

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
TAFT INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT  
RAMADA INN  
OVERLAND PARK, KANSAS  
JUNE 2, 1974

I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TAFT INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT. I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO COMMENT ON SOME BASIC POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH I FEEL MERIT STUDY, DISCUSSION, AND DEBATE. BUT I ALSO CANNOT AVOID SPEAKING BRIEFLY ON SOME IMPORTANT EDUCATION ISSUES BEFORE AN AUDIENCE COMPRISED OF SO MANY PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS.

IMCOMPLETE VOTING ANALYSIS

SEVERAL WEEKS AGO I RECEIVED A COPY OF A KANSAS NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION ACTION NEWSLETTER WHICH ALLEGED THAT I HAD NOT

BEEN GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF LEGISLATION OF IMPORTANCE TO KANSAS EDUCATION. ACCORDING TO THE NEWSLETTER, I SHOULD BE EMBARRASSED TO BRING MY LEGISLATIVE REPORT CARD HOME TO PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS OF THE STATE. I WANT TO ASSURE YOU I AM NOT ASHAMED OF MY RECORD IN BEHALF OF KANSAS EDUCATION.

I DO NOT INTEND TO ARGUE WITH THE KNEA GRADING SYSTEM ESPECIALLY SINCE IT IS NOT PREPARED BY THE KANSAS NEA BUT DICTATED BY THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WHOSE BIASES AND LEARNINGS ARE WELL KNOWN TO KANSAS EDUCATORS. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT IT IS INCOMPLETE AND TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION SOME OF MY WORK IN AREAS NOT REFLECTED ON THE NEA GRADE CARD. I WANT TO TALK ABOUT MY VOTES AND MY LEGISLATION ON ISSUES WHICH DID NOT NECESSARILY RECEIVE NATIONAL ACCLAIM AND ATTENTION BUT WHICH DID PRODUCE MORE DOLLARS FOR KANSAS EDUCATORS AND SCHOOLS AND BETTER EDUCATION FOR KANSAS STUDENTS.

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### IMPACT AID AMENDMENT

FOR EXAMPLE, LAST FALL CONGRESS PASSED AN AMENDMENT I AUTHORED WHICH ASSURED KANSAS WOULD RECEIVE ITS NEARLY \$8 MILLION FEDERAL IMPACT AID ENTITLEMENT. WITHOUT THIS AMENDMENT 95 FEDERALLY IMPACTED DISTRICTS IN THE STATE WOULD HAVE BEEN HARD PRESSED FOR FUNDS, AND I AM SURE TEACHERS AS WELL AS KANSAS TAXPAYERS WOULD HAVE FELT THE PINCH. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT THE KANSAS IMPACT AID PROBLEM WILL BE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS THROUGH ANOTHER AMENDMENT OF MINE WHICH WAS CONTAINED IN THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT RECENTLY APPROVED BY THE SENATE.

### TITLE I FUNDING

I HAVE ALSO ACTIVELY SUPPORTED FUNDING FORMULAS FOR THE TITLE I ESEA PROGRAM WHICH PROVIDE MORE MONEY FOR KANSAS AND LESS FOR THE BIG WELFARE STATES. IN KANSAS, 80% OF TITLE I MONEY IS USED TO PAY

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SALARIES OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS, SO THIS MATTER IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE TEACHERS PRESENT. THIS YEAR I SPONSORED AN AMENDMENT WHICH CHANGED THE TITLE I FORMULA AND WILL PROVIDE APPROXIMATELY AN ADDITIONAL \$1 MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE SALARIES OF TEACHERS WORKING WITH DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS ACROSS THE STATE.

WITH THE ADOPTION OF THIS FUNDING AMENDMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FORWARDING FUNDING OF FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS WHICH I HAVE ADVOCATED FOR SOME TIME, KANSAS TEACHERS AND PROGRAMS SUPPORTED BY FEDERAL DOLLARS CAN BE ASSURED OF BEING ABLE TO MAINTAIN PROGRAMS THROUGH THE ENTIRE SCHOOL YEAR WITHOUT THE THREAT OF FUND CUTOFFS



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IN APRIL AND MAY WHICH HAVE PLAGUED US IN THE PAST. IN ADDITION, FUNDS WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN A VIABLE SUMMER PROGRAM WHERE NEEDED AND SUCH A PROGRAM IS PROPERLY BUDGETED.

I HAVE ALSO SPONSORED A RETIREMENT INCOME TAX CREDIT BILL AND A MOBILE TEACHERS' RETIREMENT LEGISLATION WHICH I AM SURE IS OF INTEREST TO MANY IN THIS ROOM.

#### EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED

THE KNEA REPORT CARD ACCURATELY RELATES THAT I OPPOSED A MOTION TO OVERRIDE THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF A VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION BILL CONSIDERED EARLY THIS SUMMER, BUT IT DOES NOT MENTION THAT I COSPONSORED THE COMPROMISE BILL THAT BECAME LAW SEVERAL MONTHS LATER. NOR DOES IT MENTION THAT I AM ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF SEVERAL NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE HANDICAPPED

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AND HAVE ONE OF THE MOST SUBSTANTIAL LEGISLATIVE RECORDS IN THE AREA OF PROGRAMS FOR THE HANDICAPPED.

SCHOOL LUNCH

THE REPORT CARD ACCURATELY REFLECTS THAT I VOTED AGAINST A HUMPHREY AMENDMENT TO INCREASE FEDERAL SUBSIDIES FOR SCHOOL LUNCHES FROM 8¢ to 12¢, BUT IT DOES NOT REFLECT THAT I WAS THE RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE THAT DRAFTED THE SCHOOL LUNCH BILL. NOR DOES IT REFLECT THAT I CO-AUTHORED THE AUTOMATIC COST-OF-LIVING INFLATION AMENDMENT TO THE SCHOOL LUNCH BILL WHICH ASSURES THAT THE FEDERAL SHARE OF THE COST OF THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM WILL BE ADJUSTED SEMI-ANNUALLY TO MATCH THE CHANGES IN FOOD COSTS. NOR DOES THE REPORT CARD RELATE THAT I WAS A SENATE CONFEREER ON THE SCHOOL

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LUNCH BILL AND WAS ABLE TO MAINTAIN MANY OF THE IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF THE SENATE BILL DURING CONFERENCE.

THE REPORT CARD ACCURATELY REFLECTS THAT I VOTED FOR THE 1974 LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATION BILL, BUT IT SHOULD ALSO REFLECT THAT MY FLOOR AMENDMENT TO THAT BILL WHICH ASSURED CONSTRUCTION FUNDS THIS YEAR FOR A SCHOOL AT POWHATTEN, KANSAS WAS THE ONLY FLOOR AMENDMENT APPROVED BY THE SENATE.

CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

I FEEL THAT THESE FACTS AMONG OTHERS ARE IMPORTANT AND SHOULD BE AVAILABLE TO YOU IN EVALUATING MY PERFORMANCE IN THE SENATE. THEY WERE NOT RELATED IN A REPORT CARD SYNOPSIS OF VOTING RECORDS, BUT DO HOPE I WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY THEM TO A MAJORITY OF KANSAS EDUCATORS IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

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I CAN UNDERSTAND EDUCATORS CONCERN WHICH INFLATION AND THE BITE IT HAS TAKEN FROM THEIR SALARIES. HOWEVER, I FEEL I HAVE BEEN SUPPORTIVE OF THOSE PROGRAMS WHICH PROVIDE THE DOLLARS AND CENTS FOR KANSAS EDUCATION AND EDUCATORS NOT ONLY WITH MY VOTES BUT ALSO WITH POSITIVE LEGISLATION I HAVE AUTHORED AND BEEN ABLE TO GET THROUGH CONGRESS. I TRUST YOU WILL CONSIDER THIS RECORD DURING THE COMING MONTHS AND I WILL BE HAPPY TO RESPOND IN ANY WAY I CAN TO ISSUES YOU MIGHT RAISE.

#### WATERGATE AND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

BEFORE TURNING THE PROGRAM OVER FOR A SESSION OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, I WOULD LIKE TO SPEND A MOMENT OR TWO DISCUSSING A SUBJECT WHICH IS VERY IMPORTANT TO EACH OF US AND TO OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. IT ALSO TAKES ON EXPANDED SIGNIFICANCE IN



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LIGHT OF THE WATERGATE SCANDALS AND THE GREAT CONCERN THEY HAVE  
RAISED AMONG OUR CITIZENS.

AS A LAWYER, AS AN ELECTED OFFICEHOLDER AND AS ONE WHO HAS  
HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE MY PARTY IN A NATIONAL LEADERSHIP  
POSITION, I HOLD A VERY HIGH REGARD FOR AMERICA'S UNIQUE TWO-PARTY  
SYSTEM. IT IS UNIQUE AMONG THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD'S  
FREE COUNTRIES.

