CRAWFORD COUNTY REPUBLICAN RALLY PITTSBURG, KANSAS NOVEMBER 17, 1965 REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

I KNOW OF NO OTHER CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT I WOULD RATHER VISIT THAN THE ONE REPRESENTED BY MY VERY GOOD FRIEND, JOE SKUBITZ. JOE SKUBITZ WINS BECAUSE HE LIKES AND UNDERSTANDS HIS CONSTITUENTS. SECONDLY, HE TAKES THE TIME TO LEARN ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS AND ALSO BECAUSE HE HAS HAD MORE PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE IN POLITICS AND IN DEALING WITH WASHINGTON BUREAUCRACIES THAN ALL THE OTHER KANSAS HOUSE MEMBERS COMBINED. THE FACT THAT KANSAS IS THE ONLY ALL-REPUBLICAN STATE IN THE CONGRESS GIVES US A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SATISFACTION, BUT, FRANKLY, IT IS AN HONOR WE HOPE TO SHARE WITH A GREAT MANY STATES AFTER THE 1966 ELECTIONS. WE CANNOT MAINTAIN A STRONG TWO-PARTY SYSTEM WITHOUT RECAPTURING SEATS WE LOST IN THE STATES OF IOWA, COLORADO, NEBRASKA, NORTH DAKOTA, AND WITHOUT MAKING GAINS IN MISSOURI, OKLAHOMA, AND OTHER GREAT STATES IN THE MIDWEST.

RECENTLY, CHAIRMAN RAY BLISS INDICATED A PRIMARY EFFORT WILL BE MADE IN THE MIDWEST NOT ONLY TO CAPTURE THE CONGRESSIONAL SEATS LOST IN 1964, BUT ALSO TO OFFSET DEMOCRAT GAINS IN THE STATE LEGIS-LATURES AND IN OTHER STATE AND COUNTY OFFICES. THE STAKES ARE HIGH FOR 1966, PERHAPS THE HIGHEST EVER, BUT REPUBLICANS CAN AND WILL SUCCEED IF ALL OUR OPPOSITION TO THE WELFARE STATE CAN BE HARNESSED AND HEADED IN ONE DIRECTION.

OUR OWN "IKE" EISENHOWER TOUCHED ON A KEY ISSUE FOR 1966 IN THE 15-MINUTE FILM SHOWN AT "HAPPY BIRTHDAY, IKE" DINNERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ON OCTOBER 14. GENERAL EISENHOWER SAID IN THAT FILM THAT UNDER THE AMERICAN SYSTEM DEBATE, THOUGHTFUL DISCUSSION, AND COMPROMISE -2-

HAVE PRODUCED GOOD 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 VIEW-POINTS -- TAKING THE TIME TO CUT OUT THE BAD AND TO RE-FINE THE GOOD. THAT IS THE KIND OF LEGISLATION THAT ENDURES AND IS WHAT GOOD GOVERNMENT NEEDS."

AS GENERAL EISENHOWER OBSERVED HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY, 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 <u>STAGGERING 2 TO 1</u> MAJORITIES IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. CONGRESS HAS BEEN REDUCED TO A MERE RUBBERSTAMP OBEDIENTLY FOLLOWING THE DIC-TATES OF THE WHITE HOUSE. IT IS NOT SURPRISING SO MANY BILLS HAVE BEEN ENACTED BY THIS CONGRESS, AND 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 <u>PROPOSED</u>, AND THE CONGRESS DISPOSED: NOW LBJ DOES BOTH!!!!!

AS YOU KNOW, CONGRESS DID FINALLY ADJOURN. A DAY OR TWO AFTER ADJOURNMENT, THE PRESIDENT INDICATED SOME DISPLEASURE BECAUSE -3-

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CONGRESS HAD FAILED TO APPROVE SOME OF HIS "MUST" MEASURES. THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT WHEN CONGRESS CONVENES NEXT JANUARY 10 THE PROPAGANDA EXPERTS IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL BE ALL SET TO EXPAND THE "GREAT SOCIETY" ---- EVEN THOUGH THE MAJORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE, <u>SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD OF MONTANA</u>, HAS CONFESSED SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES IN THE LEGISLATION ENACTED BY CONGRESS THIS YEAR. <u>HE FEELS</u> THE <u>SECOND SESSION SHOULD AND I QUOTE</u>, "SPEND LESS TIME ON NEW LEGISLATION AND MORE TIME CORRECTING OVERSIGHTS IN LEGISLATION" PASSED DURING THE FIRST SESSION. <u>HE FURTHER STATED</u>, "CONGRESS MUST TIGHTEN UP THE HASTY ENACTMENTS" AND MUST ELIMINATE FROM THE LAWS OF THIS SESSION JUST ENDED "A NUMBER OF GAPS AND ANY NUMBER OF ROUGH EDGES, OVER-EXTENSIONS, AND OVERLAPS."

THE MANSFIELD CONFESSION SHOULD BE GOOD FOR THE SOUL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT SHOULD CONVINCE THEM THAT ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT SERVE THEM WELL.

