

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

"FOCUS '68: NEW LEADERSHIP"

THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 1968

THESE ARE FATEFUL DAYS. WITH EACH DRAMATIC, HISTORIC AND EVEN TRAGIC TURN OF EVENTS WE WITNESSED DURING THIS PAST MONTH, I AM SURE ALL AMERICANS HAVE COME TO REALIZE THIS WITH ACUTE CLARITY.

NO LONGER CAN WE TAKE OUR INHERITED FREEDOMS FOR GRANTED; NEITHER CAN WE BE SURE THE AMERICAN DREAM CAN BE PRESERVED FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. HISTORIANS MAY WELL DESCRIBE THE ELECTION OF 1968 AGAINST A BACKDROP OF WAR AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE WHEN MANY FEARED OUR NATION'S DESTRUCTION THROUGH ANARCHY.

I THINK WE SHARE A PRIVILEGE AND A RESPONSIBILITY CONCERNING THIS COMING ELECTION -- A PRIVILEGE TO TAKE PART AND THE RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP SHAPE AND MOLD OUR NATION'S DESTINY.

THE MOMENT OF TRUTH IN NOVEMBER IS BUT A FEW MONTHS AWAY. DURING THESE COMING MONTHS, THE AMERICAN VOTER MUST TRY TO VIEW THIS DECISION WITH CALM AND REASON, DESPITE THE EMOTIONAL AND PRESSING CRISES THAT CONCERN US ALL.

-THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP-

THESE ARE TRULY FATEFUL DAYS -- OUR FREEDOMS, OUR DEMOCRACY, OUR VERY WAY OF LIFE ARE UNDERGOING A SEVERE TEST -- AND WE MUST MEET THIS TEST THROUGH THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF VOLUNTARY INVOLVEMENT ANYMORE. THE SITUATION IS SO GRAVE THAT ALL AMERICANS MUST DO WHAT HAS TO BE DONE.

TODAY THERE ARE FOUR MAJOR CRISES THAT TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE MANY PROBLEMS AND PITFALLS THAT CONFRONT US. THEY ARE ALL INTER-RELATED, AND WHILE MANY INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN A PECULIAR KIND OF GAME TRYING TO DETERMINE WHICH ONE IS THE MOST PRESSING OR MOST IMPORTANT, THEY ALL STEM FROM ONE LARGER PROBLEM -- THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA TODAY.

-FOUR MAJOR CRISES-

WE MUST ACHIEVE A JUST AND HONORABLE PEACE IN VIETNAM. WE MUST ELIMINATE THE RIOTS AND VIOLENCE AND THEIR CAUSES IN OUR CITIES.

WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE SOUNDNESS OF THE DOLLAR AND STOP THE GOLD FLOW.

WE MUST RESTORE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT AND ITS LEADERS BY SIMPLY TELLING THE TRUTH.

I NEED NOT RECOUNT OUR MANY PROBLEMS -- ALL ONE HAS TO DO IS TO READ THE NEWSPAPER HEADLINES, LISTEN TO THE RADIO OR WATCH TELEVISION. THE EVENTS OF THESE PAST FEW WEEKS HAVE GIVEN ME, AND I KNOW HAVE GIVEN ALL AMERICANS, A SENSE OF URGENCY TOWARD A NEW NATIONAL PURPOSE AND DIRECTION.

I HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT IN ORDER TO DO THIS, WE MUST EFFECT A RE-BIRTH OF AMERICAN PURPOSE AND DIRECTION. THERE IS ONLY ONE ANSWER TO THIS CRISIS, AND THAT CAN BE SUMMED UP IN ONE WORD -- LEADERSHIP. LEADERSHIP THAT EMBODIES TRUST AND CONFIDENCE, THAT INSPIRES COOPERATION AND UNITY.

-THE CHOICE: GOP OR DEMO-

THE CHOICE, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS MOST SIMPLE. IT IS A CHOICE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WHOSE PAST EIGHT-YEAR RECORD REFLECTED PEACE AND

PROSPERITY, CALM AND REASON, AND MUTUAL RESPECT FOR FELLOW MAN, AND THE PARTY NOW IN POWER WHOSE RECORD HAS VERY NEARLY LED US TO THE PRECIPICE OF SELF DESTRUCTION. THE BLUNDERS OF THE PAST EIGHT YEARS, WHEN COMPARED TO THE PREVIOUS YEARS OF REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, SEEM ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE -- A NIGHTMARE THAT WE PRAY WILL END SOON.

