

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
PASSAIC COUNTY SALUTE TO OUR GOP CHAIRMEN DINNER
WAYNE, NEW JERSEY
SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1978

1978 IS A YEAR OF HOPE -- AND OPPORTUNITY -- FOR OUR PARTY,
FOR OUR NATION, FOR CITIZENS EVERYWHERE WHO YEARN FOR
COMMON SENSE IN GOVERNMENT, FOR A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS
COMPASSIONATE YET FRUGAL, IDEALISTIC BUT NOT FOOLHARDY,
RESPONSIVE TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS, AND MINDFUL OF POCKETBOOK
REALITIES.

THIS CAN BE A WATERSHED YEAR IN AMERICAN POLITICS, A YEAR
WHEN THE REPUBLICAN VISION FOR AMERICA IS BOLDLY IMPRINTED
ON THE FABRIC OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

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SEARCH FOR LEADERSHIP

FOR TOO LONG, GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICIANS WHO POPULATE IT HAVE DRIFTED FURTHER AND FURTHER AWAY FROM THE WELL-ESTABLISHED AMERICAN NOTION OF STATECRAFT -- OF LIMITED GOVERNMENT, OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, OF THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO LIVE THEIR LIVES AS THEY SEE FIT, NOT AS GOVERNMENT DICTATES.

AND, NOW, THE PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH. THEY WANT GOVERNMENT SCALED BACK, TAXES LOWERED, AND AMERICA'S PREEMINENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA RESTORED. AND THEY'RE LOOKING FOR POLITICAL LEADERS WHO SHARE THIS PHILOSOPHY, NOT FOR POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS WHO MIMMICK THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT JUST TO WIN ELECTIONS.

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AND THEREIN LIES THE STRENGTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1978. UNLIKE OUR OPPONENTS, UNLIKE PRESIDENT CARTER, WE DON'T HAVE TO CHANGE OUR PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT, TO WIN ELECTIONS IN 1978. BECAUSE THE CONCERNS, THE FEARS, THE FRUSTRATIONS, THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THIS YEAR ARE AND HAVE BEEN REPUBLICAN CONCERNS, FEARS, FRUSTRATIONS, HOPES AND DREAMS FOR YEARS.

REPUBLICANS CAN PROVIDE LEADERSHIP

THERE'S NOT A FORCE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY TODAY BETTER EQUIPPED TO STOP GOVERNMENT MEDDLING IN AMERICANS PRIVATE LIVES, TO RESTORE AMERICA'S SAGGING FORTUNES AROUND THE GLOBE, TO PUT AN END TO GOVERNMENT-INDUCED DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION, AND TO PRESS FOR MEANINGFUL TAX REDUCTION THAN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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IN NEW JERSEY, IN THE EAST, AND AROUND THIS NATION, WE
REPUBLICANS KNOW THAT, GIVEN A CHANCE, WE CAN DELIVER TO
THE VOTERS. BUT ONLY IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY
WHAT UNITES US, NOT INHIBITED BY WHAT DIVIDES US.

THE PUBLIC MAY BE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES
OF POLITICS. BUT THE PEOPLE WANT STRONG LEADERS, MEN AND
WOMEN WHO UNDERSTAND THEIR FRUSTRATION WITH GOVERNMENT,
AND ARE READY, WILLING, AND ABLE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN AND MUST PROVIDE THIS LEADERSHIP.
THROUGHOUT THIS CAMPAIGN, WE MUST CONTRAST OUR INITIATIVES ON
TAX REDUCTION, SPENDING RESTRAINT, NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND

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ECONOMIC GROWTH WITH THE LACK OF CLEARLY-FOCUSED POLICIES FROM THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS. AND PRESIDENT CARTER SEEMS EAGER TO HELP US. ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, POLICY AFTER POLICY, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS STUMBLER, HESITATED, SHIFTED DIRECTION, AND CONFUSED BOTH ITS SUPPORTERS AND DETRACTORS. BUT THE PRESIDENT'S DISAPPOINTING PERFORMANCE WILL NOT BE ENOUGH. PEOPLE WON'T VOTE FOR REPUBLICANS SIMPLY BECAUSE WE SAY THE DEMOCRATS ARE BAD AND WE'RE AVAILABLE.

WE'VE GOT TO GIVE THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY, THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA, A POSITIVE REASON TO VOTE FOR OUR CANDIDATES. AND I THINK WE'RE DOING JUST THAT.

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DEMAGOGUERY AT THE WHITE HOUSE

TAKE TAXES, FOR EXAMPLE. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PROPOSED MORE TAX INCREASES AND OPPOSED MORE TAX REDUCTIONS THAN ANY PRESIDENT IN RECENT HISTORY. HE'S ALREADY SIGNED A \$225 BILLION SOCIAL SECURITY TAX HIKE, PROPOSED ANOTHER \$125 BILLION IN ENERGY TAXES, THREATENED TO IMPOSE \$12 BILLION IN OIL IMPORT FEES WHICH WOULD HIT HARDEST AT NEW JERSEY AND OTHER NORTHEASTERN STATES. AND HE HAS REPEATEDLY RESISTED REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO MAKE MEANINGFUL REDUCTIONS IN FEDERAL TAXES.

