

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

MID-AMERICA TELEPHONE CONVENTION  
HOTEL MUEHLEBACH, KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1971

I REALIZE THAT I WAS NOT INVITED HERE SIMPLY TO TALK SHOP ABOUT THE TELEPHONE INDUSTRY. HOWEVER, THERE IS AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN THIS FIELD THAT I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS BRIEFLY.

I KNOW YOU ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH THE PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE SUPPLEMENTAL FINANCING FOR A RURAL TELEPHONE BANK. AFTER BEING CONSIDERED IN SEVERAL SESSIONS OF CONGRESS, I AM GLAD TO BE ABLE TO PERSONALLY REPORT TO YOU THAT A BILL CREATING A RURAL TELEPHONE BANK IS JUST A COUPLE SHORT STEPS AWAY FROM BECOMING LAW.

THE BILL WAS PASSED BY BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FORMS BUT THOSE DIFFERENCES WERE RESOLVED IN A JOINT HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE, AND LAST THURSDAY THE SENATE APPROVED THE CONFERENCE REPORT. THE HOUSE IS EXPECTED TO ACT FAVORABLY ON IT THIS WEEK. I AM CONFIDENT PRESIDENT NIXON WILL PROMPTLY SIGN THIS BILL, FOR HE SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED QUICK ACTION ON SIMILAR LEGISLATION IN THE OUTLINE OF HIS LEGISLATIVE PRO-

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GRAM FOR THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS.

THE BILL PROVIDES FOR:

----- A SUPPLEMENTAL SOURCE OF FUNDS IN ADDITION TO LOANS NOW PROVIDED UNDER SECTION 201 OF THE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ACT.

----- LOANS WOULD BE MADE TO QUALIFIED BORROWERS UNDER THE EXISTING 2 PERCENT LOAN PROGRAM, FOR UP TO 50 YEARS, AND INTEREST WOULD BE BASED ON THE ABILITY OF THE BORROWER TO PAY, BUT NOT LESS THAN 4 PERCENT PER ANNUM.

----- LOANS COULD BE MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF FINANCING THE IMPROVEMENT, EXPANSION, CONSTRUCTION, ACQUISITION, AND OPERATION OF TELEPHONE LINES, FACILITIES OR SYSTEMS.

-----FINANCING OF THE BANK WOULD BE THROUGH THE SALE OF STOCK AND DEBENTURES TO BORROWERS OR PERSONS ELIGIBLE TO BORROW AND BY AN ANNUAL U. S. CONTRIBUTION OF \$30 MILLION, UP TO \$300 MILLION.

----- THE BANK WILL BE A WHOLLY OWNED GOVERNMENT CORPORATION UNTIL 51 PERCENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CAPITAL INVESTMENT HAS BEEN RETIRED. THEREAFTER, THE BANK WILL CONVERT TO MIXED-OWNERSHIP SIMILAR TO THE STATUS OF THE FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION.

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WITH THIS LANDMARK LEGISLATION, RURAL AMERICA WILL BE PROVIDED THE MEANS TO OBTAIN TELEPHONE SERVICE COMPARABLE TO THAT OF URBAN AREAS. IT IS THE FIRST OF WHAT I HOPE WILL BE MANY CONSTRUCTIVE PIECES OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING RURAL AMERICA TO BE PASSED DURING THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS.

OF COURSE, THE NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE NEW LEGISLATION IS NOT CONFINED TO RURAL AMERICA. SWEEPING LEGISLATIVE INNOVATIONS ARE IN THE WORKS FOR MANY OTHER PHASES OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

THERE IS A LOT OF TALK ABOUT REVOLUTION THESE DAYS. THE FOES OF LAW AND SOCIAL ORDER RALLY AROUND THE WORD. SMALL WONDER THEN THAT IT HAS TAKEN ON A NEGATIVE MEANING FOR MANY AMERICANS.