IT IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT WILL PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP TO UNIFY THIS GREAT NATION -- FOR THE PARTY NOW IN POWER IS TORN BY THE SAME DIVISIVENESS THAT HAS CRIPPLED OUR NATION'S WILL.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS ITS BANNER TO THE VAST NUMBERS OF INDEPENDENTS AND DEMOCRATS WHO REJECT MORE OF THE SAME POLICIES -- PATCHED-UP, REPAINTED, BUT BASICALLY THE SAME AS THE OLD NEW DEAL. TAX AND SPEND AND SPEND AND ELECT. THESE VOTERS REALIZE OUR COUNTRY'S VITAL NEED FOR NEW LEADERSHIP, NEW DIRECTION, A NEW FUTURE.

SPEAKING OF THE FUTURE, THAT IS WHAT COUNTS, FOR THAT IS WHERE WE ARE GOING TO LIVE. WE CANNOT LIVE IN THE PAST, BUT WE CANNOT IGNORE IT.

WE MUST LEARN FROM IT.

-NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT-

IT IS UP TO US AS REPUBLICANS TO CLARIFY THE ISSUES AND TELL OUR STORY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. LET US LOOK AT THE RECORD AND LEARN FROM IT. IT IS THE DEMOCRAT PARTY THAT NOW STANDS BEFORE THE PEOPLE TO BE JUDGED ... THE DEMOCRAT PARTY THAT HAS HAD EIGHT YEARS IN WHICH TO DEMONSTRATE THE WISDOM OF ITS POLICIES ... WHAT DOES THIS RECORD REVEAL WHEN COMPARED TO THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER?

- TODAY WE ARE AT WAR IN VIETNAM. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY RIOTS AND VIOLENCE RAVAGE OUR CITIES. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY THE THUG, THE THIEF, THE MURDERER, THE RAPIST TERRORIZE US ON CITY STREETS THROUGHOUT AMERICA. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY THE SOVIET UNION IS CLOSE TO CONTROLLING THE PERSIAN GULF, THE RED SEA, THE MEDITERRANEAN WITH HER NAVAL MIGHT. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY NORTH KOREA BRAZENLY CAPTURES THE PUEBLO AND HOLDS AMERICAN BOYS PRISONER UNDER THREAT OF TRIAL AND DEATH. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY INFLATION ROBS US OF OUR WAGE GAINS AND PRICES SURGE UP AND UP. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY WE HEAR OF A MISSILE GAP ACKNOWLEDGED BY OUR OWN DEFENSE DEPARTMENT WHILE OUR FIGHTING MEN ABROAD COMPLAIN OF SEVERE SHORTAGES OF MODERN CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. NOT WHILE GENERAL EISENHOWER WAS PRESIDENT.
- TODAY AMERICA HAS LOST RESPECT IN THE WORLD, AND WE CONSTANTLY HEAR ABOUT A CREDIBILITY GAP AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM. NOT WHILE IKE WAS PRESIDENT.

IN SHORT, TODAY OUR NATION FACES A CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP, AND THIS WAS NOT TRUE WHEN REPUBLICANS WERE GIVEN THE PUBLIC'S TRUST.

-THE RECORD IN VIETNAM-

HOW DO WE MEASURE WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICA IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS?

WE MEASURE THE RECORD IN VIETNAM.

HANOI HAS AGREED TO PRELIMINARY TALKS, AND ALL AMERICANS EARNESTLY PRAY FOR SUCCESS. BUT WE CAN LEARN FROM VIETNAM AND FROM THE SIMILAR EXPERIENCES A DECADE EARLIER IN KOREA.

THE KOREAN WAR WAS THE FIRST WE EVER FOUGHT ON THE ENEMY'S TERMS. THE VIETNAM WAR IS THE SECOND.

TO CONTINUE THE KOREAN WAR WOULD HAVE BEEN MADNESS. CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM ALONG THE GUIDELINES SET DOWN BY THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON POLICIES OF GRADUALISM HAS BEEN UTTERLY TRAGIC.

WE ALL RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE TO NEGOTIATE A JUST AND HONORABLE PEACE IN VIETNAM. BUT WHILE THESE FIRST STEPS ARE BEING SOUGHT, LET US NOT FORGET THAT OVER A HALF MILLION AMERICAN TROOPS AND THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATION STILL AT WAR NEED OUR WHOLE HEARTED SUPPORT THERE.

INTERNATIONAL CRISES CAN BE RESOLVED WITHOUT WAR AND CONVERSELY, WITHOUT APPEASEMENT. THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION PREVENTED A HALF DOZEN THREATS FROM DEVELOPING INTO WARS. THERE WAS TRIESTE, THE UPRISING IN IRAN, GUATAMALA, FORMOSA, SUEZ, LEBANON, QUEMOY AND WEST BERLIN.

