

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL BOOSTERS

PALM BEACH, FLORIDA
THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1977

THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF NEXT YEAR WILL BE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE. FOR THEY WILL DETERMINE WHETHER THE PRESIDENT ENTERS HIS REELECTION CAMPAIGN ON THE UPSWING AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF TOP-HEAVY DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS -- OR WHETHER OUR PARTY IS ABLE TO PICK UP SOME MOMENTUM -- AND SOME SEATS -- WHICH WOULD SURELY GIVE REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE A LIFT AS WE BEGIN GETTING READY FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL YEAR.

NOT SINCE THE CIVIL WAR HAS OUR COUNTRY BEEN MORE IN NEED OF A STRONG, VIGOROUS PARTY THAT STANDS FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY; AND STANDS AGAINST THE GROWTH OF AN EVER LARGER CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

DURING THE RECENT LINCOLN DAY SEASON, I TRAVELED IN MANY REGIONS AND TALKED TO MANY REPUBLICANS. FOR A PARTY WITH SO FEW TOEHOLDS IN THE SOURCES OF POWER, REPUBLICANS ARE LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH A NEW SPIRIT OF VIGOR AND OPTIMISM.

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TAX POLICY

OUR FORCES ARE OUTNUMBERED IN CONGRESS. BUT WE CAN HAVE AN IMPACT, AND COMMAND THE ATTENTION OF THE VOTERS, BY OFFERING SPECIFIC ALTERNATIVES WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAMS AND POLICIES ARE ILL-ADVISED. THE PROPOSAL FOR A \$50 TAX REBATE IS AN EXAMPLE OF JUST SUCH AN ILL-ADVISED ECONOMIC INITIATIVE. IT WOULD DO LITTLE TO PUT SPENDABLE DOLLARS IN THE POCKETS OF CONSUMERS. BUT IT WOULD DO A GREAT DEAL TO HEAT UP THE INFLATIONARY FIRES ONCE AGAIN. BY TALKING SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND TO OUR COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE, REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DELAY THE DECISION ON THE TAX REBATE.

BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS SO COMMITTED TO GOVERNMENT ACTION, SO TRADITION-BOUND, SO TIED TO PAST PROGRAMS THAT NEVER WORKED, IT IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT OFFERS THE EXCITING OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEW APPROACHES, THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF NEW IDEAS. THE POSITIONS THAT WE TAKE ARE IN TUNE WITH THE INTERESTS OF AMERICANS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE. ALL CLASSES AND ALL RACES FEEL THE IMPACT OF INFLATION AND UNDERSTAND THE FUTILE WASTEFULNESS OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS THAT DON'T WORK. A SLUM YOUTH WHO CAN'T FIND A JOB,

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A YOUNG MARRIED COUPLE STRUGGLING TO SAVE THE DOWN PAYMENT FOR A HOUSE OF THEIR OWN. OUR JOBS TAX CREDIT APPROACH WOULD DO MORE TO CREATE PERMANENT JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR THAN THE COSTLIEST PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS PROGRAM. AND WE WERE ABLE TO BREAK OFF LABOR'S PUSH FOR THE COMMON SITUUS PICKETING BILL BY ILLUSTRATING THE EFFECT OF CONSTRUCTION WORK STOPPAGES ON THE PRICE OF A NEW HOUSE.

HISTORICALLY, OUR PARTY WAS FOUNDED ON TIMELESS PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN LIBERTY.

WE LIVE IN A FAR MORE COMPLICATED AGE TODAY, BUT THE QUEST FOR LIBERTY AND FREEDOM IS NEVER ENDING. THE PRESSURES OF AN OVER-REGULATED SOCIETY, AND SENSELESS BUREAUCRATIC DOMINATION, REACH INTO EVERY CORNER OF OUR LIVES.

OURS IS STILL THE PARTY OF PRINCIPLE. OUR PRINCIPLES NEED NOT BE BENT THIS WAY AND THAT EITHER TO WIN VOTES OR TO PACIFY THE CONTRASTING ELEMENTS IN OUR CONSTITUENCY. OURS IS STILL THE PARTY OF COMMON SENSE. OURS IS STILL THE PARTY OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY.

