

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

U. S. INDEPENDENT TELEPHONE ASSOCIATION CONVENTION
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA WHERE SEVERAL OF YOUR MEMBERS PROVIDE TELEPHONE SERVICE.

RURAL TELEPHONE BANK BILL

THROUGH THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, I HAVE MET MANY OF YOU IN YOUR SUPPORTIVE EFFORTS TO THE RURAL TELEPHONE BANK BILL. YOU SHOULD ALL BE PROUD OF YOUR EFFORTS IN THE PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION. MEMBERS OF THIS ASSOCIATION ASSISTED IN THE DRAFTING OF THE ORIGINAL LEGISLATION, AND I WORKED CLOSELY WITH CONGRESSMAN BOB POAGE, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, TO GET THE BILL PASSED. WHEN I WAS ELECTED TO THE SENATE THREE YEARS AGO, I CONTINUED MY EFFORTS TO PASS THIS BILL, WORKING CLOSELY WITH SENATOR HERMAN TALMADGE, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE.

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IT IS OBVIOUS THIS WAS A TRULY BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL EFFORT, BUT A GREAT DEAL OF THE CREDIT FOR PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION GOES TO THIS ASSOCIATION AND TO YOU, AS INDIVIDUALS, FOR YOUR POLITICAL ACTION. SOME OF YOU CAME TO WASHINGTON TO TESTIFY IN SUPPORT OF THIS LEGISLATION, BUT MANY OTHERS OF YOU PROVIDED GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT BY ASKING YOUR CONGRESSMAN OR SENATOR TO SUPPORT THE LEGISLATION. IN SOME CASES, YOU HAD SOME OPPOSITION, AND YOU HAD TO EITHER CHANGE THEIR MINDS OR CHANGE THE CONGRESSMAN. GENERALLY, THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE LEGISLATION WAS GOOD, HOWEVER, AND YOU LEARNED A LOT ABOUT HOW TO TAKE PART IN GOVERNMENT BY BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE.

SO, WHILE I AM PROUD TO HAVE ASSISTED CHAIRMAN POAGE AND CHAIRMAN TALMADGE IN PASSING THIS LEGISLATION, YOU ARE TO BE COMMENDED FOR YOUR EXEMPLARY ACTION AND EFFORTS.

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A CONTINUING EFFORT

PASSAGE OF THIS BILL AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANK MARKED A REAL STEP FORWARD, AND YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO STEP OUT AND PARTICIPATE IN YOUR GOVERNMENT. THIS POLITICAL EFFORT SHOULD BECOME PART OF YOUR DAILY SCHEDULE -- YOUR DAILY INTERESTS -- YOUR DAILY BUDGET.

WE ALL HAVE A REAL INTEREST IN RURAL AMERICA -- AND THERE ARE SEVERAL LEGISLATIVE MATTERS NOW PENDING BEFORE CONGRESS THAT DESERVE YOUR CONTINUED INTEREST. THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT SUBCOMMITTEE JUST LAST TUESDAY REPORTED THE RURAL REVENUE SHARING BILL TO THE FULL SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE FOR CONSIDERATION. THE ORIGINAL BILL WAS AMENDED TO PRESERVE CURRENT U.S.D.A. PROGRAMS AND AUTHORIZE UP TO \$500 MILLION FOR ALLOCATION TO COUNTY, MULTI-COUNTY, AND STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

NEXT MONTH THE SUBCOMMITTEE WILL TAKE UP THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CREDIT BANK, A MEASURE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A COMPREHENSIVE FINANCIAL SYSTEM FOR USE IN STIMULATING AND FINANCING RURAL COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENTS AND INDUSTRY.

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SUCH LEGISLATION HAS FAR-REACHING EFFECTS ON THE RURAL TELEPHONE INDUSTRY. ANY RURAL EXPANSION PROGRAM WILL PROVIDE A STIMULUS FOR MORE RURAL TELEPHONES. YOU SHOULD BECOME FAMILIAR WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS LEGISLATION AND LET YOUR CONGRESSMAN KNOW WHETHER YOU SUPPORT IT OR NOT -- OR IF SOME AMENDMENT MIGHT IMPROVE IT. YOU NEED TO KNOW THE ISSUES, AND YOU NEED TO KNOW YOUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. THEY NEED YOUR ADVICE AND SUPPORT.

NOW I KNOW TO MOST OF YOU THE MOST PRESSING ISSUE OF THE DAY IS THE ECONOMY AND HOW THE PRESIDENT'S GAME PLAN FOR REVITALIZING IT WILL WORK.