REPUBLICANS HAVE NO DESIRE TO HEAT UP THE COLD WAR. REPUBLICANS ARE ANXIOUS TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH THE COMMUNISTS. BUT WE WILL NEVER SETTLE FOR A FOOL'S PARADISE OF WISHFUL THINKING -- OF EXPANDING COMMUNIST TRADE WHILE RUSSIA SUPPLIES HANOI, AND THE VIET CONG POURS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF ARMS INTO THE MIDEAST, STEADILY INCREASES ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL, RINGS ITS CITIES WITH ANTI-MISSILE SYSTEMS AND IGNORES OUR PLEAS TO END THE ARMS RACE. MORE THAN EVER, THE TIMES DEMAND REALISM AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DEMAND THE TRUTH.

-THE RECORD AT HOME-

HOW DO WE MEASURE WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICA DURING THE LAST EIGHT YEARS?

WE MEASURE THE GREAT SOCIETY HERE AT HOME.

HAVE WE BUILT A GREAT SOCIETY WHILE GRADUALLY ESCALATING AN UNPOPULAR WAR ABROAD? THE TRUTH IS THAT THIS SOCIETY FACES A NATION-WIDE DOMESTIC CRISIS OF SPORADIC RACIAL CIVIL WAR IN OUR CITIES. RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS, BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE, ARE SICKENED BY THE THREAT OF INSURRECTION.

WE HAVE JUST WITNESSED RIOTS IN OVER 100 CITIES THROUGHOUT THE NATION -- TRIGGERED BY THE KIND OF INSANE VIOLENCE THAT HAS NOW BECOME AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY. WE HAVE GONE FROM THE ERA OF GOVERNMENT BY DEMONSTRATION TO THE ERA OF GOVERNMENT BY VIOLENCE, AND IN THIS TRANSFORMATION, THERE IS AN INEVITABLE LOSS IN RESPECT FOR OUR FELLOW MAN.

TOO MUCH TIME HAS BEEN SPENT IN TRYING TO CHANGE SOCIETY BY LEGISLATION INSTEAD OF TRYING TO CHANGE THE MEN WHO MAKE SOCIETY WHAT IT IS.

HOW DO WE MEASURE WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICA DURING THE LAST EIGHT YEARS? WE MEASURE THE PROGRESS AGAINST CRIME SINCE 1960. WITH THE GREAT SOCIETY AT THE HELM, THE NATIONWIDE CRIME RATE HAS JUMPED 88 PER CENT, WHILE THE RESIDENT POPULATION HAS RISEN ONLY 11 PER CENT. THINK OF IT! THE CRIME RATE IS EIGHT TIMES GREATER THAN THE RISE IN POPULATION.

TODAY THE THUG, THE THIEF, THE MURDERER, THE RAPIST TERRORIZE US ON THE STREETS THROUGHOUT AMERICA. IT IS BEYOND THE POINT OF TOLERATION. WE MUST REALIZE THAT SOCIOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION, TAKING PRECEDENCE OVER LAW ENFORCEMENT AND PUNISHMENT, DOES NOT DETER VIOLENCE. IT ENCOURAGES GREATER VIOLENCE. OUR EFFORTS TO SEARCH FOR THE ROOT CAUSES OF CRIME AND ELIMINATE THEM ARE IMPERATIVE, BUT THE PARAMOUNT POLICY IN DEALING WITH CRIME TODAY IS TO DECLARE WAR ON THE PERPETRATORS.

-THE RECORD ON MONEY-

HOW DO WE MEASURE WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICA DURING THE LAST EIGHT YEARS?

WE MEASURE HOW MUCH MONEY AMERICANS HAVE IN THEIR POCKETS AND IN THEIR SAVINGS.

A HOUSEWIFE MIGHT SAY THE COST OF LIVING HAS GONE UP 15 PER CENT. WHAT COST \$10 IN 1960 NOW COSTS \$11.50. A REPUBLICAN MIGHT SAY THE DOLLAR THAT WAS WORTH A DOLLAR WHEN IKE LEFT THE WHITE HOUSE IS NOW WORTH 85 CENTS. A RETIRED CITIZEN TRYING TO LIVE ON HIS FIXED INCOME MIGHT SAY HE IS ALMOST TO THE BRINK OF POVERTY.

ALL OF THESE CITIZENS WOULD BE RIGHT. GOVERNMENT DEFICITS HAVE BEEN ROBBING ALL OF US OF PURCHASING POWER AND CRITICALLY AFFECTING OUR SENIOR CITIZENS. THIS RAMPANT INFLATION HAS BEEN AIDED AND ABETTED BY A VIRTUAL EXPLOSION OF FEDERAL SPENDING ON FAR TOO MANY WASTEFUL AND UNJUSTIFIED PROJECTS.

