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TO PLATFORM HEARING

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In my role as Chairman of the Congressional Advisory Board for the Young Voters for the President, and as a member of Congress, I have traveled to practically every state in this country. From every corner of the land, from black and white, young and old, I hear an all too familiar refrain.

Perhaps this theme could best be characterized by the opening line of a song from the Broadway musical 1776. The song is sung by a young John Adams and goes, "Is anybody there? Does anybody care?" Adams sings to an empty stage with the backdrop of the halting beginnings of our American republic.

It's odd today, when the simple concept fostered by our founding fathers has shaped and molded us into the most powerful nation on earth, that John Adams' soliloquy has so much application. "Is anybody there? Does anybody care?" This is a feeling of too many, the black seeking a good job, the union member supporting George Wallace, the retired senior citizen constantly competing with inflation, the multiuniversity student in a "classroom" with 500 of his peers.

Where John Adams made his plea to an empty stage, these, and in particular our young, direct their questions to their government and to the political process itself---to a government which is too often unresponsive to those it is designed to serve and to a political process which sometimes discourages even the most dedicated.

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Look at our institutions of government; look at our communities and ask yourself if we are in fact sustaining that human quality of kindredness that Adams, Washington, Jefferson, or Franklin hoped to achieve with the Bill of Rights.

It is possible that in too many cases some of our governmental institutions have gotten more interested in statistics than they have in human lives, that some of our major and burgeoning corporate enterprises have increasingly distanced themselves from the man on the line, that some of the leaders of our giant industrial unions have forgotten who put them where they are, that some of our educational institutions have become more interested in published papers than in people?

To the point here and now, is it really possible that either of America's great political parties, the citizens' principal institution of reform, is slipping away from the individual? Can not the Democrats, as they substitute quotas for personal commitment? They did. Can not we, if, for example, we emphasize the incredible new medium of mass communication to excess and to the end of reducing reliance upon citizen participation? We can, but we will not.

If young America pleads for a voice, for meaningful opportunity to participate in the system, I pray we will heed that cry - not for electoral success, but for the sake of a free society which cannot survive without them.

Only then can we say to the individual, "We believe you are capable of living your own life, free from daily govern-

mental guidance and intervention. We believe in you, your faith, your love, your concern for our fellow man. We believe in the ability and integrity of 200 million decent individuals to pursue man's most noble accomplishment - the continuing American Revolution."

The soul of America is being challenged today -- by young and old alike -- to take a look at itself and see if our values are what we preach, or what we practice. If there is a difference, maybe we should look at what we're practicing -- and what we preach.

I appear before you today to address the problem of how we, as a party, can accept the creativity of young people and meet their desire for responsibility in a meaningful way. This body, and the Republican Party as a whole, is taking the first step. We are listening, and I believe we care. The youth of America, as witnessed by the 125,000 young volunteers we already have for the campaign, is responding to the challenge and opportunity offered by Republicans.

In 1968, the standard bearer of this great party, Richard Nixon, made an address in Kansas City that could be termed: The commitment to youth. He said: "I believe in youth. That is another way of saying, I believe in America's future. The next administration will be a young administration, youthful in staff and young in spirit."

Indeed, this administration has met this goal, but I believe it is prepared to go even further. President Nixon has set down a record of accomplishment not aimed solely

at youth, but designed to present to our young a future of peace and opportunity. He has sought the active citizenship of all, with the idealism of youth uppermost in mind. I will touch upon one of these areas -- the military draft -- later in this discussion, and the other members of this group will speak on related major issues. But I believe the message to be conveyed here today is that the President has opened the door to America's young. It is for us to give them a meaningful voice.

If Republicanism is to continue its role in the two-party system of government, it must serve as a mechanism through which groups of concerned individuals can affect change, not only at the national level but at state and local levels. The exuberance of youth makes their desire for change so strong that they become easily discouraged by the time it takes to achieve real reform. Too often young people want to alter the structure of government from the top down, but changing the opinion of a President, Senator or Congressman in Washington is not going to alter the feelings of his constituents back home.

To effectuate permanent change requires great efforts at the very roots of the system. It demands working within an organization to maximize the impact. It takes working with city councilmen and electing representatives to local and statewide offices.

The hundreds of thousands of young voters for the President, represented by the young men and women who will follow me in this presentation, know this and welcome the challenge. They are working today for their future, for their nation. We ask you, as leaders of America's truly responsive party to incorporate their ideas as a part of this year's convention -- and even more importantly, to guarantee them earned access to our party so they can affect an answer to their own soliloquized question -- Does anybody care?