BUT THERE IS A MUCH BIGGER, MORE POSITIVE REVOLUTION TAKING PLACE TODAY THAN ANYTHING THAT THE YIPPIES OR THE MAOISTS HAVE EVER IMAGINED IN THEIR WILDEST DREAM. IT IS NOT A VIOLENT REVOLUTION BASED ON GUNS AND DESTRUCTION. IT IS A NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION GEARED TO REFORM -- TO REASSESSING THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN LIFE, AND TO REORGANIZING AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ALONG MORE JUST, MORE EFFICIENT LINES.



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#### STATE OF UNION SET GOAL

IT BEGAN A LITTLE OVER TWO YEARS AGO, WHEN RICHARD NIXON ENTERED THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE WAVE OF PUBLIC CONCERN OVER WHERE AMERICA WAS HEADING. IT WAS REINFORCED IN THE PRESIDENT'S LAST STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS WHEN HE UNVEILED HIS FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS TO REORGANIZE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND RETURN A FAIR SHARE OF POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY TO PEOPLE ON THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS SENT THE CONGRESS LEGISLATION WHICH CUTS AWAY MUCH OF THE COSTLY, WASTEFUL OVERLAP IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS THAT HAVE GROWN AND PROLIFERATED, OFTEN AIMLESSLY, DURING DECADES OF INDISCRIMINATE BIG GOVERNMENT. IT IS A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM THAT WILL MAKE THE GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF ITS CITIZENS, HERE IN KANSAS CITY AND AROUND THE COUNTRY.

#### TAXPAYER'S NIGHTMARE

FOR YEARS NOW, THE TREND IN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TO THROW TOGETHER A NEW PROGRAM, DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY WHENEVER A NEW PROBLEM ARISES, OR AN OLD ONE GROWS WORSE. THE RESULT HAS BEEN A BUREAUCRAT'S DELIGHT, BUT A TAXPAYER'S NIGHTMARE.

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NOW, AT LONG LAST, WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO IS PUTTING HIS FOOT DOWN. INSTEAD OF JOINING THE PORK BARREL PARADE, RICHARD NIXON HAS MADE A BRAVE STAND FOR REFORM. HE HAS ASKED THAT SEVEN FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND A NUMBER OF AGENCIES BE COMBINED INTO FOUR NEW CABINET-LEVEL DEPARTMENTS DESIGNED ALONG CLEAR, PROBLEM-SOLVING LINES. INSTEAD OF THE CURRENT MAZE OF OVERLAPPING AND OFTEN CONFLICTING REGULATIONS AND JURISDICTIONS, THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN WOULD ALLOCATE CLEAR RESPONSIBILITIES IN SPECIFIC FIELDS.

THUS CONSOLIDATED NEW DEPARTMENTS WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RESOURCES, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES, AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

#### POSITIVE REVOLUTION

THIS KIND OF FRESH, COMMON SENSE REFORM IS LONG OVERDUE. I BELIEVE THAT A MAJORITY OF CITIZENS OF BOTH PARTIES WELCOME IT AND STAND BEHIND IT. IT IS PART OF A PEACEFUL, POSITIVE AMERICAN REVOLUTION THAT WE CAN ALL DRAW PRIDE AND CONFIDENCE FROM.

JUST AS THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES TO REDESIGN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE ALONG MORE REALISTIC, EFFECTIVE LINES, HE ALSO HAS SHOWN THE WAY FOR PROGRAM REFORMS. PERHAPS THE TWO MOST WIDELY PUBLICIZED PROGRAM REFORMS THAT HE HAS SET FORTH ARE THOSE DEALING WITH WELFARE AND REVENUE SHARING.

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THE WELFARE MORASS

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID AND WRITTEN ABOUT THE WELFARE MORASS. THERE IS A GENERAL PUBLIC CONSENSUS THAT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF WELFARE, AS IT STANDS TODAY, IS NOTHING SHORT OF A NATIONAL DISGRACE. INSTEAD OF REDUCING POVERTY AND IDLENESS, IT HAS PERPETUATED THESE TWO EVILS. IT HAS LOCKED GENERATION AFTER GENERATION INTO A PATTERN OF DEPENDENCE AND DEGRADATION, AND IT HAS PLACED A GROWING STRAIN ON WORKING AMERICANS WHO MUST PAY A BIGGER AND BIGGER WELFARE BILL EACH YEAR AS MORE AND MORE OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS TURN TO THE DOLE FOR SUBSISTENCE.

