJECTING ALL THAT WHICH HAS BEEN PROVED TO BE OF NO LASTING VALUE, MOVING
FORWARD WITH COURAGE AND CHARITY TO PROVIDE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION A
GOVERNMENT DETERMINED NOT TO PENALIZE INITIATIVE AND ABILITY.

A NATION WHOSE GOAL IS NOT SECURITY OR PROSPERITY OR PEACE AT ANY
PRICE, BUT A NATION DETERMINED TO PROVIDE FOR EACH CITIZEN A MAXIMUM OF
FREEDOM OF CHOICE AND TO REQUIRE FROM EACH CITIZEN THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROUD
OBLIGATIONS OF FREEDOM. A NATION NOT AFRAID OF VICTORY, A NATION STRONG IN
ITS MORAL BELIEF, EQUAL TO ANY SACRIFICE REQUIRED FOR MAINTENANCE OF FREEDOM.

IN THOSE DARK DAYS WHEN THERE WAS DOUBT THE GENTLEMEN AT PHILADELPHIA
COULD EVER AGREE ON THE FORM OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS TO TAKE, GEORGE
WASHINGTON SPOKE THESE WORDS:

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"IF TO PLEASE THE PEOPLE WE OFFER WHAT WE OURSELVES DISAPPROVE,
HOW CAN WE AFTERWARD DEFEND OUR WORK? LET US RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE
WISE AND HONEST CAN REPAIR. THE EVENT IS IN THE HANDS OF GOD."

NOW WITH THIS IN MIND, LET ME TAKE A FEW MINUTES TO DISCUSS ONE OR
TWO ISSUES WHICH CONCERN ALL THINKING AMERICANS, SERIOUSLY CONCERNED WITH
PRESERVING THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE OF OUR TIME -- NOT JUST THIS SESSION OF
CONGRESS -- IS THE ISSUE OF LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT. ON JUNE 15, 1964, THE
U. S. SUPREME COURT -- ~~CONCERN~~ TO ANY PROVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION -- CREATED
A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DIRECTIVE BY CONSTRUING THE 14TH AMENDMENT TO REQUIRE THAT
THE STATES MUST COMPOSE THEIR LEGISLATURES SO THAT EVERY LEGISLATOR REPRESENTS
THE SAME NUMBER OF PEOPLE. THIS WAS THE "ONE-MAN, ONE-VO~~TE~~" DECISION.

THIS NEW PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT WHICH THE COURT SET FORTH IS WITHOUT
FOUNDATION. IT WAS NOT A PART OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM, IT WAS NOT THE SYSTEM
CHOSEN FOR THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BY THE CONSTITUTION, IT WAS NOT THE SYSTEM
EXCLUSIVELY OR EVEN PREDOMINANTLY PRACTICED BY THE STATES AT THE TIME OF THE
ADOPTION OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT, IT WAS NOT A PART OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE 14TH
AMENDMENT, IT WAS NOT THE INTENTION OF THOSE WHO DRAFTED AND SUBMITTED TO THE
STATES THE 14TH AMENDMENT, AND IT HAS NOT BEEN PREDOMINANTLY PRACTICED BY THE

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STATES SINCE THEN. THUS, WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF HISTORY, THE WORDS OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND FLYING DIRECTLY IN THE FACE OF PRIOR DECISIONS WHICH WERE IN POINT, THE COURT, IN EFFECT, AMENDED THE CONSTITUTION BY CONVERTING A PARTICULAR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY INTO A CONSTITUTIONAL RULE AND, AS A RESULT, MADE UNCONSTITUTIONAL THE COMPOSITION OF MOST STATE LEGISLATURES. WE NOW HAVE THE HITHERTO UNDREAMED OF SITUATION WHERE COURTS ARE DICTATING THE COMPOSITION OF STATE LEGISLATURES AND ELECTION PROCEDURES. I NEED NOT TELL ANYONE IN ALABAMA WHAT EFFECT THE U. S. SUPREME COURT'S DECISION HAS HAD. YOU HAVE WITNESSED FIRSHTHAND THE TAKEOVER BY THE JUDICIARY OF A STATE LEGISLATIVE FUNCTION.

