

*Return*

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY, IKE" DINNER  
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA  
OCTOBER 14, 1965  
REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

IT IS ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO VISIT THE GREAT STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA AND PARTICULARLY THESE DAYS BECAUSE OF THE VISIBLE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE, FOR NORTH CAROLINA IS RAPIDLY DEVELOPING A STRONG TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. YOUR SUCCESSES HAVE BEEN AN INSPIRATION TO REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE AND, NEEDLESS TO SAY, YOUR CONTINUING EFFORTS ARE ENCOURAGING. WE NEED MORE MEN IN CONGRESS LIKE CHARLIE JONAS AND JIM BROYHILL, AND AS WILL BE POINTED OUT LATER ON, 1966 WILL BE AN IMPORTANT YEAR FOR ALL AMERICANS, AND I TRUST SIGNIFICANT REPUBLICAN GAINS ARE REGISTERED HERE.

AT THE OUTSET, 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. 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.

IN 1952, AN AMERICAN MILITARY HERO WAS SEEKING THE PRESIDENCY OF HIS COUNTRY. IN ONE SPEECH, HE SPELLED OUT HIS HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS IF HE SHOULD

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BE ELECTED TO THE NATION'S HIGHEST OFFICE. HERE IS WHAT HE SAID -- AND I QUOTE:

"IF I SHOULD BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF OUR COUNTRY, IT WILL BE MY AIM SO TO CONDUCT THAT OFFICE THAT, AT THE END OF MY SERVICE, EACH OF YOU CAN HONESTLY SAY THESE WORDS: 'HE HAS BEEN FAIR, HE HAS BEEN MY FRIEND, HE HAS NOT COERCED US WITH LAWS, NOR DIVIDED ME BY CLASS, BUT HAS FOSTERED MUTUAL RESPECT, UNDERSTANDING, AND GOOD WILL. HE HAS LED US FORWARD ALONG THE BROAD MIDDLE WAY TOWARD PROSPERITY WITHOUT WAR FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN.'"

TODAY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER CELEBRATES HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY, AND WE CAN LOOK BACK ON THE GENERAL'S TWO TERMS IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND SAY WITHOUT HESITATION THAT HE LIVED UP TO HIS PROMISE OF 13 YEARS AGO.

TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE EIGHT EISENHOWER YEARS, IT'S ONLY NECESSARY TO LOOK BACK TO JANUARY, 1953, ~~WHEN~~ HE CAME INTO OFFICE AS  
W  
THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT IN 20 YEARS.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, THE "COLD WAR" WAS AT ITS HEIGHT; AMERICAN AND COMMUNIST FORCES WERE LOCKED IN COMBAT IN KOREA; THE RED CHINESE WERE THREATENING AN INVASION OF FORMOSA; IRANIAN OIL WAS A BUBBLING DISPUTE IN THE MIDDLE EAST; AND THE COMMUNISTS WERE GETTING A TOE-HOLD IN GUATEMALA, THE FIRST IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

DOMESTICALLY, THE COUNTRY WAS DIVIDED OVER CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES OF COMMUNISM IN GOVERNMENT; EVIDENCES OF CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES CONTINUED TO SURFACE; AND THE THREAT OF INFLATION HUNG LIKE A DAMOCLES SWORD OVER OUR ECONOMY.



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IN THE SHORT SPAN OF EIGHT YEARS, UNDER IKE'S LEADERSHIP, THE FIGHTING IN KOREA WAS HALTED; A DEFENSE LINE WAS DRAWN IN THE FORMOSA STRAITS WHICH RESULTED IN A DE FACTO CEASE FIRE IN THAT AREA; THE IRANIAN ISSUE WAS RESOLVED IN FAVOR OF THE WEST, AND THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT WHICH HAD TAKEN OVER GUATEMALA WAS OUSTED BY ONE FAVORABLE TO THE UNITED STATES.

PERHAPS THE BEST WAY TO SUM UP EISENHOWER'S ACHIEVEMENTS IS TO NOTE THAT HIS LEADERSHIP RESTORED TO THE COUNTRY A SENSE OF DECENCY, HONESTY AND SANITY INTERNATLLY AND RESPECT, PRESITGE AND GOODWILL INTERNATIONALLY. HE INSTILLED IN THE NATION A SENSE OF MORALITY AND FAIR PLAY, ENABLING THE GREAT ISSUES OF THE DAY TO BE DEBATED RATIONALLY AND CALMLY --- WHICH IS, AFTER ALL, THE FIRST STEP TOWARD FINDING SOLUTIONS. BY THE FORCE OF HIS PERSONALITY, HE LIFTED AMERICA BACK INTO A POSITION OF ESTEEM AND LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD AS A PEACE-LOVING NATION AND DEFENDER OF FREEDOM.