WAR TALK ENDS

STRANGELY -- OR PERHAPS NOT SO STRANGELY -- YOU ARE NOT ALONE. MY FRIENDS, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT -- HAVE ALMOST QUIT TALKING ABOUT THEIR WAR ANY MORE, AND THEY SEEM TO HAVE GIVEN UP COMPLETELY TRYING TO SHIFT THE BLAME FOR IT ONTO PRESIDENT NIXON.

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THEY SEEM TO REALIZE AT LAST THAT THE ISSUE NEXT YEAR IS NOT GOING TO BE WAR, BUT PEACE, AND THAT PEACE WILL BE A REPUBLICAN ISSUE. ABOUT ALL THEY CAN DO IS GET ON THE NIXON BANDWAGON AS IT SETS OFF FOR PEKING AND MOSCOW.

WE HEAR AND READ FROM TIME TO TIME THE WORDS OF SO-CALLED EXPERTS WHO CLAIM THAT PEACE WILL NOT BE AN ISSUE BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD A RIGHT TO EXPECT IT.

I DISAGREE. NO PRESIDENT IN OUR LIFETIME HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AS RICHARD NIXON HAS DONE.

COLD WAR THAWS

IT IS NOT JUST THE WINDING DOWN OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM, REGARDLESS OF HOW TREMENDOUS THAT FEAT MAY BE. IT IS ALSO THE THAWING OF THE COLD WAR WHEREVER IT EXISTED.....THE MEETING IN PEKING.....THE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN.....THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS.....THE CEASEFIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.....THE UPCOMING TALKS IN MOSCOW.....THE MEETINGS WITH THE EASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS.

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ALL THESE ARE THINGS THAT PRESAGE AN ERA OF PEACE, AN ERA THAT THE PRESIDENT IS WORKING SO HARD FOR.

AND, YET, AS HE HAS TAKEN THESE MOMENTOUS STEPS TOWARD PEACE, HE HAS REFUSED TO CUT BACK ON THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO DEFEND ITSELF OR ITS ALLIES.

NO 'PEACE AT ANY PRICE'

WE ARE LEAVING VIETNAM IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE CAN DEFEND THEMSELVES. DESPITE HEAVY PRESSURES, WE ARE LEAVING AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE AND, IN FACT, ARE MOVING TO RE-INVIGORATE THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ALLIANCE. WE HAVE PROCEEDED WITH DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM, WITH STRENGTHENING OUR UNDERSEAS NUCLEAR STRIKE FORCE, AND WITH THE PROJECT OF ADDING A NEW BOMBER TO OUR AIR FORCE.

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THESE ARE NOT THE ACTIONS OF A PRESIDENT WHO WANTS PEACE AT ANY PRICE; INSTEAD, THEY ARE THE DEEDS OF A PRESIDENT WHO IS DETERMINED THAT HOSTILE FORCES IN THE WORLD MUST LET THE UNITED STATES AND OUR ALLIES HAVE BOTH PEACE AND FREEDOM.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL OVERLOOK THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS AND SUCCESSES IN THIS FIELD. WE ARE TIRED OF WAR, AND WE ARE TIRED OF THE THREAT OF WAR. BUT WE ARE NOT SO TIRED OF THEM THAT WE WILL NOT DEFEND OURSELVES OR LIVE UP TO OUR COMMITMENTS.

PRESIDENT REFLECTS DETERMINATION

THE PRESIDENT NOT ONLY LEADS US IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE, BUT HE ALSO REFLECTS THAT DETERMINATION THAT PEACE DOES NOT MEAN KNUCKLING UNDER TO THOSE WHO WISH US ILL.

IN RECENT YEARS, A SURRENDER SYNDROME HAS GROWN UP AMONG THE LEADERS OF THE OTHER PARTY. THAT SYNDROME DOES NOT EXTEND EITHER TO THE PRESIDENT OR TO THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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SO, I SAY AGAIN, THE WAR WILL NOT BE AN ISSUE BECAUSE THE SUBJECT OF VICTORY OR SURRENDER WILL NOT BE AN ISSUE. THE ISSUE IS AN HONORABLE PEACE IN VIETNAM AND A GENERATION OF PEACE FOR THE WORLD. AND I BELIEVE THAT IS AN ISSUE ALL AMERICANS CAN BUY.

I AM CONFIDENT, TOO, THAT BY THE TIME NOVEMBER OF 1972 ROLLS AROUND, THE ISSUE OF ECONOMY WILL BE NOT HOW BAD IT IS, BUT HOW GOOD IT IS.