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT, IN MY OPINION, CONFUSED INTERPRETING THE CONSTITUTION WITH AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION. THE POWER TO INTERPRET IS THE POWER TO ASCERTAIN ITS MEANING, WHILE THE POWER TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION IS THE POWER TO CHANGE ITS MEANING. THE TRUTH IS THAT ON MANY OCCASIONS DURING RECENT YEARS, THE SUPREME COURT HAS USURPED AND EXERCISED THE POWER OF THE CONGRESS AND THE STATES TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION WHILE PROFESSING TO INTERPRET IT. IN SO DOING, THE SUPREME COURT HAS ENCROACHED UPON THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE STATE LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

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NOW AS IMPORTANT AS THIS ISSUE IS, WHAT HAS THIS ADMINISTRATION
DONE ABOUT IT?

THE ADMINISTRATION, FROM THE TOP TO THE BOTTOM, ~~HAS~~ HAS DONE ABSOLUTELY
NOTHING AND, IN FACT, PARTICIPATED IN FOOT-DRAGGING IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND
THE SENATE. IN THE HOUSE, THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HAS ARBITRARILY,
BUT EFFECTIVELY, DELAYED CONSIDERATION OF THE MEASURE FOR 2 YEARS. THIS IS,
I MIGHT ADD, THE SAME COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WHO SO FREQUENTLY CRIES OUT FOR THE
PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND WHO FREQUENTLY CRITICIZES WHAT HE
CONSIDERS TO BE EFFORTS OF THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE TO "BOTTLE UP" LEGISLATION.
OUR ONLY HOPE THEN -- AND WITHOUT QUESTION, THIS IS FADING -- IS FOR SENATOR
DIRKSEN TO SUCCEED EARLY NEXT JANUARY; BUT SINCE IT TAKES A 2/3 VOTE OF THOSE
PRESENT AND VOTING, HIS TASK IS A MONUMENTAL ONE.

I FULLY APPRECIATE THE ALIGNMENT OF FORCES ON THIS ISSUE. BIG CITY
POLITICAL BOSSES, LABOR LEADERS, AND OTHER ASSORTED EQUALITARIANS ARE PITTED AGAINST
A SINCERE BUT AN UNORGANIZED AND PEACEFUL MINORITY COMPOSED OF FARMERS,
SMALL BUSINESSMEN, AND OTHERS WHO BELIEVE THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES ~~WILL~~ STILL SERVE
SOME USEFUL PURPOSE EVEN IN THE "GREAT SOCIETY." SO THE COURT HAS ACTED TO
STRIP THE STATES OF THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER

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OF ITS REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEMS AND THIS CONGRESS, CONTROLLED AND DOMINATED BY ONE-PARTY, ONE-MAN RULE, HAS FAILED TO LIFT A FINGER, OR TWIST AN ARM, TO PROTECT THIS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT.

ANOTHER ISSUE, AS BASIC AND PERHAPS AS IMPORTANT, CONCERNS REPEAL OF SECTION 14 (b) OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT. REPEAL OF 14 (b) IS THE PAYOFF TO LABOR LEADERS FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER LIBERAL DEMOCRATS LAST NOVEMBER. AT THIS VERY TIME A SMALL BUT DEDICATED BAND OF REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE ARE LEADING THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL THE POWER AND FORCES THE ADMINISTRATION CAN MUSTER. AGAIN WE HAVE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME LIBERAL FORCES WHO "CRY" AND "BLEED" FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, LEADING THE FIGHT TO COMPEL EVERY INDIVIDUAL TO PAY TRIBUTE TO LABOR LEADERS IN ORDER TO HOLD A JOB. WHEN 14 (b) WAS CONSIDERED IN THE HOUSE, AMENDMENTS WERE NOT PERMITTED AND IT WAS CONSIDERED UNDER WHAT IS REFERRED TO AS A "GAG RULE". BY THE RAW USE OF JOHNSON'S POWER, DEBATE WAS SEVERELY LIMITED IN THE HOUSE. AT THE SAME TIME AND BY THE IDENTICAL METHOD ANY OPPORTUNITY TO OFFER MEANINGFUL AMENDMENTS WAS BLOCKED.