AS GENERAL EISENHOWER OBSERVES HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY, HE CAN LOOK BACK OVER HIS YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE WITH GREAT SATISFACTION. FOR ONE THING, ALTHOUGH HE'S NOT LIKELY TO CLAIM IT, HE HAS A LONG LINE OF ESTABLISHED CREDIT TO DRAW ON FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE DEBT OWED DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER IN SHORT, WILL BE HARD TO REPAY.

YES, THE DEBT TO DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER WILL BE HARD TO REPAY, FOR HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE EVEN MORE REMARKABLE WHEN CONTRASTED WITH THE RECORD BEING

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MADE BY THE PRESENT OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE. DURING THE EISENHOWER ERA, REPUBLICANS CONTROLLED ONLY THE 83RD CONGRESS AND THEN ONLY BY A RELATIVELY SMALL MARGIN. TODAY DEMOCRATS HAVE STAGGERING 2 TO 1 MAJORITIES IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. CONGRESS HAS BEEN REDUCED TO A MERE RUBBERSTAMP OBEDIENTLY FOLLOWING THE DICTATES OF THE WHITE HOUSE, SO IT IS NOT SURPRISING SO MANY BILLS HAVE BEEN ENACTED BY THIS CONGRESS.

UNLESS THERE'S A SWING NEXT YEAR, IT IS QUITE LIKELY THE COUNTRY WILL MOVE PERMANENTLY TOWARD ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT UNDER ONE-MAN RULE. TRADITIONALLY, 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 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 UNLESS 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.



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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.

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. LAST THURSDAY AND ENDING AT 12:51 A.M. FRIDAY.

THE WORD WAS OUT TO PASS THE BILL THURSDAY SO IT COULD BE PRESENTED TO LADY BIRD, ITS CHIEF SPONSOR, THAT EVENING 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 FORECLOSE DISCUSSION, THERE WOULD SOON BE A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY.

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.

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IN THE HOUSE, A BLOC OF DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMEN -- ELECTED IN THE 1964  
LBJ SWEEP -- IS PROVIDING THE RUBBERSTAMP APPROVAL NEEDED TO ENACT 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:

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

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 MEET-  
INGS CARRYING "SHOPPING LISTS" OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS AND GRANTS WHOSE AWARD  
WOULD BE POLITICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. AND WHY IS LBJ SO ANXIOUS? 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.

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

39 OF THEM VOTED AGAINST THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN MOTION TO KILL THE ADMIN-  
ISTRATION'S CONTROVERSIAL RENT SUBSIDY PLAN -- REJECTED BY ONLY 6 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 FOR THE APPALACHIA PROGRAM

58-0 FOR THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

58-0 AGAINST RECOMMITTAL OF THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL



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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 FOR MEDICARE AND OTHER SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES;
- 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;
- 3 BILLION 200 MILLION FOR AREA REDEVELOPMENT AND SMALL PUBLIC WORKS;
- 1 BILLION FOR AID TO APPALACHIA; 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 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, OF MIND, 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."

AT LEAST ON ONE ISSUE REPUBLICANS HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESS THIS CON-  
GRESS, AND I HAVE IN MIND THE ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO REPEAL SECTION 14 (b)  
OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT. IT IS CERTAINLY NO SECRET THAT REPEAL OF 14 (b)  
WAS ON PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S "MUST" LIST OF LEGISLATION AND, OF COURSE, EVERYONE  
KNOWS THAT THE REPEAL OF 14 (b) IS THE PAYOFF TO LABOR LEADERS FOR THEIR  
SUPPORT LAST NOVEMBER.

IT WAS NOT SO LONG AGO THAT A TEXAS CONGRESSMAN DECLARED:

"I HAVE NEVER SOUGHT NOR DO I SEEK NOW THE SUPPORT OF  
ANY LABOR BOSSES DICTATING TO FREE MEN ANYWHERE ANY TIME....."