ONE CONCLUSION TO BE DRAWN FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS IS THAT WHENEVER THE PARTY THAT HOLDS POSSESSION OF THE EXECU-TIVE BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ALSO ENJOYS OVERWHELMING DOM-INANCE IN THE CONGRESS, THE CONGRESS BECOMES A SATELLITE OF THE PRESI-DENT.

THE FAILURE OF THE CONGRESS TO ACT AS A DELIBERATIVE BODY, CO-EQUAL WITH THE EXECUTIVE, IS THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE OF THIS PAST SESSION. UNTIL THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE SESSION, IT RUBBERSTAMPED THE PROPOSALS OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION WHO GATHERED IN WASHINGTON IN EARLY SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR FELT THAT THE LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE HAS PASSED IRRETRIEVABLY TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

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ONE OF THE EXPERTS AT THAT CONVENTION, <u>LEWIS A. DEXTER</u>, <u>SAID THAT</u> THE CONGRESS WILL COME TO HAVE THE SAME IMPORTANCE IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AS THE HOUSE OF LORDS HAS IN THE BRITISH, <u>PAR-</u> TICULARLY IF SEVERAL FUTURE PRESIDENTS RESEMBLE LYNDON JOHNSON.

ERIC SEVEREID WROTE, "WE KNOW OF A NUMBER OF CONGRESSMEN WHO WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL TO LEARN WHAT THEY HAVE REALLY DONE THIS YEAR." HE ALSO FOUND THAT THE CONGRESS HAS SO OFTEN ACTED UNDER "A CURIOUS KIND OF INTIMIDATION" THAT THE "ONCE-EXALTED TITLE OF SENATOR OR REPRESENTATIVE HAS LOST MUCH OF ITS PRESTIGE."

ONE OF THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS IN THE HOME STATE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT SUMMED IT UP THIS WAY:

> "ANYONE FOLLOWING THE DAILY DELIBERATIONS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MUST BE STRUCK BY THE RUTH-LESSNESS WITH WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY OF SO-CALLED LIBERALS IS FLEXING ITS MUSCLES. IT IS NOT, IN FACT, A DELIBERATIVE BODY..... REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IS IN A SAD AND CRITICAL STATE."

COLUMNIST TED LEWIS SAID THAT "THE PRESIDENTIAL IMAGE OF A MIRACLE PRODUCER OF NEW LAWS MAKES THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF GOVERN-MENT APPEAR TO BE A CREATURE OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH."

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, IN AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "LEGISLATING BY SCOOP SHOVEL," SAID:

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AND ANYTHING, AND, WITH TWO-THIRDS MAJORITIES IN EITHER CHAMBER, HE HAS A CONGRESS OF ROBOTS THAT IS TOTALLY COMPLIANT."

THE KNOXVILLE JOURNAL EDITORIALIZED:

"ANY CONGRESS WHICH VOLUNTARILY YIELDS ITS RIGHT TO PERFORM AS A CO-EQUAL PART OF THE FEDERAL ESTABLISH-MENT, AS THIS ONE HAS, IS A CONTINUING THREAT TO THE NATION."

IT IS ONE THING FOR A CONGRESS TO ADOPT PRESIDENTIAL PROPOSALS AFTER THOROUGH DELIBERATION AND ADEQUATE DISCUSSION. IT IS QUITE ANOTHER THING FOR A CONGRESS TO RUSH THROUGH SUCH PROPOSALS WITHOUT CAREFUL SCRUTINY AND WITHOUT REASONABLE DEBATE. NO CONGRESS THAT PERFORMED ITS CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY WOULD DO THE SLIPSHOD JOB OF WHICH SENATOR MANSFIELD INDICTED THE PRESENT CONGRESS WHEN HE SAID THAT IT MUST NOW DEVOTE MOST OF ITS EFFORT TO "TIGHTENING UP ITS HASTY ENACTMENTS......"

EXAMPLES OF RUBBERSTAMPING BY THE CONGRESS

ON MANY IMPORTANT BILLS THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ACTED WITHOUT ADEQUATE CONSIDERATION, WITHOUT FULL HEARINGS IN COMMITTEE, AND WITHOUT SUFFICIENT DEBATE ON THE FLOOR.

THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES BILL WAS RAILROADED THROUGH THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR AFTER ABOUT FIFTEEN MINUTES OF CON-SIDERATION. EVEN A MOTION BY THE MINORITY THAT THE BILL BE READ WAS SUMMARILY REJECTED BY THE MAJORITY. WHEN THE COMMITTEE MET ON THAT DAY, THE MEMBERS WERE PRESENTED FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH A NEW COMMITTEE PRINT, DATED THE SAME DAY, CONTAINING A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT AMENDMENTS WHICH THE MINORITY MEMBERS HAD NEVER SEEN BEFORE. THEREAFTER, SEVERAL -6-

ADDITIONAL AMENDMENTS, WHICH THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS HAD NEVER SEEN, WERE QUICKLY ADOPTED IN COMMITTEE, AND THE BILL WAS REPORTED WITH GREAT HASTE.