THINKING CONGRESSMEN, AND THERE ARE A FEW, LISTENED TO PUBLIC OPINION --- BUT NOT LYNDON JOHNSON! MOST AMERICANS, THE POLLS SHOWED, FAVOR THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO ENACT RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS BY RETAINING 14 (b) -----

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BUT NOT LYNDON JOHNSON! HOUSE REPUBLICANS WANTED UNIONS TO BE BARRED FROM
DISCRIMINATING ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR OR CREED --- BUT NOT THE ADMINISTRATION!
REPUBLICANS WANTED TO PROHIBIT UNIONS FROM USING DUES OR ASSESSMENTS FOR
POLITICAL PURPOSES --- BUT NOT LYNDON JOHNSON! REPUBLICANS WANTED TO SAFEGUARD
THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER --- BUT NOT LYNDON JOHNSON! REPUBLICANS
WANTED TO RESPECT THE CONSCIENTIOUS RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AS A
REASON FOR NOT JOINING A UNION --- BUT NOT LYNDON JOHNSON!

HIS GAG-RULE ORDER IN THE HOUSE BROUGHT HIM A PERSONAL VICTORY.

WHETHER HE IS SUCCESSFUL IN WRAPPING ^{it in} UP THE SENATE REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THE
FATE OF THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW HANGS IN THE BALANCE, AS DO THE FUTURES AND
FREEDOMS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS!

THESE ARE BUT TWO OF THE ISSUES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL READILY
UNDERSTAND IN 1966, THOUGH BASICALLY 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. NO ONE MUST EVER LOSE SIGHT OF

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THE DANGERS INVOLVED WHEN ONE POLITICAL PARTY 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 EITHER PARTY.

OUR ROLE SHOULD CONTINUE TO 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 PRESENT DAY "FOLLERSHIP". THE SUREST ROAD

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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.

THE QUESTION PREOCCUPYING ALL OF US IS: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ----

AND HOW DO WE GET THERE?

I SUGGEST TWO STEPS: (1) 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 INTEREST, NOT SPLIT UP AND SPLINTER OVER PARTY DIFFERENCES.

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 TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. BECAUSE, IN MY OPINION, A
MAJORITY OF AMERICANS DO BELIEVE IN SOUND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT --- FREEDOM
OF THE INDIVIDUAL -- INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND CORRESPONDING RESPONSIBILITIES

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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."

THE ONLY POSSIBLE ANSWER TO COMPLETE FEDERALIZATION IS A PERSONAL
COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM. AND OUR OWN PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM TODAY SHOULD
BE NO LESS INTENSE THAN THAT OF THOSE EARLY DAY PATRIOTS.

SOME OBSERVERS OF THE CURRENT SCENE HAVE NOTED WITH A GREAT DEGREE
OF APPREHENSION THE GROWTH OF WHAT IS SOMETIMES CALLED "SPECTATORISM."

QUITE SIMPLY THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT THE APPARENT INCREASE IN THE
NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO ATTEMPT TO GO THROUGH LIFE AS SPECTATORS -- OBSERVING,
WATCHING, SEEING THE COURSE OF HISTORY MOVE ABOUT THEM, WITHOUT ACTUALLY BEING

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AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO PLACE SELF ABOVE SERVICE, ABOVE PARTICIPATION.

TRAGICALLY, THE SPECTATOR STATISTICS SHOW THAT AT LEAST 38 PERCENT OF THE QUALIFIED AMERICANS DIDN'T EVEN BOTHER TO GET OUT AND VOTE IN THE LAST ELECTION.

WITH THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT ENVISIONED BY OUR FOREFATHERS, GOOD GOVERNMENT ISN'T A SPECTATOR SPORT. NOT, THAT IS, IF IT IS GOING TO SUCCEED.

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 MATTERS IN YOUR OWN COMMUNITIES TO CONVINCING 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. 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.

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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 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} ~~THE~~ 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."