THE DRAFT

In 1969, when campus unrest rocked many of our institutions of higher learning, I underwent a period of soul-searching to seek the real causes for the violence that had been virtually unheard of in American education. This concern, coupled with the realization that we possessed precious little information about events on the American campus, prompted me to ask a group of 22 of my colleagues to go out to a variety of colleges and universities and to listen. We had nothing to sell, no speeches to make, we offered only a desire to understand the alienation which threatened to undermine a system of freedom. As a result of this inquiry, our Campus Task Force developed a series of recommendations for the consideration of the President. Among these was the call for draft reform.

Under the Johnson Administration, a young man's uncertainty under the draft lasted for seven years. Too often the affluent were able to escape service, hiding in an endless maze of deferments and exemptions. In response, President Nixon pressed the Congress and obtained two major innovations: the draft lottery and the elimination of educational and occupational deferments. Today, every young man has only one year of vulnerability, letting him know exactly where he stands --- and the loopholes have been taken from the favored few.

Yet even with these major reforms, it is clear that no draft can be fair. Today our military manpower needs require

that among our nineteen year olds, less than one in five young men go into military service, and that less than one in twenty is drafted. But no matter how much we concentrate on reform there simply can be no equity when the overwhelming majority are not called to service.

One of the most inviolable dictums of freedom is the right of the individual to live his own life. As a follower of this doctrine, I felt that except in the case of true national emergency - when virtually every citizen willingly answers the call - the use of force to dictate where a free citizen will spend several years of his life should be avoided. The draft abrogates this right.

Left as vestige of World War II, the Selective Service Act essentially authorized the President to maintain any level desired by simply increasing the draft. It was by this method that President Johnson expanded the total Armed Forces from 2.65 to 3.5 million and the Army alone from 973,238 to 1,397,899 in roughly a year's time by simply increasing draft calls from 7,800 in December 1964 to 40,200 men in December 1965. This represented a 500 per cent increase in the draft rate.

During the 1968 campaign, Mr. Nixon pledged his support for an end to the draft with these words:

Today all across the country we face a crisis of confidence. Nowhere is it more acute than among our young people. They recognize the draft as an infringement on their liberty -- which it is. To them, it represents

a government insensitive to their rights -- a government callous to their status as free men. They ask for justice -- and they deserve it.

Upon taking office, President Nixon appointed a top-level commission headed by former Secretary of Defense Thomas F. Gates, Jr., and charged it with "developing a comprehensive plan for eliminating conscription and moving toward an all-volunteer armed force." In their final report the members of the commission determined unanimously the all-volunteer concept was feasible and economically justifiable.

Last year, relying on the conclusions of the Gates Commission, we in the Congress created a competitive pay scale for the military and provided the President with an important tool toward the achievement of an all-volunteer army.

Today, despite the pressures of a continued commitment in Southeast Asia, we are on the verge of fulfillment of the campaign pledge made just four short years ago -- the end of conscription on America.

The most significant announcement of this year came on July 31 when Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, speaking at Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania stated:

We reduced that (the draft) to 200,000 the first year; then 100,000; and 50,000 this year; and we will go to zero by June 30. ...We should stop using conscript labor to sue and meet the national security requirements of our country.

The significance of the Indiantown Gap statement is that it is the first official confirmation by the Department

of Defense that the Armed Forces would be successful in implementing the all volunteer army concept and not require the draft beyond the legislated expiration date or June 30, 1973.

The President has completely terminated the use of the draft in Vietnam. He has initiated a wide range of programs designed to upgrade the quality of the Armed Forces, and enhance the dignity of our men in uniform. He has reduced draft calls to a point where lottery will not exceed the call number of 75 as a maximum.

As President Nixon said in his message to Congress in April of 1970:

"With an end to the draft, we will demonstrate to the world the responsiveness of republican government- and our continuing commitment to the maximum freedom of the individual, enshrined in our earliest traditions and founding documents. By upholding the cause of freedom without conscription we will have demonstrated in one more area the superiority of a society based upon the belief in the dignity of man over society based on the supremacy of the State."

Mr. Chairman, this platform provides an excellent opportunity to fulfill that pledge by promising to allow the induction authority of the Selective Service Act to expire next year, retaining only a standby system for times of national emergency.

For the first time in 25 years we will be without the draft. The achievement of this goal will have been accomplished through the dedicated efforts of many people, but there is no doubt that the credit must go to the initiative exercised by a Republican Administration and a Republican President committed to the freedom and dignity of all our citizens.

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