THE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE MADE VIRTUALLY NO CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATION BILL TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, DESPITE VIGOROUS BI-PARTISAN COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE FORMULA FOR DISTRIBUTING FEDERAL FUNDS CONTAINED IN THE BILL. ON THE FLOOR, OF 25 AMENDMENTS, AT LEAST TEN WERE REJECTED WITHOUT DISCUSSION DUE TO THE GAG-RULE LIMITATION ON DEBATE.

WHEN THE EDUCATION BILL WAS HURRIED THROUGH THE SENATE, THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE WAS MOVED TO COMMENT:

> "MR. JOHNSON'S CALENDAR FOR HIS 1.3 BILLION DOLLAR BILL PROVIDING FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CALLS FOR A GREAT BURST OF SPEED BY THE SENATE BUT NO REFLECTION AT ALL. THE MEASURE, ALREADY RAILROADED THROUGH THE HOUSE, WAS APPROVED BY THE SENATE EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE LAST THURS-DAY. THE FULL COMMITTEE IS TO ENDORSE IT TODAY, THE BILL IS TO BE BROUGHT TO THE FLOOR TOMORROW, AND, IF THE PRES-IDENT HAS HIS WAY, IT WILL BE PASSED BY FRIDAY EVENING....

"BUT DOUBTS, LOGIC OR ILLOGIC, AND CONSTITUTIONALITY ARE ALL OF NO CONCERN IN MR. JOHNSON'S PLANS. ALL HE WANTS IS SPEED. THE SPEED IS UTTERLY UNNECESSARY."

AS THIS BILL WAS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSWOMAN GREEN OF OREGON TOOK THE FLOOR TO PROTEST, "TODAY IT SEEMS TO ME WE HAVE IN THE HOUSE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO SILENCE THOSE WHO ARE IN DISAGREEMENT."

SO LITTLE WAS THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

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STUDIED BEFORE FLOOR ACTION THAT TWO OF THE BEST INFORMED SUPPORTERS OF THE MEASURE GAVE TO THE HOUSE CONTRADICTORY EXPLANATIONS OF ITS APPLICATION TO NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION BILL WAS REPORTED OUT OF THE FULL COMMITTEE IN GREAT HASTE, APPARENTLY AT THE COMMAND OF THE WHITE HOUSE. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL NOTED THAT THE COMMITTEE "UNDER PRODDING FROM AN IMPATIENT WHITE HOUSE DELIBERATED FOR ALL OF 20 MINUTES." DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI OF ILLINOIS CALLED THE BILL'S HANDLING "A MOCKERY OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS."

HEARINGS ON THE ADMINISTRATION''S ORIGINAL <u>HIGHWAY BEAUTIFI-</u> <u>CATION</u> PROPOSALS WERE HELD BY THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS JULY 20, 21, AND 22. THESE HEARINGS WERE ADJOURNED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE COMPLEX, DIFFICULT PROPOSALS SHOULD BE STUDIED FURTHER AND ACTED UPON EARLY NEXT YEAR. WITHOUT WARNING, THE HEARINGS WERE RE-OPENED ON SEPTEMBER 3 AND 7, WHILE THE <u>COMMITTEE AND ITS STAFF</u> WERE <u>ABSORBED WITH</u> THE <u>OMNIBUS RIVERS AND HARBORS AND FLOOD CONTROL BILL</u>. THE ACT WAS DEBATED AND PASSED BY THE HOUSE ON OCTOBER 7, WITH THE FINAL VOTE BEING TALLIED WELL AFTER MIDNIGHT. AT ONE POINT IN THE PROCEEDINGS, THE HOUSE VOTED 121 TO 84 TO ALLOW BUT EIGHT MINUTES OF DEBATE ON FIVE SEPARATE AMENDMENTS.

REGARDING THE VERY CONTROVERSIAL <u>BILL TO REPEAL SECTION 14 (b)</u> OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR REJECTED ALL ATTEMPTS BY REPUBLICAN MEMBERS TO AMEND THE BILL SO AS TO PROVIDE SOME BASIC PROTECTIONS FOR RANK AND FILE EMPLOYEES COMPELLED TO JOIN UNIONS IN ORDER TO HOLD THEIR JOBS. ON THE FLOOR, AMENDMENTS WHICH WOULD PERMIT COMPULSORY UNION MEMBER-SHIP AGREEMENTS ONLY IF THE UNIONS INVOLVED REFRAINED FROM RACIAL AND

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RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION, REFRAINED FROM USING UNION FUNDS FOR POLI-TICAL PURPOSES, AND REFRAINED FROM DENYING EMPLOYEES' RIGHTS GUAR-ANTEED THEM BY FEDERAL LAW, WERE REJECTED AS NOT GERMANE. OTHER AMENDMENTS OFFERED, WHICH WERE SIMILARLY NOT REJECTED ON THEIR MERITS BUT WHICH WERE RULED OUT OF ORDER AS NOT GERMANE, WERE TO INSURE THAT UNIONS SECURING COMPULSORY MEMBERSHIP AGREEMENTS TRULY REPRESENTED A MAJORITY AS DEMONSTRATED BY WINNING AN NLRB ELECTION, TO PERMIT EMPLOYEES TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF RELIGION OR CONSCIENCE, AND TO INSURE THAT EMPLOYEES WOULD BE PROTECTED FROM COMPULSION TO JOIN A COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED UNION.

