

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN DOLE
DONIPHAN COUNTY DOLE FOR SENATE COMMITTEE
TROY, KANSAS
JUNE 16, 1968

"TOWARD A BRIGHTER FUTURE"

I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE OUTLOOK FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET, I FEEL MORE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT REPUBLICAN OPPORTUNITIES TODAY THAN DURING ANY OF MY EIGHT YEARS IN CONGRESS. LET ME ADD, THE ELECTION THIS NOVEMBER CAN MARK A TURNING POINT IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

-TAKING INVENTORY-

TAKING INVENTORY AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S MONOPOLY IN POWER WE FIND AMERICA WAGING A COSTLY, INDECISIVE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WITH BIG CASUALTIES AND SEEMINGLY ENDLESS DEMANDS ON AMERICA'S HUMAN AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES.

MEANWHILE, THE MENACES OF BURNING, MURDERING, AND OTHER DESTRUCTIVE INSURRECTION IN OUR OWN CITIES GROWS WITH EACH PASSING HOUR, HELPED ALONG BY THE INDECISION AND HESITATION OF OUR NATIONAL LEADERS.

CRIMINALS STALK OUR STREETS IN EVER-GROWING NUMBERS, AND YET THE CHORUS OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL "LIBERAL" APOLOGISTS GROWS LOUDER AS CRIME BECOMES MORE RAMPANT, AND A SHORT-SIGHTED SUPREME COURT AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAVE HANDCUFFED THE LAW ENFORCERS INSTEAD OF THE LAW BREAKERS.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, DESPITE ITS UNPARALLELED DIVERSITY AND PRODUCTIVITY, HAS BEEN SHAKEN TO ITS VERY FOUNDATIONS BY YEARS OF FEDERAL MISMANAGEMENT, WASTE AND INTERFERENCE.

OUR FARMERS, DESPITE THE REMARKABLE BOUNTY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE ARE IGNORED OR ABUSED BY A DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE WHICH HAS TRIED TO MAKE THE WORLD'S GREATEST PRODUCERS OF PLENTIFUL, INEXPENSIVE FOOD INTO SCAPEGOATS FOR GOVERNMENT-CAUSED AND GOVERNMENT-AGGRAVATED INFLATION.

AND, AS A CUMULATIVE RESULT OF ALL THESE PROBLEMS, AMERICANS, FOR PERHAPS THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR HISTORY, SEEM TO BE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THEIR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, IN THEMSELVES.

SO FAR, YOU MAY BE THINKING, MY STATEMENTS DO NOT SOUND OPTIMISTIC AND THAT THE PICTURE I'VE PAINTED SO FAR IS DOWNRIGHT GLOOMY. IT WOULD BE, BELIEVE ME, IF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WHOLE RANGE OF "UNNATURAL DISASTERS" ENUMERATED WERE DESTINED TO REMAIN IN POWER FOR EIGHT MORE YEARS! BUT I AM CONVINCED THEY WILL NOT.

-REPUBLICANS CAN CHANGE MOOD-

WEIGHING THE MOOD IN WASHINGTON, HERE AT HOME AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY, I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT 1968 CAN BE A YEAR OF CHANGE -- CHANGE FROM DEFEATISM TO SUCCESS; FROM BANKRUPTCY TO SOLVENCY; FROM NEAR ANARCHY TO ORDER -- A MASSIVE CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

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IT IS UP TO US, AS REPUBLICANS, TO MAKE IT SO. IT IS UP TO US TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. GIVEN THE FACTS, THEY WILL MAKE THE RIGHT DECISIONS, BUT THEY WILL NOT OBTAIN THOSE FACTS FROM THE PARTY NOW IN POWER!

WE MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PRESENT A STRONG, UNITED FRONT THIS YEAR; TO PUT FORWARD TO THE PUBLIC THE BEST IDEAS, THE BEST LEADERSHIP AND THE BEST SOLUTIONS.

IT IS APPARENT WE HAVE NO SHORTAGE OF THESE "RAW MATERIALS" OF VICTORY, IF WE CHOOSE WISELY AND DO NOT ALLOW OUR EFFORTS TO FLAG.