INDEED, NEARLY EVERY EFFORT TO REDUCE TAXES IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN MET WITH STRONG OPPOSITION BY PRESIDENT CARTER, BY DEMAGOGIC CHARGES OF TAX WINDFALLS FOR THE WEALTHY, BY TRUMPED-UP

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STATISTICS DESIGNED TO LEAD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BELIEVE THAT REPUBLICAN-SPONSORED TAX REDUCTION PROGRAMS WILL BENEFIT ONLY A CHOSEN FEW.

I, FOR ONE, DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO FALL FOR SUCH DEMAGOGUERY. WE MUSTN'T LET THEM. WE MUST PRESS ON WITH THE BATTLE FOR MEANINGFUL INCOME TAX RELIEF FOR INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO LEAD THE CHARGE FOR SCALED-DOWN CAPITAL GAINS TAXES TO AFFORD TAX RELIEF TO HOMEOWNERS AND TO REINVIGORATE THE PRIVATE ECONOMY.

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INDEXING & OTHER TAX REDUCTION PROPOSALS

WE MUSTN'T LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FORGET THAT REPUBLICANS UNDERSTOOD THE NEED FOR TAX RELIEF LONG BEFORE "PROPOSITION 13 FEVER" SWEEPED THE NATION. I, FOR ONE, HAVE PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO EXCLUDE INFLATION-INDUCED PHANTOM INCREASES IN WAGES FROM FEDERAL INCOME TAXES. THIS SO-CALLED "INDEXING" OF THE TAX SYSTEM WOULD KEEP MORE MONEY IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO EARNED IT AND LESS IN THE BELLY OF BIG GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD FORCE THE BIG SPENDERS IN CONGRESS TO VOTE FOR TAX INCREASES AND NOT PERMIT INFLATION TO AUTOMATICALLY INCREASE FEDERAL REVENUES BY PUSHING WORKING AMERICANS INTO HIGHER AND HIGHER TAX BRACKETS EACH YEAR. IT'S A BOLD PLAN, ONE WHICH WOULD PUT A LID ON TAXES AND FORCE FEDERAL SPENDING RESTRAINT.

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OTHER REPUBLICANS -- CONGRESSMAN KEMP, SENATOR ROTH, SENATOR JAVITS, AND CONGRESSMAN STEIGER -- HAVE SPONSORED SIMILAR TAX REDUCTION PROGRAMS.

AND THE OVERWHELMING LOGIC OF SUCH TAX RELIEF PLANS HAS ATTRACTED MANY DEMOCRATS TO OUR CAUSE.

ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN HAVE ATTACKED SUCH TAX CUT PROPOSALS AS IRRESPONSIBLE AND UNREALISTIC. BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW BETTER. WE AREN'T ADVOCATING -- AND SHOULDN'T ADVOCATE -- UNREALISTIC SPENDING AND TAX REDUCTION POLICIES WHICH WOULD REALLY FORCE GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON ITS COMMENDABLE EFFORTS TO HELP THE NEEDY, TURN A DEAF EAR TO THE UNQUESTIONED

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NEEDS OF OUR CITIES, OR DISMANTLE THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT. WE KNOW THAT GOVERNMENT CAN BE A POSITIVE FORCE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT GOVERNMENT CAN PROVIDE A WIDE RANGE OF IMPORTANT PUBLIC SERVICES WITHOUT INCURRING HUGE BUDGET DEFICITS, WITHOUT EXTRACTING UNNECESSARY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN TAXES EACH YEAR FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WITHOUT DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION.

AND THAT'S THE MESSAGE WE MUST CARRY TO EVERY STATE, EVERY COUNTY, EVERY CITY, EVERY PRECINCT OF THIS LAND IN 1978.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRATS WHO DOMINATE CONGRESS ARE VULNERABLE ON THE POCKETBOOK ISSUES OF OUR TIME. BUT FOR OUR CRITICISM TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY, IT MUST BE MEASURED, AND OUR ALTERNATIVE POLICIES CLEARLY SPELLED OUT.

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INFLATION, TAXATION, GOVERNMENT OVER-SPENDING -- THESE ARE THE GUT ISSUES OF THE DAY, THE ISSUES TO WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES SEEM MOST RESPONSIVE.

NEED FOR CONSISTENT FOREIGN POLICY

BUT, IF WE, AS A PARTY ASPIRE TO NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, WE MUST ALSO ADDRESS THE IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES OF OUR TIME, THE NEED FOR AMERICA TO REASSERT ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE FREE WORLD, TO CHART A CONSISTENT, PRUDENT COURSE IN FOREIGN POLICY.

UNDER THE INEXPERIENCED DIRECTION OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY DOES NOT PROJECT SUCH AN IMAGE.