THE WASHINGTON POST COMMENTED THAT "SEVERAL IMPORTANT QUES-TIONS WERE RAISED IN THE HOUSE DEBATE AND LEFT UNANSWERED." <u>BUT THE</u> FARM-LABOR COALITION RAMMED THROUGH A BILL REPEALING SECTION 14 (b) WHICH THE POST SAID "SCARCELY QUALIFIES AS WELL-ROUNDED LEGISLATION IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST."

ON THE <u>IMPORTANT BILL TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT</u> <u>AND UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>, ONLY THE BRIEFEST OF HEARINGS WERE HELD BY THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR. THESE HEARINGS CONTAINED NO TESTI-MONY BASED ON EXPERIENCE UNDER THE <u>1964</u> CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND WERE FOLLOWED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY BY A SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING WHICH REPORTED THE BILL FAVORABLY. AN HOUR LATER THE FULL COMMITTEE MET AND REPORTED THE BILL TO THE HOUSE. NO AMENDMENTS WERE OFFERED BECAUSE NONE OF THE MINORITY MEMBERS HAD ANY OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY THE LONG AND COMPLEX MEASURE AND ANALYZE EVEN ITS THEORETICAL WEAKNESSES.

THE PERCENTAGES ALLOCATED TO THE VARIOUS NATIONAL PREFERENCES IN THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1965 WERE NOT DISCUSSED EITHER IN THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OR ON THE FLOOR. THE LIBERALIZATION OF -9-

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CRITERIA FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION FOR CREWMEN AND ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS FOR ILLEGAL ENTRANTS WAS REJECTED IN COMMITTEE, AND, AFTER INADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSIDERATION, IT WAS INSERTED BY THE SENATE AND RETAINED IN CONFERENCE.

ON THE IMPORTANT VOTING RIGHTS BILL, THE ADMINISTRATION FORCES ON THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE METHODICALLY REJECTED ALL SIGNIFICANT AMEND-MENTS OFFERED BY REPUBLICANS. ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE THE SAME GENERAL ATTITUDE PREVAILED: WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE <u>CRAMER AMENDMENT</u> TO PREVENT ELECTION IRREGULARITIES, ANY SIGNIFICANT AMENDMENT OFFERED BY A REPUBLICAN WAS BLINDLY VOTED DOWN.

MANY IMPORTANT BILLS WERE BROUGHT TO THE FLOOR UNDER RESTRICTIONS THAT PREVENTED CONSIDERATION OF IMPORTANT AMENDMENTS AND ADEQUATE DEBATE INCLUDING MEDICARE, REDISTRICTING, THE EXCISE TAX REDUCTION, INCREASE OF THE PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT, THE CONTROVERSIAL SUGAR BILL, MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND OTHERS.

WEAKENING OF CHECKS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH

ONE-PARTY DOMINATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH WEAKENS THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES. THE SUB-SERVIENT CONGRESS WHICH IT PRODUCES FAILS TO EXERCISE THE RESTRAINT WHICH IT SHOULD OVER THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. THE MAJORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE RECOGNIZES THAT SUCH IS THE CASE WHEN HE URGES THE CONGRESS NOW TO UNDERTAKE ITS NEGLECTED FUNCTION OF LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT OVER EXECUTIVE AGENCIES.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH UNCHECKED IS PRONE TO CARELESSNESS ABOUT LEGAL RESTRAINTS AND ABOUT THE PUBLIC INTEREST. THIS CARELESSNESS CAN DESCEND TO THE LEVEL OF ARROGANCE IN SOME INSTANCES. -10-

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ARROGANCE IS A STRONG WORD, BUT THERE IS NO OTHER WORD FOR THE SUBMISSION TO THE SENATE OF THE NOMINATION OF FRANCIS X. MORRISSEY TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY NOR FOR THE EFFORTS TO BULL THAT NOMINATION THROUGH THE SENATE. THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BAR ASSOCIATION PRONOUNCED THIS NOMINEE UNFIT FOR THE POST.

THERE IS NO OTHER WORD FOR THE WITHHOLDING OF FEDERAL FUNDS FROM THE CITY OF CHICAGO IN DEFIANCE OF THE PROCEDURES ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS.

THERE IS NO OTHER WORD FOR PROCEDURES IN THE CONGRESS THAT SILENCE DISSENT AND PRECLUDE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF LEGISLATION.

THERE IS NO OTHER WORD FOR OPPOSITION TO FREEDOM OF INFORMATION LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE PUBLIC TO KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH IT PAYS FOR WITHOUT ENDANGERING NATIONAL SECURITY.

