REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

FLORIDA FEDERATION OF YOUNG REPUBLICANS CONVENTION COLONIAL INN, ST. PETERSBURG BEACH, FLORIDA SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1969

I VERY MUCH APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE FLORIDA FEDERATION OF YOUNG REPUBLICANS.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF FLORIDA IS YOUNG AND NEEDS ALL THE VIG-OROUS ASSISTANCE THAT YOU CAN PROVIDE. THE REWARD FOR YOUR EFFORTS WILL BE THE ELECTION AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLICAN CANDID-ATES, AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, ELECTION OF CANDIDATES IS THE MAJOR REASON FOR THE EXISTENCE OF A POLITICAL PARTY. IT IS ONLY THROUGH ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO SEEK TO IMPLEMENT OUR POLICIES THAT WE CAN JUS-TIFY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S EXISTENCE. -2-

SOME MAY CLAIM OUR JOB IS LESS DIFFICULT BECAUSE WE HAVE A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT AND 30 STATES HAVE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS. IT IS LARGELY A RESULT OF THIS ATTITUDE THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY CUSTOMARILY LOSES CONGRESSIONAL SEATS IN THE OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS. THE FLORIDA KNOW WHAT IT IS TO BEAT THE "ODDS", AS EVIDENCED BY THE ELECTION OF CLAUDE KIRK AS GOVERNOR IN 1966 AND ED GURNEY, MY GOOD FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE, TO THE U. S. SENATE IN 1968. YOU CAN DO FLORIDA AND THE COUNTRY A GREAT SERVICE BY SENDING US ANOTHER REPUB-LICAN SENATOR IN 1970 AND BY INCREASING REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE HOUSE.

WHILE RESISTING STRONG PRESSURES TO INITIATE NEW LEWISLATION, PRESIDENT NIXON IS CLOSELY SCRUTINIZING PRESENT LAWS IN AN EFFORT TO FIRST DETERMINE WHAT CHANGES MUST BE MADE TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING LAWS. RATHER THAN EXHORTING THE NATION TO UNWISE OR UNNEEDED ACTION, HE IS ESTABLISHING PRIORITIES THAT ARE BASED ON STUDY AND CONSULTATION. -3-

VIETNAM

CERTAINLY THE ISSUE THAT IS UPPERMOST IN THE MINDS OF AMERICAN PEOPLE IS THE VIETNAM WAR. WE HAVE ALL HEARD THE GRIM STATISTICS AS THEY ARE PORTRAYED BY THE NEWS MEDIA. OVER 33,000 AMERICAN LIVES HAVE BEEN LOST FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND THERE IS NO PEACE. WHEN VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON LEFT OFFICE IN 1961, THERE WERE 113 AMERICAN ADVISORS IN VIETNAM. THERE ARE <u>NOW OVER 500,000 TROOPS</u> AT A COST OF MORE THAN 30 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR.

ALTHOUGH IT IS A SIMPLE MATTER TO ADVOCATE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO EXTRICATE THE UNITED STATES FROM THE WAR, A MORE REALISTIC APPRAISAL INDICATES THAT WE CANNOT EXPECT TO ABANDON OVER-NIGHT A COMMITMENT THAT HAS BEEN THE BASIS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA FOR THE PAST 15 YEARS. -4-

THE PATH TO PEACE IN VIETNAM IS NEITHER EASY NOR SHORT. AT THIS TIME, WE HAVE NO IDEA WHAT FORM AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PRO-TAGONISTS WILL TAKE. IT MAY BE WE SHALL FIND OURSELVES IN THE POSI-TION OF ASSISTING IN THE CREATION OF A NEUTRAL GOVERNMENT. BUT WHAT-EVER THE PARTICULARS OF THE AGREEMENT, IT APPEARS THAT SERIOUS NEGO-TIATIONS ARE GOING TO BE SUCCESSFUL ONLY IF CONDUCTED IN PRIVATE AND OUT OF THE GLARE OF WORLDWIDE PUBLICITY.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PLACED TOP PRIORITY ON THE ENDING OF THIS TRAGIC WAR. IT IS NOW NECESSARY THAT WE BE PATIENT WHILE THE DIPLO-MATS TRY TO DO WHAT OUR MILITARY FORCE IN FACT HAS NOT DONE. AT THE VERY LEAST, WE CAN EXPECT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO ASSUME A GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR EFFORT DURING THIS NEXT YEAR. -5-

MORE IMPORTANT TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY THAN THE ACTUAL VIETNAM PEACE SETTLEMENT IS THE RECOGNITION BY OUR GOVERNMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST REASSESS ITS ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WORLD. SO, TOO, MUST WE ASSESS THE RESOURCES WHICH WE AND OTHER NATIONS CAN BRING TO BEAR IN THE CAUSE OF MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE.

