

REPUBLICAN FALL HARVEST DINNER
UTICA, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 19, 1965
REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

WHEN YOUR FRIEND, AND MINE, AL PIRNIE, ASKED ME IN EARLY SEPTEMBER
IF I COULD SPEAK AT THIS MEETING, I HAD RESERVATIONS, THINKING CONGRESS
WOULD HAVE ADJOURNED AND I WOULD BE IN MY DISTRICT. NOW HERE IS, THE
19TH OF OCTOBER, CONGRESS IS STILL IN SESSION, AND FRANKLY, NO ONE KNOWS
FOR CERTAIN JUST WHEN ADJOURNMENT MAY COME. SOME QUESTION WHETHER OR NOT
THE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS KNOWS HOW TO ADJOURN. THEIR SPECIALTY
IS ENACTING MONSTROUS SPENDING PROGRAMS, AND MANY RUBBERSTAMP DEMOCRATS
MAY
MAY HESITATE TO VOTE FOR "ADJOURNMENT" SINCE IT COSTS NOTHING.

AT ANY RATE, I AM PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY. IT GIVES ME
A CHANCE TO BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH SOME OF THE FINE PEOPLE IN THIS DISTRICT
WHO HAVE HAD THE GOOD JUDGMENT TO ELECT AND RE-ELECT AL PIRNIE TO CONGRESS
FROM NEW YORK'S 32ND DISTRICT. I NEED NOT TELL YOU OF HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS
ON A LOCAL LEVEL, BUT I CAN REASSURE YOU AL HAS AN OUTSTANDING RECORD IN
CONGRESS AND THE RESPECT OF ALL MEMBERS, REGARDLESS OF PARTY AFFILIATION.

I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO WORK WITH CONGRESSMAN PIRNIE ON THE

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RECENTLY CREATED REPUBLICAN TASK FORCE ON AGRICULTURE. HIS PRIOR EXPERIENCE ON THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, HIS GENUINE INTEREST IN THE FARMER, AND HIS OPPOSITION TO INCREASED GOVERNMENTAL REGULATIONS HAVE BEEN INVALUABLE IN OUR TASK FORCE DELIBERATIONS. WE NEED MORE CONGRESSMEN LIKE AL, AND I TRUST SIGNIFICANT GAINS WILL BE REGISTERED BY REPUBLICANS THROUGHOUT THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN 1966.

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.

FORMER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TOUCHED ON A KEY ISSUE IN THE 15-MINUTE FILM SHOWN AT "HAPPY BIRTHDAY, IKE" DINNERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY LAST THURSDAY. GENERAL EISENHOWER SAID, IN THAT FILM, THAT UNDER THE AMERICAN SYSTEM, DEBATE, THOUGHTFUL DISCUSSION, AND COMPROMISE HAVE PRODUCED GOOD

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LAWS UNDER WHICH THIS NATION HAS BEEN ABLE TO PROGRESS. HE SAID SUCH LAWS CANNOT BE, AND I QUOTE, "BULLED THROUGH JUST BY POLITICAL POWER". HE ADDED, "IN LEGISLATION IT IS NOT HOW MANY LAWS YOU PASS, IT IS HOW MANY GOOD LAWS YOU PASS. GOOD LAWS ARE MADE BY HARD WORK AND BY ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN OPPOSITE VIEWPOINTS -- TAKING THE TIME TO CUT OUT THE BAD AND TO REFINE THE GOOD. THAT IS THE KIND OF LEGISLATION THAT ENDURES AND IS WHAT GOOD GOVERNMENT NEEDS."

AS GENERAL EISENHOWER OBSERVED HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY LAST THURSDAY, HE COULD 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 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. IT IS NOT SURPRISING SO MANY BILLS HAVE BEEN ENACTED BY THIS CONGRESS, AND UNLESS

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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 -- 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.

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,

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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. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, AND ENDING AT 12:51 A.M. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8.

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 ONLY WITNESSED THESE TACTICS DURING THIS 14-HOUR MARATHON TO REPEL ALL OPPOSITION AND, IN MANY INSTANCES FORECLOSE DISCUSSION, THERE WOULD SOON BE A STRONG 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."

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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, INCLUDING MANY FROM NEW YORK, ELECTED IN 1964, IS PROVIDING THE RUBBERSTAMP APPROVAL NEEDED TO ENACT KEY GREAT SOCIETY PROPOSALS.