THERE IS NO OTHER WORD FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN, INCLUDING THE VICE PRESIDENT IN NEW YORK CITY, WHEN THEY ASSERT THAT THE CONSIDERATION WHICH THE PROBLEMS OF A LOCALITY RECEIVE IN WASHINGTON WILL DEPEND ON WHETHER ITS LOCAL OFFICIALS ARE REPUBLI-CANS OR DEMOCRATS. IT IS SHOCKING TO LEARN THAT RESPONSIBLE NATIONAL OFFICIALS WOULD STOOP TO THREATEN ANY COMMUNITY WITH REPRISALS IF ITS CITIZENS CHOOSE OFFICIALS WHO ARE NOT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PARTY.

THE NEW YORK TIMES (October 27, 1965) REACTED WITH INDIGNATION TO THE THREAT WHEN IT WAS MADE IN NEW YORK CITY. ITS EDITORIAL COM-MENTED: "THIS IS A REMARKABLE INDICTMENT OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRA-TION. IT SUGGESTS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT SARGENT SHRIVER, THE HEAD OF THE ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM AND A DEMOCRAT, WOULD BE LESS SYMPATHETIC AND HELPFUL TO NEW YORK IF ITS MAYOR WERE A REPUBLICAN."

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THE CARELESSNESS OF A CONGRESS OVERWHELMINGLY CONTROLLED BY THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY IS PARTICULARLY MANIFESTED IN BIG SPENDING. THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS HAS SET A <u>NEW RECORD IN APPROPRIATIONS NOT</u> <u>APPROACHED SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR.</u> THE APPROPRIATION OF \$119.3 <u>BILLION THIS YEAR, ALTHOUGH IT IS \$2.4 BILLION LESS THAN THE ADMINI-</u> <u>STRATION WANTED, IS \$36 BILLION MORE THAN WAS APPROPRIATED BY THE</u> LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS DURING THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION. THIS STAGGERING FIGURE OF <u>ALMOST \$120 BILLION DOES NOT INCLUDE ADDITIONAL</u> BACKDOOR SPENDING <u>OF \$7 BILLION MADE FO SSIBLE BY THE CONGRESS THIS</u> YEAR. <u>NOR DOES IT INCLUDE PERHAPS \$5-7 BILLION</u> NEEDED FOR THE WAR IN VIET NAM, A REQUEST WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION IS HOLDING BACK UNTIL NEXT JANUARY.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1965, THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SAID,

"HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE A MAJOE RESPONSIBILITY AS THE REPRESENTATIVES OF APPROXIMATELY 43 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE WHO VOTED FOR A REPUBLICAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1964. THAT DUTY, AS WE CONCEIVE IT, IS TO EXERT WHATEVER INFLUENCE WE CAN TO GUIDE THE NATION TOWARD THE GOALS OF FREEDOM, SECURITY, PEACE, AND WELL-BEING WITH FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY.

IN THIS SPIRIT THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRE-SENTATIVES HAVE DISCHARGED THEIR RESPONSIBILITY THIS YEAR. THEIR RECORD IS IMPRESSIVE.

REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

FOR MANY OF THE MAJOR BILLS PROPOSED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AND PASSED IN THIS SESSION, THERE WERE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS SUPPORTED

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BY A MAJORITY OF THE HOUSE REPUBLICANS. IN EVERY CASE THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE DEALT MORE ADEOUATELY WITH THE PROBLEM WITHOUT UNNECESSARY EXTENSION OF FEDERAL POWER.

VOTING RIGHTS:

ADMINISTRATION BILL

PROVIDED A REMEDY FOR DISCRIMINA-TION ONLY IN STATES OR PARTS OF STATES USING LITERACY AND SIMILAR TESTS WHERE PROVIDED A REMEDY FOR DISCRIM-INATION WHEREVER IT OCCURS RE-GARDLESS OF THE DEVICE USED FEWER THAN 50% OF VOTING-AGE POPULA- TO ACHIEVE DISCRIMINATION. TION VOTED IN 1964.

WIPES OUT LITERACY AND OTHER TESTS WHERE FEWER THAN 50% OF VOTING AGE POPULATION VOTED IN 1964.

REQUIRES FEDERAL COURT APPROVAL OF ANY NEW VOTING LAWS PASSED BY AFFECTED STATES.

REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE

DOES NOT DISTURB ANY NON-DISCRIMINATORY OUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING ESTABLISHED BY STATES.

DOES NOT RESTRICT STATE POWER TO ENACT NEW VOTING LAWS.

MEDICARE:

THE MEDICARE BILL, INCLUDED IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965, IS AN AMALGAMATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION PROPOSAL AND A REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE JOHN BYRNES OF WISCONSIN.

IN CONTRAST TO THE BILL ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY THE ADMINISTRATION EARLY IN THE SESSION. THE BYRNES BILL PROVIDED A SYSTEM OF INSURANCE FOR THE ELDERLY.

- 1) COVERING ALL MEDICAL EXPENSES. NOT JUST HOSPITALIZATION.
- 2) OFFERING VOLUNTARY RATHER THAN COMPULSORY COVERAGE.
- 3) FINANCED BY A COMBINATION OF GENERAL TAX REVENUES AND PREMIUM PAYMENTS BY THE INSURED, AVOIDING THE REGRESSIVE SOCIAL SECURITY TAX.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID:

THE ADMINISTRATION'S BILL TO AID ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY

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SCHOOLS (H. R. 2362), PRESENTED AS A MEASURE TO ASSIST POVERTY-STRICKEN CHILDREN, IS IN FACT THE FIRST GENERAL AID TO PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS PASSED BY THE CONGRESS. REPUBLICANS SOUGHT TO MAKE IT A BILL WHICH WOULD DO WHAT IT PROFESSED TO DO: AID POOR CHILDREN WITHOUT UNDUE FEDERAL CONTROL OF STATE, LOCAL AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

THE REPUBLICAN EFFORT WAS DIRECTED TOWARD 1) CHANNELING FEDERAL FUNDS ONLY INTO AREAS OF NEED WITHIN EACH STATE, 2) RECOG-NIZING DIFFERENCES IN FINANCIAL ABILITY AND NEED AMONG STATES, 3) CONCENTRATING THE PROGRAM UPON THE NEEDS OF DEPRIVED CHILDREN, 4) REDUCING THE DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY OF THE U. S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

A GOOD REPUBLICAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF EXPANDING AND IM-PROVING ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS RELIED CHIEFLY ON THE DEVICE OF TAX CREDITS FOR INDIVIDUALS WHO PAY FOR SCHOOLS THROUGH STATE AND LOCAL TAXES DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AS WELL AS FOR THOSE WHO INCUR EXPENSES FOR STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION. THIS BILL WOULD HAVE DIVERTED <u>\$3 TO \$5 BILLION</u> ANNUALLY FROM THE FEDERAL TREASURY AND MADE IT AVAILABLE FOR ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL.

CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS:

THE ADMINISTRATION BILL ESTABLISHING A NEW CABINET AGENCY, THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, (H. R. 6927) WAS DEFECTIVE IN MANY RESPECTS. IT DID NO MORE THAN CONFER A MERE PRES-TIGIOUS TITLE ON CERTAIN EXISTING AGENCIES. IT BROUGHT TOGETHER IN THE NEW DEPARTMENT LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S HOUSING ACTIVITIES AND ONLY A MINOR FRACTION OF FEDERAL ACTIVITIES AND FUNDS AIMED AT ASSISTING STATES AND MUNICIPALITIES TO SOLVE THE

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PROBLEMS OF METROPOLITAN AREAS. AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-TIVES IT MADE NO PROVISION FOR THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, A DEFECT WHICH REPUBLICANS SOUGHT TO CORRECT AND WHICH WAS FINALLY REMEDIED IN CONFERENCE.

THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE WOULD HAVE CREATED AN AGENCY IN THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT TO DEAL WITH METROPOLITAN AREA PROB-LEMS. THIS AGENCY WOULD HAVE BEEN A CENTER OF COORDINATION AND INFOR-MATION FOR ALL FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES RELATING TO URBAN AREAS.

HOUSING:

THE ADMINISTRATION'S HOUSING BILL (H. R. 5840) AS ORIGINALLY PRESENTED OFFERED A SCHEME OF RENT SUPPLEMENTS FOR FAMILIES WHOSE INCOMES WERE ABOVE THE LEVELS SET FOR PUBLIC HOUSING TENANTS. UNDER THIS PLAN, SOME FAMILIES WITH AN INCOME OF MORE THAN \$11,000 IN SOME PLACES WOULD BE ELIGIBLE TO HAVE A PART OF THEIR RENT PAID BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. BEYOND THIS, THE BILL PROVIDED LARGELY FOR A CONTINUANCE OF EXISTING FEDERAL HOUSING PROGRAMS.

A REPUBLICAN SUBSTITUTE SOUGHT TO MODIFY EXISTING POLICY IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT RESPECTS:

- 1) BY GIVING RESIDENTIAL REDEVELOPMENT IN URBAN RENEWAL A HIGHER PRIORITY
- 2) BY STIMULATING REHABILITATION OF EXISTING SOUND HOUSING
- 3) BY UTILIZING EXISTING PRIVATELY-OWNED RENTAL HOUSING FOR LOW-INCOME TENANTS
- 4) BY LOWER INTEREST RATES ON LOANS FOR COLLEGE HOUSING AND HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY

5) BY PROVIDING NEW FHA MORTGAGE FINANCING FOR VETERANS.

MANY OF THE FEATURES OF THIS ALTERNATIVE WERE INCORPORATED IN THE MEASURE WHICH WAS ENACTED.

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REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION:

IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT REPUBLICANS IN THIS CONGRESS HOLD ONLY ONE-THIRD OF THE SEATS, THE REPUBLICAN MINORITY EXERTED AN IMPORTANT INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATION IN SEVERAL FIELDS.