HARD CHOICES SEEN

IT IS NO SURPRISE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC PLANS ARE NOT BEING MET WITH UNIVERSAL APPROVAL. AFTER ALL, HARD CHOICES HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE ADMINISTRATION WHICH CALL FOR FURTHER HARD CHOICES BY ALL SEGMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IS THE RESULT OF TOO MANY PRE-NIXON YEARS OF FISCAL MISMANAGEMENT BY GOVERNMENT AND OF TOO MANY YEARS OF WAR-TIME INFLATION. IT CANNOT BE CURED BY THREE MONTHS OF CONTROLS, NO MATTER HOW CAREFULLY THOSE CONTROLS ARE PLANNED AND ADMINISTERED.

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THERE ARE THOSE, TOO, WHOSE AMBITIOUS AND RIGID PARTISANSHIP IS INTERFERING WITH THEIR BETTER JUDGMENT.

AND THERE ARE THOSE, AS WELL, WHO WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GO ALONG WITH A POLICY THAT DEPENDS SO GREATLY ON VOLUNTARY ENFORCEMENT, A POLICY THAT PUTS THE ECONOMIC FATE OF A GREAT NATION SO SQUARELY IN THE HANDS OF ITS PEOPLE. FOR THOSE, THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO COUNT SO HEAVILY ON VOLUNTARY COOPERATION WILL SEEM NOT HARD ENOUGH A CHOICE.

MOST AMERICANS UNDERSTAND

I BELIEVE WITH THE PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE ALSO THOSE -- AND THESE ARE THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS -- WHO UNDERSTAND THE CHALLENGE WE FACE; WHO ARE WILLING TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE THEIR SHORT-TERM PRIVATE INTEREST TO THE LONG-TERM PUBLIC INTEREST; AND WHO STAND READY TO COOPERATE FURTHER IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION.

THOSE WHO HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, THE NAYSAYERS AND THE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED, HAVE THEIR RIGHT TO DISAGREE.

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BUT THEIR MOTIVES ARE NOT OUR MOTIVES, NOR SHOULD THEIR DOUBTS BE OUR DOUBTS. THE PRESIDENT HAS CHOSEN, AND AMERICA HAS ACCEPTED, A GOAL THAT IS FAR TOO IMPORTANT TO FORSAKE ----- THE GOAL OF AN ECONOMICALLY HEALTHY AMERICA, AN AMERICA HEALTHY ENOUGH TO BE STRONG, AND STRONG ENOUGH TO INSURE A LASTING PEACE IN THE WORLD.

PRICES FALLING

IN SEPTEMBER, THE FIRST FULL MONTH FOLLOWING THE ADMINISTRATION'S NEW ECONOMIC INITIATIVES, WHOLESALE PRICES FELL. THEY FELL FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ALMOST A YEAR.

AND THEY FELL FURTHER IN THAT ONE MONTH THAN THEY HAD FALLEN IN ANY SINGLE MONTH DURING THE PREVIOUS SEVEN YEARS.

AT THE SAME TIME, JOBS WERE INCREASING. IN SEPTEMBER, THE NUMBER OF AVILABLE JOBS ROSE BY ALMOST A THIRD OF A MILLION.

NO ONE OUGHT TO PRETEND THAT THIS INDICATES THAT OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE OVER. UNEMPLOYMENT REMAINS AT UNACCEPTABLE LEVELS, AND WHOLE-SALE PRICES ARE NOT RETAIL PRICES.

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PROGRESS BEING MADE

BUT NEITHER CAN ANYONE PRETEND THAT NO PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. AND CERTAINLY NO ONE CAN PRETEND THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS FAILED TO SUPPLY THE VIGOROUS LEADERSHIP REQUIRED IN DIFFICULT TIMES. AND NO ONE WHO KNOWS THIS NATION AND ITS PEOPLE CAN PRETEND THAT AMERICAN CITIZENS HAVE RESPONDED TO THIS LEADERSHIP IN ANYTHING BUT AN OVERWHELMINGLY POSITIVE WAY.

AMERICANS HAVE LIVED LONG ENOUGH WITH UNREMITTING INFLATION. TOO OFTEN AND TOO LONG THE WORKERS OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE HAD TO SEEK WAGE INCREASES JUST TO KEEP UP WITH RISING PRICES. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH AND MORE THAN ENOUGH OF RUN-AWAY PRICES AND CATCH-UP WAGES. WHAT THEY WANT -- AND HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT -- IS AN END TO THIS CYCLE.