-STATE OF THE DEMOCRATS-

THE SAME IS NOT TRUE OF THE OTHER PARTY. GENE MCCARTHY MUMBLES ABOUT THE SAD STATE OF THE UNION; AND HUBERT TRIES TO SMILINGLY IGNORE IT.

INDEED, THE DEMOCRATIC BLOODBATH PROMISES TO GO ON AND ON RIGHT UP TO THEIR NOMINATING CONVENTION, LEAVING THEM WITH POLITICAL SCARS WHICH MAY NEVER HEAL. AND, LURKING IN THE WINGS, ANOTHER DEMOCRAT GEORGE WALLACE, PROMISES TO ADD TO THE SHAMBLES IN HIS OWN FASHION.

THERE IS A CERTAIN CRUDE JUSTICE TO THIS MASSIVE BLOODLETTING WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC RANKS. THE SAME CHEAP TACTICS AND SHALLOW, MISGUIDED POLICIES WHICH, IN THEIR HANDS, HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO SET AMERICA BACK, ARE NOW TEARING THEIR OWN POLITICAL MACHINE TO PIECES.

-AFTER 8 YEARS-

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO US? CAN WE, AFTER EIGHT YEARS OF MINORITY STATUS, AND NEARLY FOUR DECADES OF BEING A POLITICAL "SECOND-RATE POWER", RESTORE REASON, RESPONSIBILITY AND PROGRESS TO AMERICA GOVERNMENT?

MY ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS A RESOUNDING YES! MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- WITH THE HELP OF DISENCHANTED DEMOCRATS AND DISGUSTED INDEPENDENTS -- WILL MAKE TREMENDOUS GAINS THIS NOVEMBER. AND ONCE WE HAVE DONE THAT, WE CAN START TO PUT THIS GREAT COUNTRY BACK ON THE ROAD TO PEACE, PROSPERITY AND STABILITY.

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- FIVE REASONS FOR OPTIMISM -

WHY AM I SO CONFIDENT? THERE ARE FIVE BASIC REASONS:

1) THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE SKEPTICAL OF GENE MCCARTHY, FEARFUL OF GEORGE WALLACE AND CONVINCED THAT HUBERT HUMPHREY IS ONLY A SMILING CARBON COPY OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON.

2) OUR COUNTRY, AS A RESULT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S NEGLECT AND FOLLY, IS ON THE BRINK OF ECONOMIC DISASTER.

3) THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS SPLIT WIDE OPEN.

4) WE REPUBLICANS, HAVING LEARNED OUR LESSON IN 1964, ARE MUSTERING OUR EFFORTS AND UNIFYING AS NEVER BEFORE, AND

5) WE REPUBLICANS HAVE THE WINNING ISSUES AND THE WINNING CANDIDATES.

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NATIONALLY, WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CAPTURE THE WHITE HOUSE,
GAIN CONTROL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND TO INCREASE OUR
STRENGTH IN THE SENATE.

LOCALLY, WE CAN CONTINUE THE REPUBLICAN TREND WHICH SWEEPED SO
MANY OF OUR NUMBER INTO STATE LEGISLATURES AND GOVERNORS' MANSIONS
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN 1966.

- TELL IT LIKE IT IS -

BUT AGAIN, I EMPHASIZE THAT, IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED, WE MUST
PURSUE THIS OPPORTUNITY WITH VIGOR, CANDOR AND HONESTY. REPUBLICAN
CANDIDATES AND WORKERS MUST CLARIFY THE ISSUES AND TELL OUR STORY
TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN CLEAR, CONCISE AND UNMISTAKABLE TERMS.

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, THE FACTS BEAR US OUT. THE DEMOCRATS, HAVING EXERCISED COMPLETE SWAY OVER AMERICA'S DESTINY FOR SEVEN YEARS, HAVE BEEN WEIGHED IN THE SCALES OF HISTORY AND HAVE BEEN FOUND WANTING.

THE GREAT NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, BENJAMIN DISRAELI, STATED THAT "ALL POWER IS A TRUST" AND THAT "WE ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR ITS EXERCISE."

CERTAINLY, FOR THE PAST SEVEN YEARS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS HELD POWER. JUST AS CERTAINLY, IT SHOULD BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR WHAT IT HAS DONE, OR FAILED TO DO, WITH THAT POWER.