THE ABM SYSTEM

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE FACING THE CONGRESS AT THIS POINT IS THE MODIFIED ABM SYSTEM PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT NIXON.

IT IS EVIDENT THERE IS A WIDE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION IN THE CON-GRESS ON THE ADVISABILITY OF PROCEEDING WITH THE "SAFEGUARD" ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM. IT NOT ONLY INVOLVES A LOT OF MONEY, BUT ALSO INVOLVES INFINITELY MORE. PRESIDENT NIXON'S DECISION DIRECTLY AFFECTS THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES. AS THE PRESIDENT STATED IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS DECISION, "THE GRAVEST RESPONSIBILITY -6-

WHICH I BEAR AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS FOR THE SECURITY OF THE NATION. OUR NUCLEAR FORCES DEFEND NOT ONLY OURSELVES, BUT OUR ALLIES AS WELL."

IT WAS THE PRESIDENT WHO HAD TO TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO DEPLOY A SYSTEM THAT WOULD BE MERELY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE. THE SEN-ATE IS NOW DEBATING THAT DECISION. KNOWLEDGEABLE AND RESPONSIBLE MEN HAVE TESTIFIED BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE ON THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION. ONE ADVOCATE OF THE PLAN SAID IT WOULD BE EX-TREMELY DANGEROUS TO TRUST THE SOVIET UNION NOT TO SEEK A POSITION TO DESTROY THE UNITED STATES IN A SURPRISE ATTACK. AN OPPONENT TO THE SAFEGUARD SYSTEM ARGUED IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO ACHIEVE A NUCLEAR FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY BY THE MID 1970'S. -7-

EVEN OPPONENTS OF THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM ADMIT THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING OUR DEFENSES AND PROVIDING ADEQUATE PROTECTION FOR OUR SECOND STRIKE CAPABILITY.

WE ARE PRESENTED WITH TWO CONFLICTING POINTS OF JUDGMENT FROM WELL-INFORMED MEN. SPEAKER MC CORMACK ONCE ADVISED THAT WHENEVER THE SECURITY OF THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES IS AT STAKE, IF THERE IS DOUBT, RESOLVE IT ON THE SIDE OF OUR NATION'S SECURITY.

PRESIDENT NIXON MADE THE DECISION BASED ON THE BEST EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO HIM. BECAUSE HE HAS RETAINED THE OPTION TO REVIEW THE PROGRAM, SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY IS RETAINED TO ALTER OR TERMINATE THE SYSTEM IF IT IS PROVEN INEFFECTIVE OR DISARMAMENT TALKS ARE SUC-CESSFUL. -8-

INFLATION

WITHOUT QUESTION, THE GREATEST DOMESTIC ISSUE FACING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS HOW TO SLOW DOWN INFLATION AT HOME. EVERY INDICATION SUGGESTS THAT INFLATION IS STILL GALLOPING MERRILY ALONG, AND THUS FAR APPEALS FOR RESTRAINT FROM PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE APPLICATION OF NUM-EROUS COOLANTS TO THE HEATED ECONOMY ARE NOT HAVING THE DESIRED EFFECT. WHILE EVERYONE AGREES THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE, FEW, IF ANY, ARE CERTAIN JUST WHAT THIS SHOULD BE. THE TRICK, AS POINTED OUT IN A RE-CENT EDITORIAL IN THE WASHINGTON STAR "IS TO ADMINISTER JUST ENOUGH ECONOMIC MEDICINE TO CURE THE ILL WITHOUT KILLING THE PATIENT. TOO QUICK AN APPLICATION OF THE BRAKES COULD START A SWIFT AND DEVASTATING DESCENT FROM THE PRESENT UNSAFE HEIGHTS. ANY MAJOR INDICATION OF RE-CESSION COULD START A PANIC THAT WOULD BE JUST AS HARD TO CONTROL AS THE PRESENT INFLATION."

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AS YOU ALL KNOW, THE TRADITIONAL WAYS OF COOLING OFF AN OVER-HEATED ECONOMY HAVE BEEN TRIED, NAMELY, THE SURTAX, A TIGHT MONEY POLICY BY THE FEDERAL RESERVE, PLUS REPEATED WARNINGS FROM THE PRES-ENT OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE, AND HIS PREDECESSOR, THAT BUSINESS AND LABOR OWE IT TO THEMSELVES AND THE COUNTRY TO REFRAIN FROM FUEL-ING THE FIRES OF INFLATION.

THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER SUGGESTIONS, WHICH INCLUDE MAJOR REDUC-TIONS IN GOVERNMENT SPENDING, BUT THIS IS DIFFICULT WITH NO END IN SIGHT IN VIETNAM. TAXES COULD BE RAISED EVEN HIGHER, AND A TIGHTER MONEY POLICY ADOPTED AND INTEREST RATES COULD GO EVEN HIGHER, BUT EACH OF THESE APPROACHES CARRIES WITH IT THE ULTIMATE POSSIBILITY OF TIPPING THE BALANCE OF THE ECONOMY TOO FAR AND STARTING THE PANIC THAT WOULD MEAN ECONOMIC DISASTER FOR THE ELECTORATE AND POLITICAL SUICIDE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. -10-

FINALLY, IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY MANY RESPONSIBLE SPOKESMEN THAT THE ADMINISTRATION COULD IMPOSE WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS -- AN UNPRECEDENTED MOVE IN TIME OF PEACE.

SO, WHILE THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US, I WOULD REMIND EVERYONE THAT INFLATION IS REAL, IS CONTINUING, AND IS THE NUMBER ONE DOMESTIC PROBLEM AT THIS TIME.

STUDENT UNREST

OF COURSE, ANYONE SPEAKING TO YOUNG PEOPLE CANNOT HELP BUT BE CONFRONTED WITH THE ISSUE OF STUDENT UNREST. IN MY OPINION, IT IS IM-PERATIVE THAT WE AS A SOCIETY EXAMINE THE REASONS FOR THE STUDENT'S ACTIONS AND TRY TO LEARN WHAT, IF ANYTHING, CAN BE DONE ABOUT THEM. FOR, IN THE WORDS OF JOHN GARDNER, FORMER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCA-TION AND WELFARE, "WE WANT A SOCIETY THAT IS SUFFICIENTLY HONEST AND OPEN MINDED TO RECOGNIZE ITS PROBLEMS, SUFFICIENTLY CREATIVE TO CON-CEIVE NEW SOLUTIONS AND SUFFICIENTLY PURPOSEFUL TO PUT THOSE SOLUTIONS

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INTO EFFECT."

STUDENTS CHALLENGE OUR INSTITUTIONS BECAUSE THEY ARE A PRODUCT OF OUR SOCIETY. THE YOUTH OF AMERICA ARE THE BEST EDUCATED, MOST SUCCESS ORIENTED GENERATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. RECEIVING AN EDUCATION HAS NOT BEEN MERELY THE ACCUMULATION OF FACTS AND FIGURES. OUR YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND IN THE PROCESS HAVE FOUND A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT WE AS ADULTS PREACH AND WHAT WE DO. WHAT THE YOUTH FIND IS A GULF BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE REAL, BETWEEN AN AGENDA OF UNSOLVED PROBLEMS AND THE ACHIEVE-MENTS OF PAST GENERATIONS.

IN PART, THE CONCEPTIONS OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE MAY BE THE RESULT OF YOUTHFUL IDEALISM. IN PART, THEY ARE A CONSEQUENCE OF THE GULF BETWEEN THE REALITY THEY SENSE AND THEIR YOUTHFUL CAPABILITIES FOR COM-ING TO GRIPS WITH THEM. THUS THE ACTIVIST MAY BECOME DISCOURAGED WHEN HIS EFFORTS ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY SUCCESSFUL AND "DROPS OUT" OF SOCIETY. -12-

BUT, IN PART, ALSO, THE DISILLUSIONMENT EXPERIENCED BY MANY OF THE YOUTH IS LEGITIMATE. MANY OF OUR INSTITUTIONS HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO THE DEMANDS FOR CHANGE. THESE INSTITUTIONS HAVE FAILED TO RECOG-NIZE THAT THE NATURE OF OUR SOCIETY IN THE LATE 60'S HAS CHANGED DRAS-TICALLY FROM THAT OF THE 40'S, 50'S, AND EVEN EARLY 60'S. YET, OUR INSTITUTIONS HAVE NOT ALWAYS RESPONDED TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF A COM-PLEX, TECHNOLOGICALLY-ORIENTED SOCIETY. AS SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, ROBERT FINCH, STATED IN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE: "IN ALL TRUTH, MANY ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS HAVE BROUGHT MUCH ON THEMSELVES. THEY HAVE NOT ALWAYS RESPONDED TO THE CLEAR NEED OF ANY VIABLE INSTITUTION FOR CONSTANT SELF-EXAMINATION AND SELF-RENEWAL. IN THE QUEST FOR MORE AND BETTER RESEARCH GRANTS, THEY HAVE NOT ALWAYS ATTENDED TO THEIR PRIMARY OB-JECTIVES AS TEACHING INSTITUTIONS. IN ATTEMPTING TO SERVE MANY MASTERS -- GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY AMONG THEM -- THEY HAVE TENDED TO SERVE NONE OF THEM WELL."