AND WHAT IS THE ANSWER WE HEAR FROM WASHINGTON? MORE TAXES.

MORE TAXES, UNLESS ACCOMPANIED BY MEANINGFUL SPENDING CUTS, WILL SIMPLY MEAN MORE SPENDING AND MORE INFLATION. WE SIMPLY MUST RESTORE COMMON SENSE TO OUR FISCAL POLICIES.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TODAY ARE SADDLED WITH A SPENDTHRIFT ADMINISTRATION -- THE WILDEST OF ALL TIME. THERE ARE STILL FAR TOO MANY APPROPRIATIONS FOR NON-ESSENTIAL ITEMS WHILE PROJECTS VITAL FOR GHETTO POVERTY AND OTHER SOCIAL PURPOSES ARE EITHER SHORT-CHANGED, POSTPONED OR AGAIN OPERATING IN THE CYCLE OF PAST FAILURE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF THE SAME OLD SONG OF SPEND, SPEND, SPEND ON MORE AND MORE FEDERAL PROGRAMS THAT DO NOT WORK.

OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY, THE FARMER IS THE WORST-HIT VICTIM OF AN EVER-INCREASING COST-PRICE SQUEEZE.

WHILE THE AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE MUST PAY 15 PER CENT MORE FOR HER GOODS THAN SHE DID SEVEN YEARS AGO, THE FARMER RECEIVES SIX PER CENT LESS AND FINDS HIS COSTS HAVE SKYROCKETED 30 PERCENT!

LAST YEAR, 600,000 FARMERS LEFT RURAL AMERICA TO FIND EMPLOYMENT IN OUR TROUBLED CITIES. THE SMALL FAMILY FARM IS IN DANGER OF BECOMING EXTINCT. A WAY OF LIFE WILL BE LOST TO AMERICA UNLESS WE CAN PROVIDE LONG RANGE WORKABLE ANSWERS TO THIS DILEMMA.

THE DEMOCRAT ANSWER HAS BEEN TO TELL THE AMERICAN FARMER HE SHOULD SOLVE HIS PROBLEMS ALONG THE LINES OF A MILITANT UNION. THIS IS NO TIME FOR ELECTION-YEAR WINDOW DRESSING. THE PLIGHT OF THE MAN WHOSE JOB IT IS TO FEED AMERICA AND TO HELP FEED A TROUBLED WORLD MUST BE CORRECTED.

-THE RECORD OF CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT-

HOW DO WE MEASURE WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICA OVER THE PAST EIGHT YEARS?

WE MEASURE THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE AND MUTUAL RESPECT OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CRY OUT FOR TRUTH IN GOVERNMENT, FOR REALISM, FOR CANDOR. AT BEST, THE ADMINISTRATION'S STATEMENTS HAVE PROVED MISLEADING; AT WORST, THEY HAVE CONSTITUTED OUTRIGHT DECEPTION.

NOW, AS THE CAMPAIGN REALLY BEGINS TO GET UNDERWAY, WE CAN EXPECT MORE POLITICAL DEMAGOGUERY ... MORE STATEMENTS OF LOYALTY FOLLOWED BY POLITICAL BACKSTABBING ... MORE HALF TRUTHS AND CATCH PHRASES BY THOSE WHO ARE TRYING TO PICK UP THE BANNER THE DEMOCRATS HAVE DROPPED IN THEIR PERSONAL MARCH OF NAKED POLITICAL AMBITION.

HOW DO WE MEASURE WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICA DURING THESE PAST EIGHT YEARS? THE ANSWER IS CLEAR.

DURING GREAT BRITAIN'S DARKEST HOUR, WINSTON CHURCHILL SAID:

"THERE IS NO WORSE MISTAKE IN PUBLIC LEADERSHIP THAN TO HOLD OUT FALSE IMAGES. THE PEOPLE CAN FACE PERIL OR MISFORTUNE WITH FORTITUDE AND EVEN WITH BUOYANCE, BUT THEY BITTERLY RESENT BEING DECEIVED OR FINDING OUT THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR AFFAIRS ARE THEMSELVES DWELLING IN A FOOL'S PARADISE."

-NEEDED: NEW LEADERSHIP-

AMERICA MUST HAVE NEW LEADERSHIP -- LEADERSHIP THAT WILL RESTORE FAITH AND HOPE WITHIN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ... THAT WILL BRING US LASTING AND HONORABLE PEACE ... THAT WILL DESTROY THE GHETTOS AND BUILD THE CITIES ... THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THE DOLLAR ... AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, LEADERSHIP THAT WILL AGAIN RESTORE THE "AMERICAN DREAM" OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY TO EACH AND EVERY CITIZEN.