

REMARKS OF
CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

IT IS A PLEASURE TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES OF THIS 1968
ELECTION YEAR WITH YOU TODAY.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, IN ITS PLATFORM ADOPTED IN
AUGUST IN MIAMI, SOLEMNLY PLEDGES TO EVERY AMERICAN THAT
"WE SHALL THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW."

AND INDEED WE -- AND I, AS THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR
THE U.S. SENATE -- SHALL.

THE PLATFORM SPECIFICALLY PLEDGES US:

- * TO DEDICATE OUR EFFORTS TOWARD RESTORATION
OF PEACE AT HOME AND ABROAD;
- * TO BRING ABOUT A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO
REBUILD OUR URBAN AND RURAL SLUMS;
- * TO ENABLE THE FAMILY FARM ENTERPRISE TO
PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE NATION'S PROS-
PERITY;
- * TO BRING ABOUT QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL;

- * TO ASSURE EVERY INDIVIDUAL AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REWARDING EMPLOYMENT;
- * TO ATTACK THE ROOT CAUSES OF POVERTY AND ERADICATE RACISM, HATRED AND VIOLENCE;
- * TO RE-ESTABLISH FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND PUT AN END TO THE INCREASING COSTS OF LIVING, AND
- * TO MOBILIZE THE RESOURCES, TALENTS AND ENERGY OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS TO REACH THESE GOALS, UTILIZING THE UNIQUE STRENGTH AND INITIATIVE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

-THE SITUATION TODAY-

TODAY WE ARE ENMESHED IN TURMOIL.

TODAY, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN ARE DEAD OR SERIOUSLY WOUNDED FROM A WAR IN VIETNAM STILL UNDECLARED, A WAR WHOSE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE ARE, AT BEST, DISTANT.

TODAY, TO THE WORLD AROUND, OUR PRESTIGE IS LOW, OUR ALLIANCES WEAKENED, OUR IMAGE IMPAIRED.

TODAY, INFLATION HAS ERODED THE CONFIDENCE IN THE DOLLAR, SEVERELY DIMINISHING THE INCOME OF ALL FAMILIES, THE FARMERS, THE RETIRED AND THOSE LIVING ON FIXED INCOMES AND PENSIONS.

NOT FOR A CENTURY HAS INTEREST -- THE PRICE OF MONEY
-- BEEN SO HIGH IN THIS LAND, YET NEVER THE OFFICIAL DRIVE TO
POUR OUT PUBLIC MONIES SO GREAT.

ALMOST NEVER HAVE OUR FARMERS, THE MOST EFFICIENT AND
EFFECTIVE IN THE WORLD, SUFFERED SUCH LOW PROFITS.

NEVER HAVE CONSUMERS SEEN SUCH AN ABUNDANCE OF FOOD AND
GOODS, BUT AT PRICES THEY CANNOT AFFORD.

OUR INNER CITIES ARE BECOMING CENTERS OF DESPAIR, WITH
MILLIONS CAUGHT IN THE CYCLE OF POVERTY -- POOR EDUCATION, UN-
EMPLOYMENT OR UNDER-EMPLOYMENT AND THE INABILITY TO AFFORD
ADEQUATE HOUSING AND NOURISHMENT.

NEVER HAVE OUR POOR BEEN SO KEEN IN THEIR RESENTMENT, SO
VIOLENT IN THEIR PROTEST AND NEVER HAVE RELATIONS AMONG THE
RACES BEEN SO GRAVELY IMPAIRED.

NEVER HAS OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW BEEN SO ABUSED, AND NEVER
LAW ENFORCEMENT SO ENFEEBLED BY STRAINED COURT DECISIONS AND
OFFICIAL RESTRAINT IN CURBING THE LAW.

-URBAN AMERICA: NO. 1 PROBLEM-

BECAUSE THE OTHER CANDIDATES WILL BE DISCUSSING SOME OF THE OTHER ISSUES, I WANT TO CONCENTRATE TODAY ON URBAN AND SUBURBAN AMERICA, CLEARLY THE GREATEST DOMESTIC PROBLEM FACING OUR NATION TODAY.

URBAN AMERICA PRESENTS TWO MAJOR CRISES:

FIRST, IT IS A CRISIS OF POVERTY, OF THE POOR OF ALL RACES, FINDING A VOICE AND DEMANDING ACCESS TO ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND SECURITY.

SECOND, IT IS A CRISIS OF THE CITY ITSELF -- THE CAULDRON IN WHICH THE CONTRASTS OF OUR SOCIETY AND THE TENSIONS OF RACE AND POVERTY CONFRONT EACH OTHER. TO THESE INITIAL STRAINS, THE CITY ADDS THE EXACERBATIONS OF GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION, POPULATION DENSITY, TRANSPORTATION BOTTLENECKS, AIR AND WATER POLLUTION, INADEQUATE RECREATIONAL SPACE AND SO ON.