DON OBERDORFER, THE CHICAGO DIALY 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 WHISPERED --ABOUT BUT LEAST PUBLISHED SERIES OF POLITICAL MEETINGS IN YEARS!!!!!"

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.

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 ADMINISTRATION'S CONTROVERSIAL RENT SUBSIDY PLAN -- REJECTED BY ONLY 6 VOTES.

TIME MAGAZINE REPORTED AUGUST 2, THAT A GROUP OF 58 FRESHMENTDEMOCRATS VOTED THIS WAY ON KEY ISSUES:

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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

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; AND
1 BILLION FOR AID TO APPALACHIA.

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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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 EXPER-
IMENTATION, 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
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 READY TO AGAIN FLY THAT BANNER? SHOULD WE NOT IN 1966 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 NATIONAUNDER 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."

WITH THIS IN MIND, HOW DO WE AS REPUBLICANS DETERMINE WHAT IS
RIGHT -- WHAT IS BEST FOR OUR PARTY AND WHAT IS BEST FOR AMERICA? WHAT DO
WE DO AS REPUBLICANS AND AS A PARTY WHEN CONFRONTED WITH PROMISES WHICH
SEEM TO HAVE GREAT POLITICAL APPEAL; IN SHORT, WHERE DO WE STAND? NEVER IN
THE HISTORY OF AMERICA HAS SO MUCH BEEN PROMISED BY ONE MAN AND ONE ADMINI-
STRATION, AND WE WILL ALL HAVE TO ADMIT THE DEMOCRATS ARE VERSATILE ----
HARRY TRUMAN GAVE THEM HELL AND LYNDON JOHNSON GIVES THEM HEAVEN.

AS I SEE IT, THERE ARE THREE COURSES OF ACTION REPUBLICANS CAN TAKE.
ONE, BECAUSE IT IS SO SUCCESSFUL POLITICALLY, WOULD BE TO JOIN THEM AND DO
LIKEWISE_x---IN SHORT, "ME TOO" THEM. OF COURSE, MOST REPUBLICANS WOULD REJECT
THAT, AS WE DO NOT WANT TO GO DOWN THEIR ROAD ON A "ME TOO" BASIS. A SECOND
POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO GO THEIR ROAD BUT NOT QUITE SO FAR, IN EFFECT, GO
DOWN THE MIDDLE OF THEIR ROAD BECAUSE WE MIGHT GET THAT MUCH IN THE WAY OF
PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE.

I AM NOT CERTAIN HOW RESIDENTS OF THE 32 ND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
OF NEW YORK FEEL, BUT FOR MY PART, I DON'T WANT ANY PART OF THEIR ROAD -----

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MIDDLE, RIGHT, OR LEFT --- WHICH ULTIMATELY LEADS TO TOTAL GOVERNMENT.

THOSE ARE TWO CHOICES --HERE IS THE THIRD. LET'S NOT GO DOWN ANY OF
THEIR ROADS. LET US TRAVEL A NEW ROAD --- THE KEY TO WHICH IS PROGRESS.
DEMOCRATS SAY LET US HAVE PROGRESS THROUGH MORE AND MORE GOVERNMENT IN
WASHINGTON. LET REPUBLICANS SAY WE WILL HAVE PROGRESS THROUGH MORE AND
MORE OPPORTUNITY FOR 190 MILLION FREE AMERICANS. WHEN DEMOCRATS SAY WE WILL
HAVE ~~PROGRESS~~ THROUGH BIGGER GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON, OUR RESPONSE IS THAT
WE WILL HAVE PROGRESS THROUGH BETTER GOVERNMENT IN THE STATES AND LOCAL
COMMUNITIES.

REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN WIDELY DEPICTED BY DEMOCRATS AND MUCH OF THE
PRESS AS BEING AGAINST BETTER HEALTH, AGAINST BETTER EDUCATION, AGAINST JOBS
FOR THE PEOPLE, AND AGAINST THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLE TO
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, JUST TO NAME A FEW. THE FACTS WILL CLEARLY INDICATE
THAT NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH, AND I WOULD MENTION BRIEFLY
SOME OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED
DURING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS.