FREEDOM ISSUES

THERE ARE NEW FREEDOM ISSUES CROWDING THE
AGENDA IN WASHINGTON THESE DAYS.

-- FREEDOM FROM CRIMINAL TERROR. OUR SOCIETY
IS WORSE OFF THAN ANYONE COULD HAVE IMAGINED IF WE CANNOT
DEVISE METHODS FOR PROTECTING OURSELVES AGAINST THE FEAR
OF ATROCITIES AT THE HANDS OF TERRORIST GANGS WHO THREATEN
TO MURDER HOSTAGES. THERE MUST BE SOME CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD
LIMITATIONS IN THE FUTURE ABOUT WHAT IS AND IS NOT
NEGOTIABLE IN SUCH SITUATION -- AND THE RIGHT OF THE
RINGLEADER TO WALK HOME IMMEDIATELY -- BEFORE THE
VICTIMS HAVE HARDLY HAD TIME TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR
LOVED ONES -- ON NO MORE THAN HIS PROMISE TO SHOW UP
FOR TRIAL -- SHOULD NOT BE ON THE TABLE FOR BARGAINING.
TO DO THIS IS TO HOLD OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM ITSELF HOSTAGE.

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ONE APPROACH IS A BILL I INTRODUCED WHICH WOULD PREVENT THE IMMEDIATE PRE-TRIAL RELEASE WITHOUT BAIL OF ANYONE ACCUSED OF THREATENING THE LIVES OF HOSTAGES. TOO MANY CRIMINALS WITH RECORDS ARE TURNED LOOSE TO COMMIT NEW CRIMES WHILE AWAITING TRIAL. THE BAIL SYSTEM ITSELF IS IN NEED OF REVIEW. IN OUR CONCERN FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF DEFENDANTS, WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THE EVEN MORE BASIC RIGHT OF DEFENSELESS POTENTIAL VICTIMS TO BE LEFT ALONE -- NOT TO BE FREE GAME FOR MUGGERS, ARMED ROBBERS, RAPISTS, AND OTHER VIOLENT CRIMINALS.

ELECTORAL REFORM

-- ANOTHER FREEDOM IS FREEDOM OF CHOICE -- FREEDOM OF POLITICAL CHOICE. IN THE NAME OF "ELECTORAL REFORM," PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PROPOSED SOME CHANGES THAT COULD MOVE US CLOSER TO A ONE-PARTY NATION. IN THE BLAND NAME OF "REFORM," THE NEW OVERLORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS BLATANTLY TRYING TO DESTROY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS A VIABLE SECOND PARTY. ALL WHO BELIEVE, AS I DO, THAT THE COMPETITION BETWEEN TWO STRONG PARTIES HAS SERVED THIS COUNTRY WELL SHOULD BE APPALLED AT THE GRAND DESIGN BEHIND SUCH A PLAN.

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UNFORTUNATELY, SOME REPUBLICAN LEADERS IN WASHINGTON WERE SUCKED INTO AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE FIRST OF THESE "REFORM" PROPOSALS: INSTANT, ON-THE-SPOT VOTER REGISTRATION. THE PRESIDENT AND A GREAT MANY OTHER DEMOCRATS WOULD LIKE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ANYONE TO VOTE IN A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION JUST BY WALKING IN OFF THE STREET AND PRESENTING SOME KIND OF PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION.

THIS WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR FRAUD ON A SCALE THAT THE BOSSES IN COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS, COULD NEVER HAVE DARED DREAM OF.

I WANT TO MAKE IT AS EASY AS POSSIBLE FOR EVERYONE WHO WANTS TO VOTE TO VOTE -- BUT ONLY ONCE IN ANY ONE ELECTION.