THE RESULT IS A CRISIS IN WHICH THERE CAN BE NO SURE
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, NO SURE COMPROMISE, NO SURE CONCESSIONS,
NO SURE CEASEFIRE.

IT IS A CRISIS OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS, POSING A THREAT TO
OUR PRESENT SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, BECAUSE IT BASICALLY POINTS
UP THE FAILURE OF OUR SOCIETY TO DO THOSE THINGS FOR WHICH
IT WAS CREATED.

-UNWORKABLE PROGRAMS-

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THE CITIES OF OUR NATION, AND
HOW CAN IT BE DONE BEST?

WE HAVE BEFORE US PLENTY OF EXAMPLES OF HOW IT SHOULD
NOT BE DONE, EXAMPLES OF WELL-INTENDED PROGRAMS WHICH SIMPLY
DID NOT WORK.

FOR EXAMPLE, IN ALL MAJOR CITIES, PUBLIC HOUSING...CON-
STRUCTED AND LOCATED IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT ONLY RESULTED IN
MODERN SLUMS, PERPETUATING THE PROBLEMS IT WAS DESIGNED TO
CURE.

OR...IN SOME FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS
WHERE THE BETTER PART OF THE MONEY HAS BEEN EATEN UP BY
ADMINISTRATIVE -- AND THAT MEANS BUREAUCRATIC -- COSTS WITH
NOWHERE NEAR THE INTENDED BENEFITS REACHING THE PEOPLE THE
PROGRAMS WERE SUPPOSED TO HELP.

IF WE LISTEN TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POOR, WE ARE
TOLD THAT EVEN THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS WHICH OSTENSIBLY WORK
HAVE REACHED ONLY THE MORE AFFLUENT STRATA OF THE POOR.

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-NEED: ENCOURAGE PRIVATE SECTOR-

AND WHEN WE LOOK AT THIS, WE ALSO SEE THE AMERICAN PRIVATE SECTOR, WITH ITS TREMENDOUS RESOURCES, INGENUITY AND IMAGINATION NOT YET MEANINGFULLY INVOLVED IN THIS PROBLEM WHICH EQUALLY AFFECTS ITS INTERESTS. THIS IS BECAUSE THE PROGRAMS HAVE YET TO BE ENACTED THAT ENCOURAGE PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT AND THAT PROVIDE THE DOLLARS-AND-CENTS INCENTIVES WHICH WILL ALLOW PRIVATE CAPITAL TO DO THE JOB WHICH GOVERNMENT CAN NEVER DO.

LAST YEAR THERE WAS INTRODUCED IN BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE, BY REPUBLICANS, LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD MAKE PRIVATE CAPITAL AVAILABLE TO THE POOR FOR PURCHASE OF LOW-COST HOUSING.

THIS CONCEPT WAS OPPOSED BY THE ADMINISTRATION BECAUSE IT CONFLICTED WITH "GREAT SOCIETY" PROGRAMS.

WE WERE ALL DELIGHTED, ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE OF THE AISLE, TO SEE THAT THIS YEAR, BY SOME STRANGE CHEMISTRY, THE DEMOCRATS DECIDED THE CONCEPT WAS OF MERIT AND INCORPORATED IT INTO ADMINISTRATION RECOMMENDATIONS.

THERE IS NOW REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION PENDING BEFORE BOTH HOUSES WHICH WILL PROVIDE INCENTIVES TO EMPLOYERS TO INVEST MONEY IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIES LOCATED IN THE GHETTOES, OR DESIGNED TO TRAIN AND HIRE PEOPLE FROM THE GHETTOES.

THIS WILL BE A PRIORITY ITEM UNDER THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION NEXT YEAR.

-GOAL: HELPING THEMSELVES-

THE IMPORTANT POINT HERE IS THAT THESE PROGRAMS, AND OTHERS LIKE THEM, ARE NOT INTENDED TO JUST GIVE MORE MONEY TO THE POOR. THEY ARE DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOR HELP THEMSELVES -- AND THAT IS WHAT THEY WANT.

THE LEADERS OF THE POOR PEOPLE ARE SICK AND TIRED OF GRANDIOSE PROMISES OF GIFTS THAT DON'T MATERIALIZE. THEY ARE NOW SAYING: "GIVE US THE TOOLS, GIVE US THE OPPORTUNITY, AND WE WILL RAISE OURSELVES."

THIS APPROACH CANNOT BE OVERSIMPLIFIED. IT IS WELL AND GOOD TO SAY THAT A PERSON SHOULD PULL HIMSELF UP BY THE BOOT STRAPS. BUT THIS IS MEANINGLESS IF HE DOESN'T HAVE ANY BOOTS.

SO THERE WILL HAVE TO BE PROVISIONS AT ONE LEVEL OR ANOTHER FOR GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE THE BOOTS WITH WHICH THE POOR CAN START.