THREATENS FREE SOCIETY

THIS IS A CONDITION THAT CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE. IF IT GOES ON INDEFINITELY, IT WILL DESTROY THE ECONOMIC AND ETHICAL VALUES OF OUR FREE SOCIETY. UNFORTUNATELY, FOR A GENERATION, MOST POLITICIANS HAVE BEEN AFRAID TO TAKE ON WELFARE REFORM. IT WAS TOO MUCH OF A POLITICAL HOT POTATO.

I THINK IT IS A FORTUNATE THING FOR OUR COUNTRY THAT THE MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY WAS NOT AFRAID TO FACE THIS GROWING NATIONAL PROBLEM. HE HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE BELIEVES THE TIME FOR WELFARE REFORM HAS COME, AND THAT REFORM MUST BE GEARED TO WORK INCENTIVES THAT WILL GET PEOPLE OFF THE BREADLINE AND ONTO THE PRODUCTION LINE.



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REASONABLE MEN MAY DISAGREE ON THE DETAILS THAT SHOULD GO INTO WELFARE REFORM, AND I AM SURE THAT THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE CONGRESS WILL, BUT THE BASIC APPROACH OF WORK INCENTIVES -- OF ENCOURAGING THOSE WILLING TO WORK, AND CUTTING OFF THE INTENTIONALLY IDLE -- IS THE KIND OF BASIC APPROACH THAT IS FAIR AND SENSIBLE. IT IS THE KIND OF APPROACH THE NATION NEEDS, AND THAT THE WORKING, TAXPAYING MAJORITY DESERVES.

PRESIDENT OPPOSES GUARANTEED WAGE

I THINK THE PRESIDENT SUMMED IT UP BEST HIMSELF IN A RECENT SPEECH TO THE U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

"I AM AGAINST A GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE," HE SAID, "AND I AM AGAINST ANY SCHEME THAT MAKES IT MORE PROFITABLE FOR AN ABLE-BODIED PERSON TO SIT AT HOME RATHER THAN TO GO TO WORK."

THE GOAL OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS NOT TO GUARANTEE EVERYBODY A LIVING, THE PRESIDENT SAID, BUT TO GUARANTEE EVERYBODY AN OPPORTUNITY -- A FAIR CHANCE TO BE REWARDED FOR HIS WORK.

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"THE ABLE-BODIED PEOPLE WHO THINK THEY CAN TAKE A FREE RIDE ARE JUST GOING TO HAVE TO GET OUT AND PUSH WITH THE REST OF US," HE SAID.

I COMPLETELY AGREE, AND I HOPE THAT PARTISAN POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WILL NOT STOP THE CONGRESS FROM ADOPTING THE KIND OF REFORM THAT WILL MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

FISCAL CRISIS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

REVENUE SHARING MEETS ANOTHER GREAT NATIONAL NEED. AS CONCERNED CITIZENS, YOU KNOW THAT STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TODAY FACE A GRAVE FISCAL CRISIS. STATE AND LOCAL EXPENDITURES TOTALED \$11 BILLION IN 1946. THEY WERE \$132 BILLION BY 1970. THAT IS A STAGGERING INCREASE OF 1200 PERCENT.

DURING THE SAME PERIOD, STATE TAXES HAVE INCREASED DRASTICALLY. ON A PER CAPITA BASIS, STATE TAXES HAVE RISEN AT A RATE OF NEARLY 50 PERCENT IN THE LAST FOURTEEN YEARS. ON 450 SEPARATE OCCASIONS, STATES HAVE RAISED TAXES OR INSTITUTED NEW TAXES DURING THE LAST DOZEN YEARS.