AND WHAT HAS IT DONE? IT HAS LEFT A LONG, WINDING TRAIL, LITTERED WITH UNKEPT PROMISES AND BROKEN TRUSTS!

-LOOK AT THE SPECIFICS-

LET'S LOOK AT SOME OF THE SPECIFICS.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN IN DEMOCRATIC HANDS FOR THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, AND FOR 27 OF THE PAST 35 YEARS. DEMOCRATS HAVE EXERCISED RIGID CONTROL OVER MOST OF THE APPOINTMENTS TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY, INCLUDING THE SUPREME COURT, FOR ALMOST FOUR DECADES.

LEGISLATIVELY, IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE STORY IS MUCH THE SAME. EXCEPT FOR A FEW BRIEF REVERSES, THE DEMOCRATS HAVE HELD A "POWER MONOPOLY" IN THE CONGRESS FOR MOST OF THE PAST FORTY YEARS.

AND IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT EVERY ONE OF THE MEN WHO ARE NOW VYING FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION HAS HAD AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE BLUNDERS AND NEGLECT OF THIS ERA.

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TAKE EUGENE MCCARTHY. MCCARTHY, WHO NOW LABELS HIMSELF A DISSENTING DEMOCRAT, ACTED AS A VIRTUAL RUBBER STAMP IN THE SENATE FOR THE FLOOD OF NEW FRONTIER AND GREAT SOCIETY MEASURES WHICH WERE RAMMED THROUGH THAT BODY OVER THE PAST SEVEN YEARS.

HUBERT HUMPHREY, AS A MAJORITY WHIP IN THE SENATE, AND AS LYNDON'S RUNNING MATE AND ALTER EGO, HAS SHACKLED HIMSELF TO THIS SORRY ADMINISTRATION RECORD AS MUCH AS OR MORE THAN EITHER OF THE OTHER TWO CONTENDERS.

-LEADERSHIP NEEDED NOW-

NO, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS NOTHING NEW TO OFFER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND, THOUGH ITS CANDIDATES ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO PAINT ON NEW FACES, THE OLD, UGLY RECORD KEEPS SHOWING THROUGH.

IF EVER THERE WERE A TIME WHEN OUR NATION NEEDED NEW LEADERSHIP, IT IS NOW.

FOR TODAY AMERICA FACES A BRACE OF CRITICAL PROBLEMS. THEY ARE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN CAUSED, OR WORSENERED, BY THE LACK OF RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP OF THE PRESENT DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION. AS LONG AS THEY REMAIN IN POWER WE CAN EXPECT EACH CRISIS TO DEEPEN, EACH PROBLEM TO GROW. IF WE ARE TO RESTORE OUR POSITION AS LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, AND SET OUR DOMESTIC HOUSE IN ORDER, WE MUST ELECT REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP THIS NOVEMBER.

-WHAT TO DO-

WHAT CAN WE DO IN ORDER TO CONVINCCE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF THIS? WE MUST CONVINCCE THEM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS BEST EQUIPPED TO RESTORE A LASTING PEACE.

WE MUST SHOW THEM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN HEAL A SICK ECONOMY AND MAKE THE WORD " PROSPERITY" MEANINGFUL.

WE MUST DEMONSTRATE THAT REPUBLICANS BEST UNDERSTAND HOW TO USE OUR VAST MILITARY MIGHT TO PREVENT WARS AND INSURE A PEACEFUL, STABLE WORLD.

WE MUST ILLUSTRATE THAT REPUBLICANS HAVE DONE AND WILL DO THE BEST JOB OF PRESERVING THE VALUE OF THE DOLLAR.

WE MUST CONVINCe THEM THAT REPUBLICANS OFFER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE KIND OF MORAL LEADERSHIP SO NECESSARY TO RESTORE RESPECT FOR ORDER AND PRESERVE THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC AS A GOVERNMENT BASED ON JUST, INVIOABLE LAWS.

IN TAKING OUR CASE TO THE PEOPLE, WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT, THIS TIME, HISTORY IS ON OUR SIDE. FOR YEARS, PLAYING ON THE OLD WOUNDS AND RESENTMENTS BORN OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS TRIED TO PASS US OFF AS "THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE".