-IMPLEMENTATION: LOCAL-

THIS BRINGS UP ANOTHER ASPECT OF PAST FAILURES.

UNDER THE APPROACHES TO DATE, MAJOR PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN CENTRALIZED IN WASHINGTON, WITH INVISIBLE MEN MAKING DECISIONS ON WHAT TO DO ABOUT A PROBLEM IN SAN FRANCISCO OR KANSAS CITY, WHEN THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN TO SAN FRANCISCO OR KANSAS CITY.

THIS IS WHY I, AND MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES, ARE INSISTING AND WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT MONEY AND AUTHORITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS MUST BE AVAILABLE TO THE STATE AND LOCAL JURISDICTIONS. THEY ARE MOST FAMILIAR WITH THE PROBLEMS AND THE PEOPLE AND KNOW BEST HOW TO DEAL WITH THEM.

THIS, OF COURSE, GOES VERY MUCH AGAINST THE GRAIN OF THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH SAYS THAT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE THE DECISION-AUTHORITY AND TIGHT CONTROL OF THE MONEY, BUT WE HAVE AMPLE DEMONSTRATION THAT IS IMPLY DOESN'T WORK THAT WAY.

ALTHOUGH I DO NOT SUPPORT ALL OF THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS, ONE OF THE STRONGEST POINTS WAS THE ADMISSION THAT ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF THE THINGS WHICH MUST BE DONE CAN BE DONE AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL.

MOST OF THE MEANINGFUL GOVERNMENT ACTION HAS TO BE TAKEN AT THE STATE AND CITY LEVELS. THIS, PRESUMABLY, IS WHY THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION RECEIVED THE REPORT SO COOLLY -- IT DID NOT TELL THE ADMINISTRATION WHAT IT WANTED TO HEAR: IT DID NOT SAY THAT MORE OF THE SAME WOULD DO THE JOB.

- THE OTHER URBAN PROBLEMS -

THESE SAME PRINCIPLES -- GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND MORE FEDERAL DECENTRALIZATION -- AS URGENTLY APPLY TO THE OTHER PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES.

SUCCESS WITH URBAN PROBLEMS REQUIRES ACCELERATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ORDER TO STEM THE FLOW OF PEOPLE FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE TO THE CITY.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION REQUIRES VIGOROUS LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL ACTION, REGIONAL PLANNING AND MAXIMUM COOPERATION AMONG NEIGHBORING CITIES, COUNTIES AND STATES.

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WITH THE PROSPECT OF A DECENT HOME AND SUITABLE LIVING ENVIRONMENT FOR EVERY FAMILY ENDANGERED, WE NEED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REPUBLICAN-CONCEIVED HOMEOWNERSHIP PROGRAM FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND A RENT CERTIFICATE PROGRAM.

ECONOMIC INCENTIVES ARE NEEDED TO DEVELOP THE LOW-COST HOUSING MARKET FOR PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL.

LOCAL COMMUNITIES NEED ENCOURAGEMENT TO ADOPT UNIFORM, MODERN BUILDING CODES.

IN THE URBAN TRANSPORTATION TANGLE, WE NEED RAPID ACCELERATION OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF IMPROVED MASS TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS. BETTER ACCOUNT OF TRAFFIC CONGESTION, HOUSING AND THE EFFECT ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MUST BE MADE BEFORE DETERMINING THE LOCATION OF FEDERAL BUILDINGS AND INSTALLATIONS AND THE AWARDED OF FEDERAL CONTRACTS.

- LAW AND JUSTICE -

AND AS WE BEGIN THE VIGOROUS EFFORT, NATIONWIDE, TO TRANSFORM THE BLIGHTED AREAS OF OUR GREAT CITIES INTO CENTERS OF OPPORTUNITY, PROGRESS, TALENT AND CULTURE, WE MUST ASSURE THE DOUBTERS AND THE DISSENTERS THAT NOTHING CAN BE ACHIEVED UNLESS ORDER ^RTHOUGH LAW AND JUSTICE IS MAINTAINED.

OUR SOCIETY ENCOURAGES THE RIGHT OF DISSENT, BUT THERE IS A RESPONSIBILITY THAT GOES ALONG WITH THAT RIGHT. THOSE WHO FOSTER VIOLENCE IGNORE THAT RESPONSIBILITY AND BETRAY THE LIBERTY OF OTHER MEN. THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT VIOLENCE WILL BE MET SURELY, SWIFTLY AND JUSTLY.

ANARCHY IS NOT THE ANSWER TO THE CRISIS IN THE CITIES; IT CAN AND ONLY WILL ADD TO THE CRISIS .