WIDESPREAD FRAUD

THE PROBLEMS OF POLICING SUCH A DUAL SYSTEM OF REGISTRATION WOULD BE ALMOST INSURMOUNTABLE. THE STATE OF WISCONSIN HAS EXPERIMENTED WITH A SIMILAR PLAN. IN LAST NOVEMBER'S ELECTION, OVER 63,000 NEW VOTERS IN MILWAUKEE ALONE WERE REGISTERED ON ELECTION DAY AND PARTICIPATED IN THAT ELECTION. THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL LATER FOUND WIDESPREAD EVIDENCE OF FRAUD. THE WISCONSIN SYSTEM REQUIRES THAT THE COUNTY CLERK ATTEMPT TO VERIFY THE ACTUAL EXISTENCE OF THE NEW VOTERS BY POSTCARD AFTER THE ELECTION. BUT BY THE TIME ANY DISCREPANCIES ARE IRONED OUT, INAUGURATION DAY WILL HAVE COME AND GONE.

IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT SOME 25 MILLION ADDITIONAL VOTERS WOULD TAKE PART IN THE ELECTION. ALL REAL LIFE AMERICANS WHO ARE OLD ENOUGH TO VOTE -- AND WANT TO VOTE -- SHOULD BE ABLE TO DO SO -- ONCE. BUT VOTING OUGHT TO BE A POSITIVE DECISION. WE DON'T WANT POLITICAL BOSSES DRAGOONING REAL OR IMAGINED CITIZENS TO THE POLLS -- CITIZENS WHO PROBABLY WON'T HAVE THE FOGGIEST NOTION WHO THE CANDIDATES ARE.

THE ACT OF NON-VOTING IS ITSELF OFTEN A DELIBERATE DECISION, THE EXPERTS TELL US. BOTH OF OUR PARTIES SHOULD DWELL ON HOW BETTER TO COMMUNICATE WITH THESE AMERICANS AND ACTIVATE THEIR INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS. HAVING LABOR UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ROUND THEM UP AND HERD THEM OFF TO THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY IS NOT THE ANSWER.

ANOTHER OF THE CARTER "REFORMS" IS MOTIVATED BY PARTISAN CONSIDERATIONS. THE PRESIDENT HAS CALLED FOR THE REPEAL OF THE HATCH ACT PROTECTION AGAINST POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY FEDERAL EMPLOYEES. THIS WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO MOBILIZE THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY INTO A POWERFUL POLITICAL MACHINE. THE HATCH ACT WAS DESIGNED TO PROTECT THE INTEGRITY OF THE CIVIL SERVICE FROM POLITICAL ABUSE. IT WAS DESIGNED TO PROTECT CIVIL SERVANTS FROM THE POLITICAL PRESSURES OF THEIR BOSSES. UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN, POLITICAL CONFORMITY COULD BE ENFORCED. THE BATTLE TO CONTROL THE GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF THE BUREAUCRACY WOULD BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT IF THAT BUREAUCRACY WERE TURNED INTO A GIANT POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

PUBLIC FINANCING

THE THIRD REQUEST IS TO PROVIDE FOR PUBLIC FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS. THIS WOULD INVOLVE LIMITATIONS ON PRIVATE SPENDING IN CAMPAIGNS. THE TROUBLE WITH THAT IS THE DIFFICULTY IN RESTRICTING ALL PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS. A PUBLIC SUBSIDY WOULD FREE THE LABOR UNIONS TO INVEST THEIR ENORMOUS HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN THE KIND OF CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES THAT WOULD NOT BE COVERED BY THE LIMITATIONS.

ALL OF THESE PROPOSALS ARE INTENDED BY THE PRESIDENT TO STRENGTHEN HIS PARTY'S HOLD ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. PARTISAN DISADVANTAGE IS NOT REASON ENOUGH TO BE AGAINST THESE PLANS, I KNOW. TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ALSO ENCOURAGE THE SPLINTERING AWAY OF THIRD PARTIES, THEY WOULD LEAD TO THE DISINTEGRATION OF OUR STRONG TWO-PARTY SYSTEM -- AT A TIME, I SUBMIT, WHEN MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, AMERICA NEEDS A REVIVAL OF TWO STRONG PARTIES. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE "REFORMS" WOULD, IN FACT, BRING ABOUT A MAJOR TRANSFORMATION OF THE U.S. POLITICAL SYSTEM. A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT AND A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS WOULD LIKE TO PRESIDE OVER THIS READJUSTMENT, AND FURTHER TIP THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL POWER -- ALL IN THE NAME OF "REFORM."

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DIRECT ELECTION

I SUPPORT THE OBJECTIVE BEHIND ANOTHER ELECTORAL REFORM PROPOSAL -- NAMELY, THE POPULAR ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT. I AGREE THAT THE CANDIDATE WHO GETS THE MOST VOTES OUGHT TO WIN, AND THAT NO ELECTORAL COLLEGE TECHNICALITY SHOULD INTERFERE WITH THAT. BUT I AM SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THE DIRECT ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT CAN BE PROVIDED WITHOUT ENCOURAGING SPLINTER PARTIES AND MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR A CANDIDATE TO WIN WITH "THE MOST VOTES," EVEN IF "THE MOST" IS ONLY 35 OR 40 PERCENT. I HOPE A WORKABLE DIRECT ELECTION CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT CAN BE DEVELOPED, ONE THAT WOULD BE LIKELY TO MAINTAIN OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.

BREAKDOWN OF SALT TALKS

WHAT DISTRESSES ME MOST ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF THE SALT TALKS IS THAT IT IS ONE MORE EXAMPLE OF A MAJOR FAILING THAT IS BEGINNING TO SURFACE IN THE CARTER APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY. HIS RECORD, THUS FAR, STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT CARTER IS MORE INTERESTED IN PUBLIC RELATIONS PRONOUNCEMENTS THAN IN ACHIEVING TANGIBLE RESULTS.

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WITH MUCH FANFARE, MR. CARTER SENT OUR U.N. AMBASSADOR TO AFRICA AND HE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON WITH LITTLE MORE THAN A KISS AND A PROMISE. WITH NO FANFARE, BREZHNEV SENT PODGORNYY TO AFRICA AND HE RETURNED TO MOSCOW WITH A TREATY SIGNED BY MOZAMBIQUE AND A STRING OF JOINT COMMUNIQUEES EMPHASIZING SIMILARITY OF VIEWS WITH TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA.

DURING HIS AFRICAN SOJOURN, YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA WERE PROVING TO BE A STABILIZING ELEMENT IN THAT BELEAGUERED NATION. THE NEXT THING WE KNOW, FIDEL CASTRO IS TOURING AFRICA AND REPORTING, NO DOUBT, TO MOSCOW ON HIS PLANS TO FURTHER "STABILIZE" THE CONTINENT.

MR. CARTER SENDS LEONARD WOODCOCK TO VIETNAM, AGAIN WITH MUCH FANFARE, TO INQUIRE ABOUT OUR MIA'S. A NEW "BREAKTHROUGH" IS SUGGESTED BY THE WHITE HOUSE AND YET, WHEN WOODCOCK RETURNS, HE ADMITS HAVING MADE LITTLE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS.

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MR. CARTER SENDS CYRUS VANCE TO MOSCOW,
REVEALING IN ADVANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS NO LONGER
MERELY SATISFIED WITH THE AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED BY PRESIDENT
FORD AT VLADIVOSTOK, BUT WAS PREPARED TO PUSH FOR A NEW,
FAR-REACHING AND HIGHLY COMPLEX ARMS LIMITATION TREATY
THAT HAD NOT BEEN PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED WITH THE SOVIETS
EXCEPT IN VERY SUPERFICIAL TERMS. VANCE RETURNED FROM
MOSCOW WITH THE SAME THING YOUNG AND WOODCOCK BROUGHT
BACK. NOTHING.

I REALIZE THAT MR. CARTER IS INEXPERIENCED IN
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BUT I WOULD FEEL MUCH MORE SECURE IF I
THOUGHT HE KNEW IT, TOO. SUCCESS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS
REQUIRES A GOOD DEAL MORE THAN MORAL POSTURING. IT
REQUIRES EXPERIENCED LEADERHSIP, MUCH ADVANCE PREPARATION,
AND A WILLINGNESS TO BUILD ON THE SUCCESSES OF THE PAST.
I CAN UNDERSTAND MR. CARTER'S URGE TO REMAKE THE WORLD
IN HIS OWN IMAGE BEFORE 1980, BUT UNLESS HE STOPS
PREACHING AND STARTS DOING, I'M AFRAID WE'RE IN FOR
MANY MORE DISAPPOINTMENTS.

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THERE IS STILL TIME TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE LEFT BEHIND IN MOSCOW. WE ALL HOPE FOR AND SUPPORT THE RENEWAL OF NEGOTIATIONS.

OUR POSITION AS REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS SHOULD BE -- AND WILL BE -- TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT. WHEN HE IS WRONG, WE CAN SERVE OUR COUNTRY BEST -- AND MERIT THE CONFIDENCE OF THE VOTERS -- BY OFFERING ALTERNATIVE IDEAS IN A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

MUST OFFER SPECIFIC ALTERNATIVES

SAYING "NO" TO MORE AND BIGGER GOVERNMENT IS NOT ENOUGH. WE'VE GOT TO SPELL OUT HOW THE FORCES OF OUR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM CAN BE HARNESSSED TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS THAT ARE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO MANY OF OUR CITIZENS. AND THAT IT CAN BE DONE MORE EFFECTIVELY THAT WAY THAN BY EXPANDING THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY AND RAISING TAXES.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN IN OFFICE NOW FOR ALMOST THREE MONTHS. THE NEW PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY HAVE BEEN OUR CONSTANT COMPANIONS ON THE TELEVISION SCREEN, THE RADIO, AND THE FRONT PAGES OF OUR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES. THE TRANSITION FROM THE EASY RHETORIC OF THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE TO THE AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNING THIS NATION IS ALWAYS HARD. IT IS NATURAL FOR HIM TO WANT TO MAKE A GOOD IMPRESSION AND TO DELAY MAKING SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS. BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TREATED TO A PUBLIC RELATIONS BLITZ UNPRECEDENTED IN THE HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY. FROM TREE HOUSES AND TOWN MEETINGS, WE ARE BOMBARDED WITH THE IMAGE OF A FOLKSY AMERICAN FAMILY THAT HAS OUR BEST INTERESTS AT HEART.

MR. CARTER CAMPAIGNED ON A PLEDGE TO CUT THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF BY ONE-THIRD. SO WHAT HAPPENED? THE WHITE HOUSE HAS GROWN BY ALMOST ONE-THIRD SINCE MR. CARTER TOOK OFFICE. MOST OF THE ADDITIONS MUST HAVE BEEN PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELORS.

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IF SOME OF THIS CREATIVE ENERGY THAT HAS BEEN DEVOTED TO P.R. COULD BE DIVERTED TO SOLVING THE NATION'S PRESSING PROBLEMS -- IF THE WHITE HOUSE TEAM IS HALF AS IMAGINATIVE GOVERNING THE COUNTRY AS IT HAS BEEN MARKETING THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE -- I SUPPOSE WE ARE IN GOOD HANDS.

GOP UNDER FEWER CONSTRAINTS

WHEN IT COMES DOWN TO INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS TO NAGGING PUBLIC PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS THAT REQUIRE DOWN-TO-EARTH THINKING AND NOT STAGE-MANAGED GIMMICKS, THE TRUTH IS OUR PARTY IS UNDER FEWER CONSTRAINTS AND INHIBITIONS THAN IS THE OTHER PARTY. WE CAN OFFER FRESH, EXCITING IDEAS THAT DRAW ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, REVERSE THE BURGEONING GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT, AND WIND UP COSTING THE TAXPAYERS LESS.

THESE ARE POSITIONS CONSISTENT WITH REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES. THESE ARE POSITIONS CONSISTENT WITH THE THINKING OF MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN COME ROARING BACK IN
1978 AND IN 1980 IF WE TAKE OUR CASE TO THE PEOPLE, IN
TERMS THAT HAVE MEANING FOR THEIR EVERY DAY LIVES --
AND IF WE AVOID FACTIONAL SPLITS AND RUN GOOD CANDIDATES
AND MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION FROM THE GRASS ROOTS
UP -- NOT SOMETHING THAT IS ORDAINED FROM THE TOP DOWN.
IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IF WE DO THESE THINGS, AND REMAIN
TRUE TO OUR PRINCIPLES, THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
CAN AND WILL BE BRIGHT.

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- Soul of Party -
- Refresh → Last Election
- Revitalize Base