NOW IT IS THEIR TURN TO BE JUDGED.

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-JUDGEMENT DAY-

JUDGING THE DEMOCRAT PARTY IS A SIMPLE MATTER -- AS EASY AS A HOUSEWIFE DOING HER "COMPARISON SHOPPING". LET ME CITE A FEW EXAMPLES, COMPARING AMERICA IN DEMOCRATIC HANDS TODAY, WITH THE AMERICA OF SEVEN SHORT YEARS AGO WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER HAD HIS STEADY HAND AT THE HELM.

TODAY WE ARE WAR IN VIETNAM. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

TODAY THE SOVIET UNION IS CLOSE TO CONTROLLING THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE RED SEA. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

TODAY THE COMMUNISTS CAN STEAL OUR SHIPS WITHOUT OUR GOVERNMENT EVEN RAISING A FINGER. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

TODAY INFLATION ROBS US OF OUR WAGE GAINS, AND PRICES SURGE UP AND UP. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

TODAY VIOLENT CIVIL DISORDERS RAVAGE OUR CITIES. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

TODAY THE THUG, THIEF, THE MURDERER AND THE RAPIST TERRORIZE US ON CITY STREETS THROUGHOUT AMERICA. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

TODAY WE HAVE LOST THE RESPECT AMERICA ONCE HAD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. NOT SEVEN YEARS AGO!

NOW I REALIZE THAT MOST OF THE CURRENT CROP OF DEMOCRATIC OFFICE SEEKERS CLAIM THAT THEY REALIZE THEIR PARTY "HASN'T DONE ENOUGH" TO MEET THESE PROBLEMS. WHAT THEY FAIL TO REALIZE IS THAT IN MANY CASES THEIR PARTY HAS DONE TOO MUCH IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.

BUT NO, INSTEAD OF LEARNING FROM BITTER EXPERIENCE, THEY PROPOSE MAMMOTH NEW SPENDING PROGRAMS -- THEY PROMISE THAT, IF ELECTED, THEY WILL POUR BILLIONS OF PAPER DOLLARS INTO THE FLAMES OF DISCONTENT. SOME SOLUTION!

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-SOLUTIONS-

A EUGENE, A HUBERT -- EITHER OF THEM -- IS COMMITTED, NOT TO SOLVING OUR NATIONAL CRISES, BUT TO AGGRAVATING THEM -- TO FOOLISHLY POURING COSTLY OIL ONTO ALREADY TROUBLED FIRES.

IF ELECTED, THEY COULD BE EXPECTED TO KEEP THE COST OF LIVING SKY-ROCKETING. THEY AND THEIR KIND HAVE ALREADY INCREASED IT 15% SINCE 1960!

IF ELECTED, THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO DEVALUE THE DOLLAR. THEY AND THEIR KIND HAVE ALREADY REDUCED THE SOUND EISENHOWER DOLLAR TO 87½¢!

IF ELECTED, THEY WOULD CONTINUE THE MASSIVE FEDERAL EXTRAVAGANCE WHICH HAS ALREADY ADDED NEARLY \$70 BILLION TO THE PUBLIC DEBT SINCE 1960!

THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THE PROMISES -- JUST MORE OF THE SAME OLD MISTAKES ON A LARGER SCALE AND AT A TIME MORE CRITICAL THAN BEFORE.

INTERNATIONALLY, THE SAME HOLDS TRUE. WHERE ONCE A STRONG, UNITED NATO GUARDED THE GATEWAY TO WESTERN EUROPE, THE BERLIN WALL NOW STANDS. SEVEN YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY HAVE LEFT WESTERN EUROPE DISORGANIZED, FRACTURED, AND GROWINGLY ANTI-AMERICAN.

IN VIETNAM, WHERE SEVEN YEARS AGO A RELATIVE STABILITY HAD BEEN FOSTERED BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S ENLIGHTENED SOUTHEAST ASIAN POLICY, A POLICY WHICH THEN-SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY CHARACTERIZED AS "EFFECTIVE" AND A "NEAR MIRACLE", TODAY AMERICAN BOYS ARE FIGHTING AND DYING IN THE WAR WHICH THE DEMOCRATS TOLD US ASIAN BOYS SHOULD FIGHT FOR THEMSELVES!