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STATES SQUEEZED DRY

BUT EVEN BY ADDING TO THE TAXPAYERS ALREADY HEAVY BURDEN, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MEET THEIR EVER-GROWING EXPENSES. THE PLAIN FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THEY ARE DEALING WITH A CONTRACTING TAX BASE -- A TAX BASE THAT HAS NEARLY BEEN SQUEEZED DRY.

TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PROPOSED A MEASURE THAT WILL RESTORE CONFIDENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY IN LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS AT THE SAME TIME THAT IT GIVES THEM THE FISCAL RESOURCES NEEDED TO SOLVE PROBLEMS.

REVENUE SHARING RESTORES BALANCE

THE AIM OF GENERAL AND SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING IS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE BALANCE IN POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY BY RETURNING TO THE STATES AND LOCALITIES A FAIR SHARE OF REVENUES.

REVENUE SHARING IS BOTH A FISCAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURE. GENERAL REVENUE SHARING WILL BE FUNDED BY ALLOCATING 1.3 PERCENT OF THE ANNUAL NATIONAL TAXABLE INCOME FOR PUBLIC, STATE, AND LOCAL PROGRAMS WITHOUT SETTING FEDERAL PROJECT PRIORITIES. IN OTHER WORDS, THE PEOPLE, THROUGH THEIR

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← LOCALLY ELECTED LEADERS, WILL BE ABLE TO SET THEIR OWN PRIORITIES AND CHART THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT. ALL POWER WILL NO LONGER RESIDE IN SOME WASHINGTON BUREAUCRAT'S OFFICE. IT WILL BE BACK WHERE IT BELONGS -- BACK WHERE IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN ALL ALONG.

BASIC PROBLEMS MET

SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING PROGRAM IS PROBLEM-ORIENTED. WHILE REQUIRING NO FEDERAL APPROVAL FOR SPECIFIC DISBURSEMENTS, ITS FUNDS WOULD BE CHANNELED INTO BASIC PROBLEM AREAS ON THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL -- AREAS LIKE EDUCATION, MANPOWER TRAINING, TRANSPORTATION, URBAN DEVELOPMENT, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

THE ONLY THING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD REQUIRE IN RETURN IS PROPER ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES, TO MAKE SURE THAT THE MONEY WENT WHERE THE STATES AND LOCALITIES INTENDED, AND CLEAR GUARANTEES THAT NO MONEY WOULD BE SPENT IN A WAY THAT VIOLATED ANY CITIZEN'S CIVIL RIGHTS.

RETURNING THE FLOW OF POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE -- THIS IS TRULY IN THE SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE ANTICS OF THE MARCHERS AND BOMB THROWERS, AND THOSE WHO HAVE LOST THEIR FAITH IN OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND TO CHALLENGE AS A FREE PEOPLE.

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A RALLYING POINT

AND I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THIS IS AN AREA OF AGREEMENT FOR RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS OF BOTH PARTIES -- A RALLYING POINT FOR ALL WHO PLACE THE NATIONAL WELFARE ABOVE PARTY CONSIDERATIONS. THIS IS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT REVENUE SHARING HAS RECEIVED FROM THE NATION'S GOVERNORS AND MAYORS, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT ALIKE.

PRESIDENT SEEKS TO END WAR

THERE IS ANOTHER SUBJECT ON WHICH I WOULD HOPE THAT A MAJORITY OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS CAN REMAIN UNITED. AS WE ARE GATHERED HERE, THE LONGEST, MOST PAINFUL WAR IN AMERICAN HISTORY IS BEING SUCCESSFULLY TERMINATED. WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO HAS REFUSED TO PLAY POLITICS WITH THIS WAR -- WHO HAS TAKEN ON HIMSELF THE TREMENDOUS BURDEN OF SEEKING A JUST, HONORABLE END TO AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT AFTER YEARS OF BLUNDERING AND ESCALATION THAT WERE NOT OF HIS DOING.

IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE LAST WEEK, THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS DETERMINATION TO SEE US THROUGH THIS NATIONAL ORDEAL DESPITE THE PRESSURES OF DEMOGOGUES AND DEMONSTRATORS.