A FEW DAYS LATER THIS SAME CONGRESSMAN PROCLAIMED:

"ALTHOUGH I HAVE BEEN A FRIEND OF THE WORKINGMAN, THESE  
BIG LABOR RACKETEERS HAVE VOTED TO DESTROY ME AND OTHER FORTHRIGHT  
CONGRESSMEN WHO HAD THE COURAGE TO VOTE FOR THE TAFT-HARTLEY BILL."

I AM CERTAIN THAT YOU ARE NOT SURPRISED TO LEARN THAT THESE STATEMENTS  
WERE MADE BY THE PRESENT OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE, FOR HE HAS COME A LONG WAY  
SINCE THE DAYS HE PROCLAIMED HIS READINESS TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE OF THE  
INDIVIDUAL. HE HAS COME SO FAR THAT HIS LABOR SECRETARY CAN ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY



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A FEDERAL SEIZURE OF THE STATES' RIGHTS TO DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES ON RIGHT-TO-WORK BY THE FOLLOWING CURIOUS STATEMENT: "IT IS TIME TO PUT AN END TO FRUITLESS AND ACRIMONIOUS POLITICAL CONTROVERSY BY ADOPTING THE RULE OF UNIFORMITY."

WE CAN ALL TAKE HEART TONIGHT THAT A SMALL BUT DEDICATED BAND OF SENATE REPUBLICANS HAVE FRUSTRATED -- AT LEAST TEMPORARILY -- ALL THE POWER AND FORCES THIS ADMINISTRATION COULD MUSTER TO REPEAL 14 (b).

I AM CERTAIN YOU KNOW THAT THOSE LEADING THE FIGHT TO COMPEL EVERY INDIVIDUAL TO PAY TRIBUTE TO LABOR LEADERS IN ORDER TO HOLD A JOB ARE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME BLEEDING HEART LIBERALS WHO BEAT THE DRUM FROM MORNING TILL NIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

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 NEXT YEAR IN WRAPPING IT UP IN THE SENATE REMAINS  
TO BE SEEN. THE FATE OF THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW HANGS IN THE BALANCE, AS DOES  
THE FUTURE AND FREEDOM OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS!

LET ME TOUCH ON ANOTHER ISSUE WHICH I BELIEVE SHOULD RECEIVE THE  
SERIOUS ATTENTION OF EVERYONE. BECAUSE OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, WE NOW HAVE  
WHAT HAS BEEN DESIGNATED "FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION" AT THE ELEMENTARY AND  
SECONDARY LEVELS. IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, THERE HAS BEEN MOUNTING EVIDENCE  
THAT THERE ARE THOSE IN THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION WHO ARE BENT ON REWRITING  
TEXTBOOKS, REWRITING HISTORY, AND SETTING UPON A COURSE OF NATIONAL TESTING,  
ALL OF WHICH WOULD LEAD US TOWARD THE BUILDING OF A GIANT MONOLITHIC, FEDERALIZED



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SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. IT HAS BEEN RELIABLY REPORTED THAT AT A RECENT MEETING OF AN EXECUTIVE GROUP OF THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION THIS STATEMENT WAS MADE:

"NO OFFICE OF EDUCATION HAND IS TO BE TIED BY HAVING TO DEAL ONLY THROUGH A BACKWARD STATE EDUCATION AGENCY."

THESE ARE BUT TWO OF THE ISSUES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD 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 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 DEMOCRAT, ARE NOT GOOD FOR EITHER PARTY.

WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS -- AND NEEDS NOW -- IS A POLITICAL PARTY TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. RATHER THAN IMPOSING



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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 "FOLLOWERSHIP". THE SUREST ROAD TO FUTURE VICTORIES IS THE WAY OF PRINCIPLE.

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 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



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UNBORN TO PRESERVE BASIC FREEDOM, AND BECAUSE OF A FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REPUBLICANS (PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE), TO STRENGTHEN OUR PARTY.

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 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 PERCENT OF OUR TOTAL ADULT POPULATION ATTENDS



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MEETINGS, DINNERS, AND RALLIES; THAT ONLY 4 PERCENT CONTRIBUTE FINANCIALLY;  
THAT ONLY 3 PERCENT ACTUALLY WORK FOR A PARTY OR A CANDIDATE; AND ONLY 2 PERCENT  
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 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. REPUBLICANS HAVE BEFORE THEM THE  
GREATEST AND MOST IMPORTANT CHALLENGE IN THIS GENERATION.

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.

THE TASK THAT LIES AHEAD WON'T BE EASY, BUT AS 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."