AMERICANS WILL SUPPORT A REASONABLE POLICY WHICH PROMISES REALISTICALLY TO REDUCE THE RATE OF INFLATION.

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RESULTS SHOWING

THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT THE PUBLIC IS GIVING TO THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES IS INDICATED BEST BY THE RESULTS WE ARE BEGINNING TO SEE.

ALMOST EVERY POLL SHOWS NO LESS THAN 75 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE FAVOR THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS. THE SAME AMERICANS WHO ARE CALLED UPON TO FOREGO WAGE INCREASES DURING THE FREEZE -- THREE OUT OF FOUR OF THEM -- SHOW NO HESITATION IN LENDING THEIR SUPPORT TO THE POLICIES WHICH CALL FOR THAT SACRIFICE.

SOME ARE BLIND

I SAID IT WOULD BE NO SURPRISE IF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES, FREEZE AND POST-FREEZE PLANS, WERE NOT UNIVERSALLY APPROVED. THIS IS A LARGE AND COMPLEX COUNTRY, AND IT HARBORS MANY POINTS OF VIEW ON EVERY VITAL ISSUE.

WHAT IS SURPRISING, HOWEVER, IS THAT THERE ARE THOSE WHO REFUSE TO SEE THE DEPTH OF AMERICA'S DETERMINATION TO SOLVE ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

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AND MORE THAN SURPRISING ARE THOSE WHO, HAVING SEEN THE SUPPORT AND DETERMINATION, SEEM BENT ONLY ON FRUSTRATING IT.

POLITICAL MOTIVES SEEN

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED FOR AN EXTENSION OF THE ECONOMIC STABILIZATION ACT, THE LAW WHICH GIVES HIM THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY TO PURSUE HIS POLICY. AND YET TODAY, IN CONGRESS, SOME OF THE VERY MEN WHO URGED MOST STRONGLY THAT THIS LAW BE PASSED, NOW CLAIM THAT ITS EXTENSION FOR ONE YEAR WOULD REPRESENT A 'COP-OUT', A SURRENDER OF CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. SPEAKING AS ONE SENATOR, IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR TO ME HOW ONE CAN ARGUE FOR THE AUTHORIZATION OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER ON THE GROUNDS OF URGENT NECESSITY AND THEN ARGUE THAT THE AUTHORITY BE REMOVED BEFORE IT IS GIVEN FAIR CHANCE TO HAVE AN EFFECT. AND, YET, THAT IS WHAT IS HAPPENING.

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I SUBMIT THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE HERE IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PERSONAL PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS OF A FEW MEN.

STAKES ARE HIGH

AN END TO RUNAWAY INFLATION IS AT STAKE HERE. PROGRESS AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT -- HALF A MILLION NEW JOBS -- IS AT STAKE HERE.

AMERICANS HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO SCRUTINIZE THE POST-FREEZE PLAN. LEADERS OF ORGANIZED LABOR, REPRESENTATIVES OF BUSINESS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC, ARE ALL BEHIND IT.

I BELIEVE THAT THE REASON FOR THIS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT IS CLEAR AND SHOULD BE OBVIOUS TO ALL. THE PLAN REQUIRES THE ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT AND GENEROUS COOPERATION OF ALL OF US. WITHOUT THESE, IT SIMPLY CANNOT SUCCEED.

AND YET, I HAVE HEARD THE CHARGE THAT THE POST-FREEZE PLAN IS A 'SOFT' PLAN. CLEARLY, IT IS LESS RIGOROUS THAN THE FREEZE WHICH PRECEDED IT. IT PROVIDES FOR NO VAST BUREAUCRATIC MECHANISM TO CONTROL THE ECONOMY.

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PEOPLE HAVE RESPONSIBILITY

THE POST-FREEZE ECONOMIC PLAN PLACES RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS SUCCESS IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO, REALISTICALLY, HAVE THE GREATEST STAKE IN SUCCESS -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

FOR SOME, A POLICY BASED ON THE GOOD SENSE AND THE GOOD FAITH OF THE CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY IS A SOFT POLICY. FOR ME, THAT IS THE STRONGEST OF FOUNDATIONS.

I REMIND YOU THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT CALLED FOR A VAST ARMY OF FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS TO CONTROL THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. IN FACT, HE HAS PROMISED JUST THE OPPOSITE. THE ARMY IN THIS FIGHT, HE HAS SAID, WILL BE OURSELVES, "AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY OF PATRIOTIC CITIZENS".

TO THOSE WHO DOUBT THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE EQUAL TO THIS TASK, I ASK THEM, WHO ELSE DO THEY HAVE IN MIND?