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WHEN A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF VIETNAM VETERANS CAME TO WASHINGTON A FEW DAYS AGO, TELEVISION AND THE PRESS MADE A BIG PRODUCTION OF IT. YET, AS ONE CLEAR-SIGHTED REPORTER AFTERWARDS POINTED OUT, NO THOUGHT WAS GIVEN TO THE FEELINGS OF THE 2 1/2 MILLION VIETNAM VETERANS WHO DID NOT PROTEST, AND NOT ONE THING THAT THE PROTESTERS DID IN WASHINGTON MADE THE JOB OF SEEKING AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT EASIER, OR BROUGHT THE PROSPECT OF A LASTING PEACE ANY CLOSER. ALL THAT WAS PROVIDED WAS A BACKDROP FOR VARIOUS WOULD-BE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WHO HAVE TRIED TO OBSTRUCT THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM FOR PEACE AT EVERY TURN IN THE ROAD.

FALSE PICTURE OF WEAKNESS

TO ME IT REPRESENTS A REAL NATIONAL TRAGEDY WHEN PUBLICITY SEEKERS AND POWER-HUNGRY POLITICIANS ARE ABLE TO GRAB AND HOLD THE HEADLINES. IT GIVES OUR FRIENDS -- AND OUR ENEMIES -- AROUND THE WORLD A FALSE PICTURE OF A WEAK, DIVIDED NATION. IT INVITES THE KIND OF CONFRONTATION AND UNREASONABLE DEMANDS THAT NOT ONLY COULD PROLONG THE WAR IN INDOCHINA, BUT COULD ALSO LEAD TO NEW THREATS TO PEACE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

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PRESIDENT SPEAKS FOR COUNTRY

I WAS PROUD OF RICHARD NIXON LAST THURSDAY NIGHT WHEN HE SAID THAT THE CONGRESS IS NOT INTIMIDATED; THE PRESIDENT IS NOT INTIMIDATED, AND THAT THIS GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO GO FORWARD.

I THINK HE SPOKE FOR ALL OF US WHEN HE SAID THAT -- AND I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT WE ARE GOING TO GO FORWARD.

WE ARE GOING TO GO FORWARD WITH THE KIND OF REFORM AND REORGANIZATION I HAVE DISCUSSED HERE TODAY -- A PEACEFUL AMERICAN REVOLUTION THAT WILL BRING BETTER GOVERNMENT AND A BETTER LIFE TO ALL AMERICANS.

WE ARE GOING TO GO FORWARD WITH THE PRESIDENT'S SUCCESSFUL POLICY TO WIND DOWN THE WAR IN VIETNAM -- A POLICY THAT HAS ALREADY BROUGHT HOME THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN AND IS GIVING OUR ALLIES A FAIR CHANCE TO FIGHT FOR THEMSELVES IN DEFENSE OF THEIR FREEDOM.

WE ARE GOING TO GO FORWARD WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT REPRESENTS ALL THE PEOPLE -- NOT A GOVERNMENT THAT IS DICTATED TO BY MOBS IN THE STREET, BUT A GOVERNMENT OF JUST LAWS AND ELECTED LEADERS.

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THAT IS THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT I AM PLEDGED TO UPHOLD. IT IS THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THAT AMERICANS FOUGHT AND DIED FOR IN THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION NEARLY TWO CENTURIES AGO -- A GOVERNMENT BASED ON PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND RIGHTS, AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

UP TO PEOPLE

IT IS ALSO THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION'S SECOND, PEACEFUL AMERICAN REVOLUTION WILL BROADEN AND STRENGTHEN. BUT TO DO SO, IT MUST HAVE THE CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT OF RESPONSIBLE, GRASS-ROOTS AMERICANS LIKE YOU.

I BELIEVE IT IS WORTHY OF YOUR CONFIDENCE, AND THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO JUSTIFY YOUR SUPPORT.

BUT THE FINAL DECISION RESTS WITH EACH OF YOU. THE VERDICT IS YOURS. THE COUNTRY AWAITS IT.