

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE, 1st District, Kansas  
NOMINATING CONVENTION, 6th DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA  
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA  
SATURDAY, JUNE 18

It is an honor and a pleasure to have been invited by your friend and mine, Dick Poff, to appear on your convention program, for your Congressman is held in the highest esteem in the House of Representatives by members of both parties. I congratulate you and all other voters of this district for electing and reelecting him to the Congress since 1952. In Kansas people are pleased to learn, first hand, that their Congressman has the respect of his colleagues and particularly pleased when informed their Congressman is an "expert" on particular subjects and an able legislator.

You know better than I that Dick Poff is respected, has the highest ability, and is an authority in many, many areas of legislation. As the ranking Republican Member of two Subcommittees and the second-ranking Republican Member of the full Committee on Judiciary, his accumulated experience and seniority is important not only to his District and State, but to all Republicans in the House. In addition, his service as Secretary of the Republican Conference is a vital part of the elected House Republican leadership.

If I were to single out any one of his achievements -- and there are many -- I would remind you that not many in the history of the United States can identify their own words in the United States Constitution -- but Dick Poff can. As you may not, but should, know, he played a very important role in formulating and passing what will most certainly become the 25th



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Amendment to the United States Constitution, that is, the Presidential Inability Amendment. The American Bar Association has already paid a special tribute to Mr. Poff for this accomplishment as have countless Members of the House.

One other piece of legislation should be mentioned -- not to embarrass Dick -- but to point out just how effective he is in many diverse areas. For many months I have been working on ways and means to expand American technical assistance programs in the field of agriculture among the free world countries. I was pleased to have the assistance of Dick Poff, and another Republican, Burt Talcott of California. Briefly, our amendment would help free world peoples help themselves. It is a practical farmer-to-farmer program structured through the Federal Extension Service and America's land grant colleges, including such outstanding colleges as Virginia Tech and Kansas State University.

We do not create a new bureaucracy, but, frankly, recognize Americans cannot feed the world and, therefore, our primary responsibility to free world countries should be to teach their people to help themselves develop their agricultural technology. Nearly every witness who came before the House Committee on Agriculture, and there were many, many experts -- such as Dr. J. G. Harrar, President, Rockefeller Foundation; Dr. F. F. Hill, consultant, Ford Foundation; Dr. Don Paarlberg, professor of agricultural economics, Purdue University; Dr. Roger Revelle, Center for Population Studies, Harvard University; -- indicated an increasing need for increasing technical assistance abroad. This is a positive Republican program, and I am pleased to state that the Dole-Poff-Talcott Amendment was accepted and approved by the House Committee on Agriculture. On Thursday, June 9, the



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House passed the "Food For Freedom" Act, including the "farmer-to-farmer" program by a vote of 333 to 20.

So, for many, many reasons, it is a pleasure to be here today to pay ~~a~~ tribute, in some small way, to my friend and yours. As we all know, however, what this country needs and what the Republican Party needs is the election of about <sup>or</sup> 60 more Republicans to serve in the 90th Congress when it convenes in January, 1967. There is plenty of room for optimism in GOP ranks, for just yesterday, the Wall Street Journal reported the new Gallup Poll shows further gains in GOP Congressional election prospects. The Democrat margin is down to 53.5 from 54.3 in March and around 57 percent all last year. This trend is indeed heartening and is proof positive that the American people are disenchanted with one-man rule. Public support for Johnson, and the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, has sunk to its lowest point since L.B.J. took over. If the present trend continues, the famous Johnson coattails in 1964 will be anchors in 1966 and 1968.

The American people are looking to the "GOP" to overcome the "GAP" --- gap --- in leadership which is costing the President support across the country. The divided Democrat Party has demonstrated it cannot provide the leadership America needs and only by strengthening the Republican ranks in Congress, can the leadership gap be closed.

Many of us do not underestimate Johnson's political wizardry --- we know that every Democrat bureaucrat, in and out of Washington, is looking for ways to reverse the downward trend in Johnson popularity. They are trying everything --- Freeman is barnstorming in Iowa, in efforts to convince Iowa farmers he is not really against them. This is difficult because in the New York Times on April 1 said -- and I quote -- "Freeman Elated Over Price Drops". Secretary Freeman is in deep trouble in the



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Midwest, as are many freshmen Democrats who rode to victory in 1964. Some are saying that Freeman should be returned to Minnesota, but that state has enough problems already with a Democrat Governor. Some Members of Congress have stated flatly that Orville should resign, and many farmers think he should go -- to you know where. At any rate, the American farmer is convinced that Freeman is the Secretary "Against" Agriculture and that the U. S. Department of Agriculture has become the Office of Price Stabilization for the Johnson Administration. In New York -- for the first time in the memory of American farm officials -- a Secretary of Agriculture indicated he was pleased with a decrease in farm prices. Yes, he was boasting for having successfully depressed farm prices.