WHILE REPUBLICANS STRONGLY ADVOCATE MEASURES TO ALLEVIATE AND REMOVE THE FRUSTRATIONS CONTRIBUTING TO RIOTS AND DISORDER, WE SIMULTANEOUSLY SUPPORT DECISIVE ACTION TO QUELL CIVIL DISORDER, RELYING PRIMARILY ON STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. WE ALREADY HAVE ADEQUATE PEACEFUL AND LAWFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE EVEN FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE OF THE PEOPLE WISH IT. BUT WE WILL NOT CONDONE VIOLENCE!

-HOW DO WE PAY FOR IT-

WELL, HOW ARE WE GOING TO PAY FOR HELPING TO UPGRADE
AND OVERHAUL OUR CITIES?

REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CAN AND WILL RESTORE FISCAL
INTEGRITY AND SOUND MONETARY POLICIES.

ONE WAY IS TO RESPONSIBLY APPLY FEDERAL EXPENDITURE
CONTROLS TO PRIORITY NEEDS SO THAT WE CAN, IN TIME, LIVE
BOTH WITHIN OUR MEANS AND UP TO OUR ASPIRATIONS.

THIS MEANS CUTTING A GOOD NUMBER OF NONESSENTIAL
ITEMS AND PROGRAMS FROM THE FEDERAL BUDGET.

THIS IS NOT EASY TO DO, AND IT ALWAYS HURTS SOMEONE,
SOMEWHERE. BUT IT IS A QUESTION OF PRIORITIES, AND WE
ARE IN A SITUATION WHERE WE SIMPLY MUST MAKE THE HARD
DECISION THAT SOME THINGS ARE MORE WORTH DOING NOW THAN
OTHERS.

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THREE AREAS WHERE I, AND MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES IN CONGRESS, BELIEVE CUTS CAN AND MUST BE MADE ARE IN PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS, FOREIGN AID AND THE SPACE PROGRAM.

-DELAY PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS-

DESPITE A LOT OF TALK ABOUT "PORK BARREL" LEGISLATION PASSING CONGRESS, THERE ARE FEW PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMS WHICH GET BY BOTH HOUSES OF THE CONGRESS WHICH DO NOT HAVE MERIT.

SO THIS WILL MEAN DELAYING SOME WORTHWHILE PROJECTS, IF THEY ARE NOT CRUCIAL.

-FOREIGN AID-

IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN AID, WE MUST EXAMINE WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING AND DECIDE, PERHAPS, TO DO LESS, BUT CERTAINLY TO DO IT IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

WE MUST GET AWAY FROM THE SIMPLE GRANTS-IN-AID APPROACH AND DEVELOP WAYS PRIVATE AMERICAN CAPITAL CAN, WITH PROPER INCENTIVES AND GUARANTEES, BE STIMULATED TO APPLY THEIR RESOURCES TO HELP DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PROGRESS.

WE MUST CAREFULLY EXAMINE OF CREDIT EXTENSIONS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CURRENTLY MADE ON A MULTI-NATIONAL BASIS, SO THAT OUR CONTRIBUTIONS, ALTHOUGH SMALLER, WILL STIMULATE GREATER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE OTHER DEVELOPED NATIONS OF THE FREE WORLD.

-SPACE PROGRAM-

IN OUR SPACE PROGRAM, SIMILARLY, WE MUST SEE WHICH PROJECTS CAN BE DELAYED WITHOUT DAMAGING OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN TERMS OF DEFENSE AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT.

CERTAINLY IT WILL BE WONDERFUL TO LAND A MAN ON VENUS OR MARS, BUT I THINK WE WOULD ALL AGREE IT MIGHT BE RELATIVELY MORE IMPORTANT TO EXTINGUISH THE FIRES IN OUR CITIES NOW.

THESE ARE JUST THREE EXAMPLES OF THE KINDS OF THINGS WE CAN AND MUST DO. THE LIST IS FAR FROM EXHAUSTIVE, AND IS NOT INTENDED TO BE.

-WE CAN OVERCOME-

IN CONCLUSION, LET ME SAY OUR NATION IS GOING THROUGH A TROUBLED PERIOD, BUT THEY ARE NOT TROUBLES WHICH CANNOT BE OVERCOME.

MY SERVICE IN THE CONGRESS HAS CONTINUALLY REINFORCED MY CONVICTION THAT WE ARE BASICALLY ON THE RIGHT TRACK: OURS IS THE RICHEST AND STRONGEST NATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF OUR PEOPLE, AND THEIR BASIC FREEDOMS, EXCEED THOSE EVER KNOWN BY ANY PEOPLE.

WHAT WE ARE DEALING WITH HERE IS THE FACT THAT WE MUST DO BETTER. AND WE MUST DO BETTER BECAUSE WE CAN DO BETTER. IF I DID NOT FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT, I WOULD NOT BE SERVING IN THE CONGRESS, AND I WOULD NOT BE SEEKING THE PRIVILEGE OF REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.