#### MODERATING INFLUENCE

VYING FOR OFFICE, DISPUTING POLICIES AND ENGAGING IN THE TIME-  
HONORED TRADITIONS OF POINTING WITH PRIDE TO THEIR OWN ACHIEVEMENTS  
AND VIEWING WITH ALARM THE OTHERS' SHORTCOMINGS -- AMERICA'S  
REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS HAVE SPILLED A GREAT DEAL OF INK AND

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RAISED MANY CLOUDS OF DUST OVER THE YEARS.

SOME OF THEIR BATTLES HAVE BEEN LEGENDARY, AND MANY OF THEIR LEADING FIGURES HAVE BEEN UNIQUE SPECIMENS OF THE POLITICAL ANIMAL. BUT THROUGH ALL THE SMOKE AND FIERY ORATORY TO BE FOUND IN THE ANNALS OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES, I BELIEVE A MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST VALUABLE ATTRIBUTE STANDS OUT.

THIS IS THE MODERATING INFLUENCE OUR PARTIES HAVE HAD, BOTH OF THE ELECTORAL LEVEL AND ON THE LEVEL WHERE THE ACTUAL BUSINESS OF GOVERNING THE NATION IS CARRIED ON.

AS WE LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF THE PARTIES FROM THEIR EARLY DAYS UP TO THE PRESENT, THIS MODERATING INFLUENCE HAS GROWN AND

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STRENGTHENED WITH THE NATION. WE SEE A CONSTANT FORCE TO BUILD  
CONSENSUS, DRAW TOGETHER EVERY POSSIBLE FACTION AND SMOOTH OVER  
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REGIONS, IDEOLOGIES AND FACTIONS.

STRUGGLE FOR MIDDLE GROUND

OVER TIME, THIS PROCESS HAS BECOME FIRMLY INGRAINED IN OUR  
POLITICAL TRADITION, AND ITS CENTERIST INFLUENCE, COMBINED WITH  
A CONSIDERABLE OVERLAP BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES, HAS ACCOUNTED FOR  
A GREAT DEAL OF THE STABILITY WHICH MAKES OUR SYSTEM SO EXTRAORDINARY  
IN COMPARISON WITH MOST OTHERS.

THERE IS, AS THE SAYING GOES, A CONTINUING STRUGGLE TO OCCUPY  
AND CONTROL THE MIDDLE GROUND, OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. AND YEAR  
AFTER YEAR THE PARTY WHICH IS MOST SUCCESSFUL IN SECURING THAT

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CENTRAL GROUND IS THE PARTY WHICH TO ACHIEVES ITS GOALS FOR SUCCESS AT THE POLLS.

THE HEALTH AND VIGOR OF BOTH PARTIES PROVIDES A COMFORTABLE HOME FOR ALMOST ANY REASONABLE SHADE OF POLITICAL OPINION. AND IT ALSO MEANS THAT SPLINTER GROUPS AND DISSIDENTS HAVE NO REAL HOPE FOR MAKING AN IMPACT THROUGH THE ROUTE OF THIRD PARTIES. THE RESULT IS THAT THESE EXTREME VIEWPOINTS ARE FORCED INTO A PROCESS OF ACCOMMODATION AND COMPROMISE WITH OTHERS -- IF THEY HAVE ANY SERIOUS INTENTION OF EXERTING ANY EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THIS MODERATING AND ACCOMMODATING INFLUENCE HAS SERVED OUR COUNTRY WELL OVER THE YEARS AS THE PASSIONS AND EMOTIONS OF THE MOMENT HAVE BLOWN HARD AND HEAVY AT THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.



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ROLE IN CHECK-AND-BALANCE SYSTEM

IN ANOTHER AREA -- THE DAILY OPERATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CHECK-AND-BALANCE SYSTEM -- THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM HAS ALSO HAD A PROFOUNDLY IMPORTANT INFLUENCE.

I THINK IT IS TRUE THAT UNFETTERED POLITICAL POWER HAS ALWAYS BEEN HAZARDOUS, AND THE PRESENCE OF EFFECTIVE, BUT CONSTRUCTIVE COUNTERVALING FORCES HAVE BEEN MOST BENEFICIAL.

IN THIS CONTEXT I HAVE PARTICULARLY IN MIND THE BALANCE OF FORCES WITHIN CONGRESS, WHERE A MAJORITY IS -- FOR MOST PURPOSES -- SUFFICIENT TO ACHIEVE DESIRED GOALS. SPEAKING AS ONE WHO HAS NEVER HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE IN A CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITY, I DO NOT KNOW FROM FIRST HAND EXPERIENCE ALL THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH GO INTO MANAGING AND UTILIZING MAJORITY POWER.