I can detect other tactics by this Administration indicating they recognize American voters are catching on to their slick political tricks. For one thing, Hubert Humphrey has quit talking, and this in itself is of great comfort to most Americans.

As we view the scene today, it is clear the President has lost the leadership of the free world -- of his own party -- and of the American economy. As Richard Nixon stated recently, "Those who ran "with" him in 1964, may be running "from" him in 1966."

Make no mistake about it. The country is reaping the consequences of one-party government. The only way to close the leadership gap is by strengthening the Republican Party.

#### THE ECONOMY

To emphasize the state of our economy -- or better yet, inflation -- it is said that six years ago it took a strong man to lift \$20 worth of groceries -- now anyone can do it.



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Republicans have consistently urged the President to declare war on inflation; in fact, we suggested last year that he do so by submitting a responsible budget. Instead, L.B.J. submitted an irresponsible budget, and the "new" economics became the "old" economics -- war and inflation. The Federal Reserve Board leadership called for tax hikes and economic restraint, the Treasury sees no need for either, and the White House watches and waits, and waits, and waits.

The result is that those with fixed income, and the poor, pay for this irresponsibility in higher prices for food, for clothing, for rent, for medical care, and for other essential items. The leadership gap has again produced a crisis in confidence in the business community, and while prices rise, the stock market flounders; and while the "Johnsocrats" talk about <sup>a booming</sup> economy, economists talk of recession.

Many responsible economists are now stating publicly that unless the Administration assumes a firm and decisive role of leadership and responsibility in economic matters, this nation could well be headed for a major recession in 1967.

#### POVERTY

We are all familiar with the so-called "war on poverty". We know this is one war the Democrat politicians hope will never end. This program has enriched more Democrat politicians, <sup>the</sup> in right places, than any federal program in history. It has no leadership; in fact, the commander of this massive program is only a "Sargent". Here you see the ugly spectacle of politicians profiting because of the so-called "poverty war". In the first 17 months of the existence of the poverty program, it cost an estimated \$2.3 billion. There have been so many failures in the program



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that many Democrats have started complaining in self defense.

(1) San Francisco Mayor John Shelley, a former Democratic Congressman and past President of the San Francisco Labor Council, has expressed his apprehension about that city's anti-poverty program:

"I have a very definite feeling that this program is headed in a direction we don't want.....It has the potential for setting up a great political organization. Not mine. Because I've had nothing to say about it."

(2) California's Democratic Governor Pat Brown brands as "scandalous" the political management of his state's poverty program: "It's a tragedy..." "It's scandalous that politicians would try to get in on a program to help the unfortunate...."

The Wall Street Journal has summarized the basic problem:

"The bickering isn't so much over how or whether anti-poverty funds should be used. Rather, it's over who is going to pass them out and reap whatever political rewards they may bring." (Oct. 6, 1965)

Excessive salaries and excessive costs overburden the confused program -- but the Johnson-Humphrey Administration goes merrily along asking for more money for more of the same.

#### VIETNAM

Without question, another issue in the upcoming campaign will be Vietnam. The polls indicate, and it is common knowledge, the President is losing public support, not necessarily because the Administration policy is opposed, but because the American people do not know what it is. In a recent poll in my District, approximately 80 percent of the people



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indicate that our prestige is lower in the world now than it was in 1960, and a strong majority were opposed to the conduct of the war in Vietnam. The American people are confused about Vietnam, and the apparent indecision in the White House and in the Defense Department and among Democrats in the United States Senate, <sup>and</sup> ~~in~~ the House of Representatives have added to that confusion.

What America needs is a policy which will end the war in Vietnam without appeasement -- not a policy of war by "consensus". But the Democrats on Capitol Hill are divided into two camps, some who would end the war with appeasement and some who would continue an endless struggle without appeasement. Today in Vietnam we are fighting the kind of war the enemy wants -- a land war, and apparently a long war.

The Administration seems reluctant to reduce the war-making capacity of the aggressors in North Vietnam through air strikes on all military targets. The Administration seems reluctant to cut off the flow of supplies from the sea to the harbor of Haiphong, but above all, the Administration seems reluctant to inform the American people and to take the American people into their confidence. Americans ask -- where are the allies in Vietnam, and why has this Administration failed to persuade our allies to help us fight the enemy -- not just our enemy, but an enemy of all the free world. Not only are we for the first time in history fighting a war for freedom without the support of our European allies, but we have even failed to convince some of them to stop trading with and aiding the enemy in North Vietnam. In 1965, for example, it is reported the bulk of the cargo to the port of Haiphong was carried in merchant ships of NATO countries.



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Yes, the American people are frustrated -- the leadership gap is not only nationwide, but worldwide. The country has never been in greater need of great leadership, both at home and in the free world.

What we need is a strong, loyal opposition on Capitol Hill to force the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to act when it would vacillate and to stand firm when it would back up.

The Republican minority on Capitol Hill has done a remarkable job, but our forces are thin, our voices weak. Only a vigorous and loyal opposition debating the issues and demanding action can force the President to provide the needed leadership at home and in the world.

The issues then, today, are the leadership gap, the economy of America, the war on poverty, one-party rule, and Vietnam. There will be others by November, but these will undoubtedly remain.

#### BATTLE LINES FIXED

This is not an Administration one can treat with kid gloves. It is a bare knuckles crowd, and Republicans are going to have to rip it apart, or remain a feeble minority.

Republicans are recovering strongly from the shock of the last Presidential Election in the full realization that unless the health of the two-party system and the authority of Congress is restored, all else is nothing. Republicans reject the President's implication in the State of the Union message that those who don't vote for all of his "Great Society" programs -- even in a time of war -- are willing to sacrifice the poor. Republicans have been beaten with this kind of demagogic stick since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. It is time Republicans, Independents, and perhaps more important, concerned Democrats, rightly



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point out that tragically few of the poor have received any of the millions of taxpayer's dollars that have been poured out so far in the name of the war on poverty. The money hasn't reached the poor, and whether it has purchased political support for the Administration also is questionable in view of what I believe is a real Republican resurgence throughout the country.

What is necessary to be done will be done, for all groups of our citizens, but Republicans are not going to approve tax increases merely to support ever greater efforts to convert the country in a state of dependency on Washington -- a welfare state.

We can't go without guns, but the butter will have to be a little thinner -- or perhaps the Administration should switch to oleo.

The fact is that since President Eisenhower left office with a surplus in January, 1961, the federal government has been in the red every year. The federal government -- any more than the housewife -- cannot spend more than is taken in without serious consequences. It's high time to get some truth in government, to return to the basic principles of honesty, particularly on federal income <sup>and</sup> outgo. It's high time the American people demanded of everyone in Congress, Republican or Democrat, that the brakes be applied. It's time to stop the demagogue dead in his tracks -- whether he be a Republican or a Democrat. It's time to stop the hypocrisy of those in public office whether they be Republicans or Democrats. It's time the American people, both Republicans and Democrats and Independents, not only look at, but analyze, the voting records of Members of Congress whether they be Republican or Democrat. This is not time for double talk. This is not time for poli-



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tics. This is not time to justify "federal aid" because you or your community may benefit because it may mean votes for the politician. I say it is time to stop, to think, and to do everything within our power to shake off the "federal addiction" to one aid program or another. It's time to shelve the labels. It's time we as Republicans unite and tell the people of America our story -- the true story -- and what will happen if the trend continues.

Our party must get over the feeling of inferiority that has been foisted upon it by those who would destroy it.

In the coming elections it has a great job, but it is not in trying to find the ways to appease the greatest number of people by being all things to all men, a field already pre-empted by the Democrat Party.

Our first task is to stress the necessity of preserving the two-party system of government. The second is to curb the growing executive power which has been slowly overwhelming the will of Congress and swallowing up the authority of states and cities.

There are no fine points of ideology here, merely the preservation of the representative system. To get at this business, the Republican Party should call for a halt on further extensions of executive power and further budget commitments, until the entire federal program can be examined.

In Congressional Districts throughout the land, where Democrats temporarily reside, the growing Republican tide will provide the impetus needed to recapture a sizeable number of Congressional seats. When Dick Poff starts his 8th term in January, 1967, let us hope, for the good of America, that he <sup>is</sup> ~~will be~~ sworn in as a member of the Majority Party.



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Bob  
Stone

Douglass

Heart

Amelia Stone

Douglass

William