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THE CRITICISM OF OUR INSTITUTIONS MAY, THEREFORE, IN MANY RESPECTS, BE HEALTHY BUT WE CANNOT CONDONE THE VIOLENT METHODS USED BY THE STUDENTS TO ACHIEVE THEIR ENDS. LAWFUL DISSENT IS A TOUCH-STONE OF AMERICAN FREEDOM. BUT AS THE SOCIETY CANNOT PERMIT EVERY CITIZEN TO JUDGE THAT LAW WHICH HE WILL OBEY, SO, TOO, THE SOCIETY CANNOT EMBRACE THE LANGUAGE AND TACTICS OF VIOLENCE. THE KEEPERS OF OUR INSTITUTIONS SHOULD NOT RESORT TO REPRESSION; RATHER, IT SHOULD BE OUR OBJECTIVE TO PROMOTE A MORE RATIONAL, MEANINGFUL DIA-LOGUE BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS.

MEMBERS OF THE INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY MUST ASSUME A GREATER SHARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ESTABLISHING THE CONTEXT OF LAWFUL DISSENT. -14-

I DO NOT ADVOCATE DIRECT GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AS A REAL OR EFFECTIVE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. MORE EFFECTIVE THAN WITHDRAWING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE, WHICH WOULD ONLY HINDER THE POOR OFFENDER, WOULD BE EXPULSION FROM THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. FOR THOSE WHO VIOLATE THE LAW, WE MUST INSIST THAT THE POLICE, AND THE COLLEGE ADMINISTRATORS DEAL WITH THEM AS THEY WOULD ANY OTHER LAW BREAKER. IF THE COLLEGE ADMINISTRATORS DO NOT RETAIN CONTROL OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SCHOOLS, WE MIGHT CONSIDER WITHDRAWING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE INSTITUTION IN ORDER TO PUT SOME "BACKBONE" INTO THESE ADMINISTRATORS --- BECAUSE AS PRESIDENT NIXON SAID RECENTLY, THERE MUST BE "NO COMPROMISE WITH LAWLESSNESS AND NO SURRENDER TO FORCE IF FREE EDUCATION IS TO SURVIVE."

IT IS AN OFT QUOTED FACT THAT THE MAJORITY OF STUDENTS SPEND THEIR TIME IN ACADEMIC PURSUITS WITH LITTLE INTEREST IN THE RADICAL PROGRAMS ADVOCATED BY THE STUDENT DISSENTERS. MANY OF THESE STUDENTS -15-

ARE WORKING WITHIN THE POLITICAL PROCESS OR THEIR COMMUNITY TO EFFECT CHANGE. IT CAME TO MY ATTENTION THAT SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, A "WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT" WAS HELD IN THE SAN DIEGO AREA TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION, CONDITIONS THE SENATE SELECT COM-MITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS HAS FOUND IS WIDESPREAD THROUGHOUT OUR COUNTRY. JERRY SCHMEITS, THE ORGANIZER, IS TO BE COMMENDED, AS ARE ALL THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS, FOR WE IN GOVERNMENT CANNOT SOLVE ALL THIS NATION'S PROBLEMS. IT OFTEN TIMES TAKES LOCAL EFFORT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO IDENTIFY THE EXTENT OF A PROBLEM AND TO FIND A TRULY APPRO-PRIATE SOLUTION.

FOR THIS REASON ALONE, I URGE YOU TO CONTINUE TO BE ACTIVE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A POSITIVE WAY CAN OFFSET THE ADVERSE ACTIONS OF THE FEW STUDENT DISSENTERS WHO SEEK TO DESTROY OUR INSTITUTIONS. THE ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN OUR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IS TO GET INTO THE MIDDLE OF THINGS AND BE A PARTICIPANT.

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PRESIDENT NIXON, SENATOR GURNEY, GOVERNOR KIRK, AND CONGRESSMAN CRAMER, NOT TO SPEAK OF THE IMPORTANT LOCAL AND STATE OFFICIALS, NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE. START TO WORK NOW SO WE MAY WIN IN 1970.

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Out NI PRESIDENT MINO FRES

BILL KORP CHAIRMAN DENNIS O'GRADY

Co- CHAIR

ROBERTA DAWSON GERRY HEMBREE

NAT. COM. MAN WIN LIPPERT DAVE SNYDER

NAT. Com. Woman

GERRY HEMBREE ROBERTA DAWSON

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