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ALTHOUGH, SOMEDAY, I HOPE WE REPUBLICANS WILL GET A CHANCE TO LEARN.

ROLE OF MINORITY PARTY

BUT MY POINT -- WHETHER SPEAKING OF A REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITY -- IS THAT THE PRESENCE OF A SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION PARTY IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF OUR SYSTEM.

A MAJORITY CAN PASS LEGISLATION AND IN THE SENATE CAN CONFIRM NOMINATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS. BUT A MINORITY OF ONE-THIRD PLUS ONE CAN UPHOLD PRESIDENTIAL VETOES, CAN PREVENT THE PASSAGE OF UNWISE CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION AND IN OTHER WAYS CAN PROVIDE A BALLAST TO THE SHIP OF STATE AGAINST RADICAL CHANGE AND HASTILY-~~CONSIDERED~~<sup>RED</sup> ACTION. IT CAN STAND UP TO BOTH MAJORITY POWER ON CAPITOL HILL AND TO EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

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CHIEFLY, THE MINORITY PARTY IN CONGRESS HAS PERFORMED THIS  
FUNCTION, AND FOR MOST OF OUR RECENT HISTORY IT HAS BEEN THE  
REPUBLICANS' LOT TO CONSTITUTE THAT MINORITY.

PROTECTION FOR SUBSTANTIAL INTERESTS

BUT REGARDLESS OF WHETHER WE ARE SPEAKING OF A REPUBLICAN  
OR DEMOCRATIC MINORITY, I BELIEVE THE SAME PRINCIPLE APPLIES.  
UNDER OUR SYSTEM, WITH TWO CENTRIST PARTIES, AN UNEQUALED DEGREE  
OF PROTECTION IS PROVIDED FOR THE VIEWS AND INTERESTS OF THE  
MINORITY.

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ON DAY-TO-DAY ISSUES, THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY PREVAILS -- AS IT SHOULD. BUT WHEN THE LARGEST ISSUES ARISE -- WHEN THE STRUCTURE OF OUR DEMOCRACY OR THE GREAT NATIONAL INTEREST IS AT STAKE -- THE MAJORITY'S POWER RECEEDS, AND AT LEAST SOME PORTION OF THE MINORITY IS REQUIRED TO GIVE ITS ASSENT BEFORE ACTION CAN MOVE FORWARD.

I BELIEVE THE FOUNDING FATHERS WERE VASTLY WISE TO INCORPORATE THIS FEATURE IN OUR SYSTEM. AND IT HAS SERVED WITH GREAT EFFECTIVENESS IN MAINTAINING DOMESTIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY OVER THE TWO CENTURIES OF OUR NATIONHOOD.



DANGER OF "VETO-PROOF" CONGRESS

SO THIS IS WHY I BELIEVE THOSE WHO WOULD UTILIZE WATERGATE AS AN EXCUSE TO CALL FOR THE ELECTION OF A "VETO-PROOF" CONGRESS IN 1974 ARE MISTAKEN IN THEIR CONCEPTION OF WHAT OUR DEMOCRACY IS ALL ABOUT.

IN THE FIRST PLACE, THERE IS NO CALL TO STAIN THE ENTIRE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR THE CRIMES AND STUPIDITIES OF A FEW INDIVIDUALS.

BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, DEMOCRACY DOES NOT REQUIRE -- NOR SHOULD IT HAVE -- AUTOMATIC SUPREMACY OF A CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITY OVER THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND OVER THE MINORITY IN CONGRESS.

DEMOCRACY NEEDS EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP, ALONG WITH REASONABLE RESTRAINTS. IT NEEDS CHECKS AND BALANCES. AND IT NEEDS PROTECTION FOR THE MINORITY -- ALL MINORITIES -- AGAINST A TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY.

WE NEED AN EFFECTIVE MINORITY VOICE IN GOVERNMENT. WE MUST HAVE TWO HEALTHY AND VIGOROUS PARTIES AT WORK IN THE NATION. AND WE MUST NEVER ALLOW OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES TO BE DISTORTED BY PASSING EMOTIONS OR THOUGHTLESS OPPORTUNISM.

WE HAVE A GREAT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA. IT HAS SERVED US WELL.

I, FOR ONE, WANT TO SEE IT PRESERVED, STRENGTHENED AND MADE MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF ALL OUR CITIZENS AND TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE GOALS SET FORTH IN OUR CONSTITUTION.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

AT THIS POINT, I SUGGEST WE TURN THE PROGRAM OVER TO A QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION.