

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
7TH DISTRICT GOP CONVENTION

HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA  
SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1978

NOT LONG AGO, THE REINS OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WERE TURNED OVER TO A NEW PRESIDENT, A MAN WHO CAPTURED HIS PARTY'S NOMINATION AND SURVIVED A CLOSE ELECTION WITH A PLEDGE TO SHAKE UP THE WASHINGTON ESTABLISHMENT, TO MAKE GOVERNMENT AS GOOD AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO ALTER THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF DOING THINGS IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL. THAT TRANSITION BROUGHT WITH IT A BREATH OF HOPE FOR MANY AMERICANS, A FLEETING MOOD OF OPTIMISM WHICH SEEMS TO ENGULF OUR NATION AT THE BEGINNING OF ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION. AND, TOO, IT SERVED TO REMIND REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE -- ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTH -- OF THE NARROWNESS OF OUR POLITICAL BASE, OF THE VITALITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OF THE DESPERATE NEED FOR OUR PARTY TO REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO CONVINCE THEM THAT WHAT WE STAND FOR BEST SERVES THEIR INTERESTS.

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AMERICANS DISILLUSIONED

TODAY, BARELY SIXTEEN MONTHS LATER, THE BREATH OF HOPE HAS BEEN SUFFOCATED, THE MOOD OF OPTIMISM HAS VANISHED, AND THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF DOING THINGS IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE IN WASHINGTON. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE APPREHENSIVE, DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR PRESIDENT, SKEPTICAL OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, UNSURE ABOUT THEIR FUTURE. THE RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA AT HOME AND ABROAD IS FADING. AND THE PROSPECTS FOR OUR PARTY -- IN HARRISONBURG, IN VIRGINIA, AND AROUND THIS NATION -- ARE ONCE AGAIN ON THE RISE.

REPUBLICAN PARTY ON THE MOVE

HERE IN THE OLD DOMINION, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ON THE MOVE. JOHN DALTON WON THE GOVERNORSHIP. MARSHALL COLEMAN IS YOUR ATTORNEY GENERAL. WE HAVE FIELDDED AN OUTSTANDING GROUP OF CANDIDATES TO REPLACE BILL SCOTT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. AND KEN ROBINSON IS STRONG IN THE 7TH DISTRICT.

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AS REPUBLICANS, WE SHOULD BE ELATED. WE SHOULD BE THANKFUL THAT THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP BY THE DEMOCRATS IN WASHINGTON AND IN RICHMOND HAS GIVEN US A NEW LEASE ON LIFE AND OPENED UP TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITIES THIS YEAR AND IN 1980.

BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR IMPROVED PROSPECTS REFLECT NOT **JUST** WHAT WE'VE BEEN DOING TO STRENGTHEN OUR PARTY BUT, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, WHAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE FAILED TO DO FOR OUR COUNTRY.

SO WHILE WE, AS REPUBLICANS, MAY REAP POLITICAL BENEFITS IN 1978, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO RISE THIS EVENING WITH ANY SENSE OF POLITICAL SATISFACTION OR JUBILATION.



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RATHER, I COME BEFORE YOU AS A VERY TROUBLED AMERICAN -- YOUR PARTISAN ALLY -- WITH A GROWING SENSE OF SADNESS AND DISMAY AT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN WASHINGTON, HAPPENING TO OUR COUNTRY, HAPPENING TO OUR NATION IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD.

#### REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY

WE FIND AMERICA DIVIDED, UNEASY ABOUT OUR PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO PREEMINENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, UNSURE AND DISILLUSIONED ABOUT THE LACK OF DIRECTION HERE AT HOME, AND UTTERLY FRUSTRATED BY A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE REAL WORLD PROBLEMS OF OUR PEOPLE. IN VIRGINIA AND AROUND THIS NATION, WE REPUBLICANS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR NATION'S COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL STRENGTH, STABILIZE OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY, FEED THOSE WHO CANNOT FEED THEMSELVES, FIND JOBS FOR THOSE WHO NEED THEM, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LESS REASON TO BE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES OF STATECRAFT.

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I THINK THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN MEASURE UP TO THIS TASK. WE CAN GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY WANT, IF WE WILL. IF WE ASPIRE TO LEADERSHIP, WE CAN'T AFFORD TO BE NEGATIVE. WE MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE. WE MUST PROPOSE RESPONSIVE AND RESPONSIBLE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP, STRENGTHEN OUR CITIES, OUR STATES, AND OUR NATION, AND GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A GOVERNMENT THEY CAN BE PROUD OF.

WE REPUBLICANS CAN DO THESE THINGS IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY WHAT UNITES US AND NOT INHIBITED BY WHAT DIVIDES US.

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ERASING THE NEGATIVE IMAGE

SHORTLY AFTER THE 1976 ELECTION, I SAID I THOUGHT WE NEEDED TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR POPULATION -- TO BLACKS, TO BLUE COLLAR WORKERS, TO SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS, THAT WE COULDN'T AFFORD TO SIT BACK TAKING STIFF-NECKED PRIDE IN OUR REFUSAL TO EXPLORE NEW AVENUES OF APPROACH TO THE AFFECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I SAID THEN AND I BELIEVE EVEN MORE FIRMLY TODAY THAT WE SHOULD BE MORE INTERESTED IN WINNING ELECTIONS AND SURVIVING THAN IN SEEING OUR PARTY FADE INTO HISTORY, PROUDLY CLINGING TO SOME NARROW NOTION OF IDEOLOGICAL PURITY . WE SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD TO KEEP WINNING MORAL VICTORIES AND SUSTAINING POLITICAL DEFEATS.



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IF THE SEVENTEEN MONTHS SINCE THE LAST ELECTION ARE ANY INDICATION, WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUR FUTURE. WE'VE GONE A LONG WAY TOWARDS ERASING THE NEGATIVE IMAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS A PARTY WHICH CARES ONLY FOR THE RICH AND NOT THE POOR, THE BUSINESSMAN AND NOT THE WORKING MAN, THOSE WHO CAN HELP THEMSELVES AND NOT THOSE WHO NEED HELP.

POSITIVE CANDIDATES WITH A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY

IN 1978, WE'RE DOING MORE THAN CRITICIZING A VULNERABLE PRESIDENT. WE'RE OFFERING POSITIVE CANDIDATES WITH A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.

WE'RE PROPOSING POSITIVE PROGRAMS WHICH RESPOND TO THE PUBLIC'S CRY FOR TAX RELIEF, FOR LESS BURDENSOME GOVERNMENT, FOR AN AMERICA WHICH REWARDS INITIATIVE AND HARD WORK.

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THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DESPERATELY SEARCHING FOR LEADERS WHO SHARE THEIR SENSE OF FRUSTRATION, WHO WANT GOVERNMENT OFF THEIR BACKS AND OUT OF THEIR POCKETS, WHO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPER ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AS SERVANT, NOT MASTER, OF THE PEOPLE IS NOT AN OUTDATED NOTION. THEY WANT MORE THAN INSPIRED RHETORIC ABOUT INDIVIDUALITY AND FREE ENTERPRISE AND NATIONAL STRENGTH. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA -- AND PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- ALREADY SHARE OUR BASIC VALUES, OUR PHILOSOPHY. WHAT THEY WANT FROM US ARE CANDIDATES AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHO WILL PUT THAT PHILOSOPHY TO WORK IN HARRISONBURG, IN VIRGINIA, AND IN WASHINGTON.

I CAN TELL YOU TODAY THAT REPUBLICANS IN WASHINGTON ARE DOING JUST THAT. WE'RE OUT FRONT WITH POSITIVE PROGRAMS TO REDUCE TAXES.



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TO INCREASE DOMESTIC ENERGY SUPPLIES, TO PROVIDE TUITION RELIEF FOR PARENTS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS, TO REFORM OUR NATION'S ANTIQUATED WELFARE SYSTEM, TO INSURE AN AMERICAN DEFENSE POSTURE SECOND TO NONE.

AND WE'RE STANDING FIRM AGAINST FURTHER INCURSIONS OF FEDERAL POWER AND TO DECISIONS WHICH OUGHT PROPERLY BE LEFT TO INDIVIDUALS, TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, OR TO LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT.

#### TAX "REFORM" PLAN INFLATIONARY

IN THE NAME OF TAX "REFORM", THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD ELIMINATE MANY OF THE TAX DEDUCTIONS WHICH PROVIDE SOME MEASURE OF RELIEF FOR HARD-PRESSED MIDDLE INCOME TAXPAYERS. WHAT THE PRESIDENT FAILS TO REALIZE, OR HAS CHOSEN TO IGNORE, IS THAT HIS TAX "REFORM" PROGRAM

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WILL PILE ANOTHER TAX INCREASE ON TOP OF THE HIGHLY INFLATIONARY SOCIAL SECURITY TAX HIKE AND THE ADMINISTRATION'S \$125 BILLION ENERGY TAX PACKAGE.

MANY OF US IN CONGRESS THINK TAXES ARE TOO HIGH ALREADY. WE'D LIKE TO SEE TAX CUTS ALONG WITH REDUCTIONS IN FEDERAL SPENDING, NOT TAX INCREASES AND SPENDING ESCALATION.

RETURN TO DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION

I'M ALSO ALARMED BY THE GROUNDWORK BEING LAID BY THE ADMINISTRATION FOR THE REIMPOSITION OF CONTROLS ON WAGES AND PRICES. THE PRESIDENT HAS REPEATEDLY DISAVOWED HIS INTENTION TO SEEK SUCH MANDATORY AUTHORITY. BUT, AS ECONOMIST HERBERT STEIN RECENTLY POINTED OUT, FEW CAN PLACE MUCH CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENT'S PROTESTATIONS THAT HE WILL NOT USE MANDATORY CONTROLS IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT HE IS ACTIVELY SEEKING SUCH RESTRAINTS ALREADY IN THE ENERGY AND HEALTH CARE FIELDS.

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DR. STEIN, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS UNDER THE FORD ADMINISTRATION, CORRECTLY POINTS OUT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONSTANTLY MISEDUCATING THE PEOPLE IN A WAY WHICH HAS AS ITS LOGICAL END A STRONG POPULAR DEMAND FOR MANDATORY WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS. IT'S CLEAR THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ANTI-INFLATION EFFORTS TO DATE HAVE BEEN WEAK OR NON-EXISTENT.

AND UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO SET AN EXAMPLE, THE PROSPECTS ARE FOR A RETURN TO DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE.

#### ADMINISTRATION FLOUNDERING

THE ADMINISTRATION IS FLOUNDERING, DESPERATELY SEARCHING FOR AN ISSUE THAT WILL ENABLE THE PRESIDENT TO RECAPTURE THE POPULIST APPEAL OF HIS 1976 CAMPAIGN.



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POLITICALLY SPEAKING, I GUESS THAT MAKES SENSE. IF YOU HAD BEEN IN OFFICE NEARLY A YEAR AND A HALF, IF YOU SHARED POWER WITH OVERWHELMING CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITIES OF YOUR OWN PARTY, AND IF YOUR ONLY SUBSTANTIAL LEGISLATIVE "VICTORY" WAS RATIFICATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OPPOSED, YOU'D BE LOOKING FOR A POPULAR ISSUE, TOO. I THINK THAT'S HOW PRESIDENT CARTER IS REACTING.

FAITH IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

AS REPUBLICANS, WE DON'T THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE THE ARBITER OF EVERY PRICE AND WAGE DECISION. WE DON'T BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO EXTRACT HIGHER AND HIGHER TAXES FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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I KNOW THAT WHAT WE STAND FOR BEST SERVES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF MORE-OF-THE-SAME GOVERNMENT. THAT'S WHY THEY'RE RECEPTIVE TO OUR REPUBLICAN PROGRAMS. YET, NO MATTER HOW MERITORIOUS OUR INITIATIVES MAY BE, THEY FACE AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE AT BEST BECAUSE THERE IS A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND A TWO-TO-ONE MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS. UNLESS WE INCREASE OUR NUMBERS IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ADVANCE OUR OWN PROGRAMS BEYOND THE RHETORICAL STAGE.

RESPONSIBLE BALANCE

AND SO WE STAND AT A POINT IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF OUR NATION WHEN THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE IN WASHINGTON IS GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE.

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THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY ARE NOT PROBLEMS FOR A ONE-PARTY CONGRESS OR A ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT. THIS YEAR, THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA CAN HELP RESTORE THE BALANCE IN THE CONGRESS BY ELECTING A REPUBLICAN TO BILL SCOTT'S SEAT IN THE SENATE AND BY INCREASING REPUBLICAN STRENGTH IN THE VIRGINIA HOUSE DELEGATION.

REPUBLICANS HAVE AN ATTRACTIVE, ACTIVIST, PROGRESSIVE PHILOSOPHY, A NO-NONSENSE FISCALLY RATIONAL APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT. MEN LIKE JOHN DALTON AND MARSHAL COLEMAN HAVE ARTICULATED THAT PHILOSOPHY WELL, AND HAVE REAPED THE POLITICAL REWARDS. THEY HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE THAT WE NEED NOT REMAIN A MINORITY PARTY.

NEITHER THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA NOR THE UNITED STATES HAVE LEGISLATED OUR MINORITY STATUS. BUT NEITHER HAVE THEY LEGISLATED OUR EXISTENCE.

SO, WE HAVE SACRIFICES TO MAKE. WE HAVE HARD WORK TO DO. IF WE WORK TOGETHER, I THINK WE'LL BE QUITE SUCCESSFUL.

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