AND PEACE -- THE SORT OF JUST, STABLE SETTLEMENT WHICH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER BROUGHT TO THE KOREAN WAR -- ELUDES US TODAY AMIDST ALL THE DIPLOMATIC RANGLING IN PARIS. FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE, ARE UNWILLING TO TAKE A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION AT ITS WORD, OR TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS ANYTHING MORE THAN A PAPER TIGER WHEN IT DOES NOT EVEN DEMAND THE LOYALTY OF KEY MEMBERS OF ITS OWN PARTY.

WE ALL KNOW THAT AN END TO THE VIETNAM WAR MUST COME THROUGH SOME TYPE OF NEGOTIATIONS. JUST AS IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MADNESS TO DRAG ON THE KOREAN WAR INDEFINITELY, IT WOULD BE MADNESS TO KEEP POURING AMERICAN LIVES AND AMERICAN TREASURE INTO AN ENDLESS, BLOODY STALEMATE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. BUT WE MUST HAVE PEACE WITH HONOR!

AND JUST AS IT WAS A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT AN HONORABLE END TO THE KOREAN WAR, WITHOUT COMPROMISING OURSELVES OR OUR ALLIES, SO IT MUST BE A NEW REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION WHICH WILL BRING US PEACE WITH HONOR IN VIETNAM.

-CONCLUSION-

I BEGAN BY SAYING THAT I WAS CONVINCED THAT 1968 WILL BE A TURNING POINT IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

OUR AMERICAN VALUES ARE UNDER GROWING CHALLENGE AROUND THE WORLD.

WE ARE LIVING IN A TIME OF TESTING. THE NATION MUST HAVE NEW LEADERSHIP IF WE ARE TO RESTORE OUR COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC HEALTH, IF WE ARE TO DESTROY THE BLIGHT OF THE GHETTOES, REBUILD OUR CITIES AND STRENGTHEN RURAL AMERICA, IF WE ARE TO REACH AN HONORABLE PEACE AND RESTORE AMERICA'S FAITH IN HERSELF AND HER PRESTIGE AROUND THE WORLD.

ADLAI STEVENSON, WHO TWICE LED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONALLY, ONCE REMARKED THAT, "MORE IMPORTANT THAN WINNING THE ELECTION IS GOVERNING THE NATION. THAT IS THE TEST OF A POLITICAL PARTY -- THE ACID, FINAL TEST."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS FAILED THAT ACID, FINAL TEST.

MY GOAL AND YOURS, MUST BE TO HELP OUR REPUBLICAN PARTY FILL THE LEADERSHIP GAP AND RESTORE MEANING AND ORDER TO A BELEAGUERED AMERICA.

TO THOSE WHO WARN THAT IT IS ALREADY TOO LATE -- THAT THE YEARS OF MISRULE AND NEGLECT HAVE MADE A DARK, SINISTER FUTURE INEVITABLE, I WOULD REPLY WITH THE WORDS OF A MAN WHO ONCE FACED SIMILAR ODDS AND HEARD SIMILAR WARNINGS. IN 1941, WHEN ENGLAND SEEMED ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE, SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL ANSWERED THE PROPHETS OF DOOM AND EXHORTED THE BRITISH PEOPLE:

"DO NOT LET US SPEAK OF DARKER DAYS," HE SAID. "LET US SPEAK RATHER OF STERNER DAYS. THESE ARE NOT DARK DAYS; THESE ARE GREAT DAYS -- THE GREATEST DAYS OUR COUNTRY HAS EVER LIVED; AND WE MUST ALL THANK GOD THAT WE HAVE BEEN ALLOWED, EACH OF US ACCORDING TO OUR STATIONS, TO PLAY A PART IN MAKING THESE DAYS MEMORABLE IN THE HISTORY OF OUR RACE."

WITH YOUR HELP, IN THE STERN, GREAT DAYS WHICH LIE AHEAD, OUR REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN LEAD AMERICA, AND THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD, TO THE THRESHOLD OF A BRIGHTER FUTURE.