VOTING RIGHTS. THE REPUBLICAN BILL (FORD-MCCULLOCH), UNLIKE THE
ORIGINAL ADMINISTRATION BILL, PROVIDED A REMEDY FOR DISCRIMINATION IN ALL PARTS
OF THE UNITED STATES, REGARDLESS OF THE TECHNIQUE OF DISCRIMINATION USED.
THE ADMINISTRATION BILL ORIGINALLY APPLIED ONLY WHERE LITERACY AND SIMILAR
TESTS WERE USED AND WHERE MORE THAN 50 PERCENT FAILED TO VOTE.

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APPALACHIA. THE REPUBLICAN SUBSTITUTE (CRAMER) PROVIDED FEDERAL HELP WHEREVER ECONOMIC DISTRESS EXISTED -- NOT JUST TO THE SINGLE GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF APPALACHIA.

MEDICARE. THE REPUBLICAN BILL (BYRNES), (WHICH WAS INCORPORATED IN THE ADMINISTRATION BILL AS ADOPTED), COVERED ALL TYPES OF MEDICAL CHARGES -- NOT JUST HOSPITALIZATION. IT PROVIDED A VOLUNTARY, RATHER THAN A COMPULSORY SYSTEM OF INSURANCE.

HIGHER EDUCATION. MORE THAN 50 HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE INTRODUCED BILLS TO PROVIDE TAX CREDITS AGAINST THE COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION. THE REPUBLICAN SUBSTITUTE (AYRES-GOODSELL) PROVIDED FEDERAL GRANTS FOR PRE-SCHOOL TRAINING AND FEDERAL TAX CREDITS FOR STATE AND LOCAL SCHOOL TAXES, INSTEAD OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S MASSIVE INDISCRIMINATORY FEDERAL AID.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. MORE THAN 60 HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE INTRODUCED THE BILL (CURTIS) TO GIVE TAX CREDIT TO BUSINESS FOR THE TRAINING OF THE LESS SKILLED WORKERS TO MAKE THEM EMPLOYABLE.

URBAN AREA PROBLEMS. REPUBLICANS SUPPORTED THE BILL PROPOSED (WELLSWORTH AND OTHERS) TO CREATE AN OFFICE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT INSTEAD OF ESTABLISHING A CABINET LEVEL DEPARTMENT.

HOUSING. THE BILL (WIDNALL) PROVIDED SELECTIVE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO IMPROVE HOUSING AND ELIMINATE SLUMS.

AGRICULTURE. OVER 60 HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A WORLD FOOD STUDY COMMISSION.

YOU WILL FIND THAT EVERY ONE OF THESE PROPOSALS LITERALLY RAISES A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND HONEST CAN REPAIR. THE BASIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PROPOSED REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES AND THE GREAT SOCIETY APPROACH IS THAT

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WE PROVIDE BETTER PROGRAMS WITH THE EMPHASIS ON LESS FEDERAL PARTICIPATION,
WHILE THE DEMOCRATS' EMPHASIS ~~IS~~ ~~LESS~~ STATE AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION. IN OTHER
WORDS, WE WANT THE DOCTOR TO WORK FOR THE PATIENT -- AND NOT FOR THE GOVERNMENT.
WE WANT THE TEACHER TO WORK WITH AND FOR THE STUDENT --- AND NOT WITH AND FOR
THE GOVERNMENT.

I OFTEN THINK OF HOW WIDELY ACCEPTABLE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES WOULD
BE IF THEY WERE JUST DISCUSSED ONE-HALF AS MUCH AS GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS
IN THE PRESS, ON RADIO, ON TV, AND BY RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS
OF GOVERNMENT. THE SOUND PROGRAMS ADVANCED BY THE REPUBLICAN MINORITY CAN
STILL BE IMPLEMENTED IF WE SUCCEED IN 1966.

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 36 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 ^{you know} ~~CHAIRMAN RAY BEES~~
~~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."

Sammy - Home

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- * Duck - Stupid
- * Bear Story
- * Another Stone - ~~Heart~~ Heart
- * Who Will Sign "Beautification" Bill
- * Rent Increase - - -
- Bobby - - - Billie - - - Walter - - -
- * Lot of Deal - - - Here Bladder
- - - Just on the Back - - -

Jim
Lynch
center

Jan the
Party

[Signature]