1) A 7% INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS WAS APPROVED ----A PROPOSAL WHICH REPUBLICANS MADE IN 1964 BUT WHICH WAS VOTED DOWN IN THE LAST CONGRESS BY DEMOCRATS.

2) THE <u>REPEAL OF FEDERAL EXCISE TAXES</u> -- A STEP WHICH REPUB-LICANS HAVE ADVOCATED FOR MANY YEARS AND WHICH WAS CALLED FOR IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1964 -- WAS ACCOMPLISHED THIS SESSION. A RE-PUBLICAN PROPOSAL TO REPEAL RETAIL EXCISE TAXES WAS DEFEATED BY DEMOCRATIC VOTES IN THE LAST CONGRESS.

3) OTHER CHANGES MADE IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM WERE INFLUENCED BY REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES AND CONFORM TO LONG-STANDING REPUBLICAN POLICY. ONE WAS THE LIBERALIZATION OF THE EARNINGS LIMI-TATION BEYOND WHICH ELDERLY PEOPLE BECOME INELIGIBLE TO COLLECT THEIR SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS. THE OTHER WAS THE LIBERALIZATION OF COVERAGE REQUIREMENTS FOR PEOPLE OVER THE AGE OF 72 IN ORDER TO QUALIFY FOR BENEFITS.

4) SIMILARLY, REPUBLICANS TOOK THE LEAD IN ADVOCATING CHANGES IN TAX POLICY TO LIGHTEN THE BURDEN OF MEDICAL EXPENSES. THE CONGRESS REPEALED MAXIMUM LIMITATIONS ON INCOME TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE AND AUTHORIZED A DEDUCTION OF ONE HALF THE COST OF MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE UP TO \$150.

5) THE MEDICARE BILL PASSED BY THE CONGRESS INCORPORATES IN ITS PROVISIONS MUCH OF THE REPUBLICAN BILL OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE JOHN W. BYRNES OF WISCONSIN. THIS BILL IS NOT LIMITED TO HOSPITAL CARE AS THE ADMINISTRATION RECOMMENDED. IT COVERS DOCTORS* BILLS

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AND OTHER MEDICAL COSTS IN PROVISIONS BORROWED FROM THE BYRNES BILL.

6) THE HOUSING ACT PASSED BY CONGRESS CONTAINS SIX SIGNIFICANT FEATURES FROM THE REPUBLICAN SUBSTITUTE PROPOSED BY REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM B. WIDNALL OF NEW JERSEY:

- 1) LOW-INCOME PRIVATE HOUSING
- 2) VETERANS HOUSING PROGRAM
- 3) LOW INTEREST RATE COLLEGE HOUSING
- 4) LOW INTEREST ELDERLY HOUSING
- 5) COMPENSATION FOR CONDEMNEES
- 6) REHABILITATION LOAN PROGRAM

7) THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT AS PASSED CONTAINS AT LEAST THREE PROVISIONS OF REPUBLICAN ORIGIN. ONE WAS THE CLEAN ELECTIONS PRO-VISION PROPOSED BY A REPUBLICAN MEMBER INSERTED IN THE BILL OVER THE OPPOSITION OF A MAJORITY OF THE DEMOCRATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESEN-TATIVES. THE OTHER IS THE PROVISION PERMITTING FEDERAL REGISTRATION OF VOTERS BY A PROCESS TRIGGERED BY THE COMPLAINTS OF 20 OR MORE QUALIFIED PEOPLE THAT THEY ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO REGISTER TO VOTE BY THE APPROPRIATE LOCAL OFFICIALS. THOUGH THE PROCEDURE REQUIRING RESORT TO THE COURTS IS MORE CUMBERSOME THAN THAT PROVIDED IN THE REPUBLICAN FORD-MCCULLOCH VOTING RIGHTS BILL, IT IS THE ONLY METHOD IN THIS LAW THAT ENABLES THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO GET AT UNCONSTI-TUTIONAL DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE OUTSIDE THE 7 STATES AND SOME SCATTERED COUNTIES THAT USE A LITERACY TEST.

THE BILL AS FINALLY PASSED DEALT WITH THE QUESTION OF THE POLL TAX BY DIRECTING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO EFFECT A SPEEDY COURT TEST OF THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE TAX -- THE APPROACH USED IN THE FORD-McCULLOCH BILL.

8) THE IMMIGRATION BILL CONTAINS A CEILING ON IMMIGRANTS FROM

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THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE ONLY BECAUSE OF REPUBLICAN EFFORT. AN AMEND-MENT TO BRING SUCH IMMIGRATION UNDER CONTROL, PRESENTED BY REPRESEN-TATIVE CLARK MacGREGOR OF MINNESOTA, WAS VOTED DOWN BY DEMOCRATS IN THE HOUSE. BUT IT PREVAILED IN THE SENATE.

9) REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE AND SOLID REPUBLICAN SUPPORT SAVED FOR STATE GOVERNORS SOME POWER OF VETO OVER PROJECTS UNDER THE <u>POVERTY PROGRAM WITHIN THEIR STATES IN OPPOSITION TO THE EFFORTS OF</u> MOST DEMOCRATS TO ELIMINATE ANY VESTIGE OF STATE CONTROL OVER THIS PROGRAM.

10) REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE AND SOLID REPUBLICAN SUPPORT LED TO THE DENIAL OF FUNDS FOR THE RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM UNDER THE HOUSING ACT.

11) REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE AND SOLID REPUBLICAN SUPPORT LED TO THE DENIAL OF FUNDS FOR A FEDERALLY DIRECTED NATIONAL TEACHER CORPS.

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO SOME OF THE RECORDS SET BY THIS ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN CALLED TO THE PUBLIC'S ATTENTION BY THE GREAT SOCIETY PROPAGANDA EXPERTS:

THE NATIONAL DEBT REACHED A RECORD HIGH, STANDING AT \$317.9 BILLION AT THE END OF FISCAL YEAR 1965.

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS HAS APPROPRIATED MORE MONEY THAN ANY EARLIER CONGRESS, EXCEPT IN TIME OF WORLD WAR. APPRO-PRIATIONS THIS YEAR TOTAL \$119.3 BILLION, \$36 BILLION MORE THAN THE LAST EISENHOWER CONGRESS IN 1960.

THE GOLD HOLDINGS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REACHED A RECORD LOW IN AUGUST, 1965, WHEN THEY AMOUNTED TO \$13.9 BILLION, DOWN \$1.5 BILLION SINCE THE END OF 1964.

THE COST OF LIVING REACHED A RECORD HIGH IN JULY, 1965, WHEN

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THE CONSUMERS* PRICE INDEX WAS 110.2. (1957-59 = 100)

DURING THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1965 TOTAL SPENDING BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REACHED A RECORD HIGH EXCEPT IN TIME OF WORLD WAR. RISING TO \$120.8 BILLION AT AN ANNUAL RATE.

THE WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX HIT A RECORD HIGH IN SEPTEMBER, 1965, RISING TO 103.7 (1957-59 = 100). 3 PERCENT ABOVE THE LEVEL OF DECEMBER, 1964.

CONSUMER DEBT REACHED A RECORD HIGH IN JULY OF 1965 AT A LEVEL OF ALMOST \$81 BILLION.

NON-FARM MORTGAGE DEBT STANDS AT A RECORD HIGH, IN EXCESS OF \$200 BILLION.

NON-FARM MORTGAGE FORECLOSURES AT MORE THAN 108,000 HOMES IN 1964 WERE AT A RECORD HIGH SINCE 1938. 1965 FORECLOSURES ARE HIGHER. THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1965 WAS 6 PERCENT ABOVE THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1964.

STRIKES IN AUGUST, 1965, IDLED 220,000 WORKERS WHO LOST 2.3 MILLION MAN DAYS OF EMPLOYMENT, THE HIGHEST RECORD SINCE 1959.

CRIME KEEPS SETTING NEW RECORDS, RISING 5 PERCENT ABOVE THE 1964 RATE FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1965. IN 1964 SERIOUS CRIMES WERE 13 PERCENT HIGHER THAN 1963. SINCE 1958 SERIOUS CRIME HAS INCREASED 6 TIMES AS FAST AS THE GROWTH OF POPULATION.

FARM DEBT, UP NEARLY 50 PERCENT SINCE 1961, STANDS AT A RECORD HIGH. EXPENDITURES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE ARE AT A RECORD HIGH. THE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN THE DEPARTMENT IS AT A RECORD HIGH.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS BY GOVERNMENT REACHED AN ALL-TIME HIGH OF \$5.1 BILLION IN 1964.

COMBAT CASUALTIES OF U. S. SERVICEMEN HAVE REACHED A LEVEL NOT ATTAINED SINCE THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION. AS OF OCTOBER 18, 1965, THEY HAVE EXCEEDED 5300, INCLUDING 830 KILLED. Page 18 of 20 -19-

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SOME OF US, DISCOURAGED AND FRUSTRATED MAY ASK, "WHY WORRY ABOUT 1966?" OR "WHY WORRY AT ALL?" <u>BECAUSE</u>, IN MY OPINION, THE PEOPLE OF OUR REPUBLIC ARE ENTITLED TO A STRONG COMPETITIVE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. <u>BECAUSE</u>, IN MY OPINION, A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS DO BELLEVE IN SOUND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT -- FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL -- INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES PROVIDED IN A FREE SOCIETY -- JUST TO MENTION A FEW. <u>BECAUSE</u> 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. <u>BECAUSE</u> OF GRAVE RESPONSIBILITIES TO GENERATIONS YET UNBORN TO PRESERVE BASIC FREEDOM, AND BECAUSE OF A FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY TO REPUB-LICANS (PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE), TO STRENGTHEN OUR 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."

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THE CALL THAT LIES AND : CONTR BE RATE, BUT AS CHAINED IN MISS RECENTS HERMICH, "THEN YOU BEELD PORTHELING MITHER THE LITETES IF THE MAIN ON THE SERVICE OF THE SCAP ANDALL, TOUGH ALL TREEDOR IN