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OUR GOALS ARE BLURRED, OUR COMMITMENT TO ALLIES QUESTIONED, OUR RESOLVE TO DEAL FIRMLY WITH ADVERSARIES DOUBTED, UNCERTAINTY, CONTRADICTION, FREQUENT SHIFTS IN POLICY AND INCONSISTENCY CHARACTERIZE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TODAY. OUR IMAGE IS OF A NATION WHICH HAS SEEMINGLY LOST ITS GRIP ON THE RUTTER OF FREE WORLD LEADERSHIP.

AS REPUBLICANS, AS CONCERNED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, WE MUST SPEAK OUT, CONSTRUCTIVELY CRITICIZING THE ADMINISTRATION WHEN APPROPRIATE, SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT AND DEMANDING STABLE, COHERENT STRATEGIES TO GUIDE OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES.

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THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS OVER-REACTED TO THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. IT HAS PERMITTED LOFTY IDEALISM TO SUPPLANT HARD-NOSED REALITY. AS A RESULT, OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ARE DETERIORATING. OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE IS SLIPPING. EVEN THE ADMINISTRATION'S LAUDABLE COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH WAS LAUNCHED WITH GREAT FANFARE LAST YEAR, IS FADING.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S RHETORIC ON FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN TOUGH, ITS DEEDS WEAK. WE HAVE UNILATERALLY GIVEN UP ONE WEAPON SYSTEM AFTER ANOTHER, THROWN AWAY BARGAINING CHIP AFTER BARGAINING CHIP IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS TALKS. WE HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN BLATANT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, WHICH, AT FIRST GLANCE, APPEAR NOT TO AFFECT

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US DIRECTLY FOR FEAR OF INTERVENING IN THE "INTERNAL AFFAIRS"
OF ANOTHER NATION. BUT I SAY THAT SO LONG AS THERE IS SUCH
BLATANT DISREGARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS THE SCHARANSKY AND
GINZBURG TRIALS, THE CAMBODIAN HOLOCAUST, THE CUBAN
ADVENTURES ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, NONE OF US CAN HIDE
BEHIND NATIONAL BORDERS.

WE CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO RETURN TO THE DAY-TO-DAY TENSIONS
OF THE COLD WAR. WE ASK ONLY FOR FAITHFUL ADHERENCE TO
AMERICAN PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, FOR UNSWERVING COMMITMENT
TO THE NOTION THAT FREEDOM IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF ALL MEN,
THAT THE DESTINY OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD -- THOSE
LIVING AND TO BE BORN -- IS TO BE FREE.

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RESTORING THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

FOREIGN POLICY, OVERTAXATION, OVERSPENDING, GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE, THE ENERGY CRISIS, HEALTH CARE, FARM POLICY, WELFARE REFORM, URBAN POLICY -- THESE ARE THE ISSUES OUR PARTY MUST ADDRESS IF WE ARE TO REASSERT OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AMERICA. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR OUR NATION, THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN NEW JERSEY AND PEOPLE EVERYWHERE SHARE OUR BASIC VALUES, OUR PHILOSOPHY, OUR CONCERN ABOUT GOVERNMENT GONE AWRY, OUR DESIRE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT HIGH TAXES AND WASTEFUL SPENDING, OUR COMMITMENT TO AMERICAN STRENGTH IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

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1978 CAN BE THE YEAR WHEN WE TAKE THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS RESTORING BALANCE AND REINVIGORATING THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN AMERICA. IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL THIS YEAR, IF REPUBLICANS MAKE MEANINGFUL GAINS IN NOVEMBER, THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN TAXPAYER, THE CITIZENS CONCERNED ABOUT AMERICAN STRENGTH, CAN BE REALIZED. IT'S A CHALLENGE, AN OPPORTUNITY, WE MUST NOT LET PASS.

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~~Woodbury~~
DRAFT SPEECH
NEW JERSEY
JULY 29, 1978

1978 is a year of hope -- and opportunity -- for our Party, for our nation, for citizens everywhere who yearn for common sense in government, for a government which is compassionate yet frugal, idealistic but not foolhardy, responsive to people's needs, and mindful of pocketbook realities.

This can be a watershed year in American politics, a year when ~~the~~ the Republican vision for America is boldly imprinted on the fabric of American government.

Search for Leadership

For too long, government and the politicians who populate it have drifted further and further away from the well-established American notion of statecraft -- of limited government, of individual freedom, of the right of American citizens to live their lives as they see fit, not as government dictates. And, now, the people have had enough. They want government scaled back, taxes lowered, and America's preminence in the international arena restored. And they're looking for political leaders who share this philosophy, not for political opportunists who mimick the mood of the moment just to win elections.

And therein lies the strength of the Republican Party in 1978. Unlike our opponents, unlike President Carter, we don't have to change our philosophy of government, to win elections in 1978. Because the concerns, the fears, the frustrations, the hopes and dreams of the American people this year are and have been Republican concerns, fears, frustrations, hopes and dreams for years.

Repub. Can't like Jim Cowter won't have so change their philosophy of gov. to win elections in 1978

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Republicans Can Provide Leadership

There's not a force in American society today better equipped to stop government meddling in Americans private lives, to restore America's sagging fortunes around the globe, to put an end to government-induced double digit inflation, and to press for meaningful tax reduction than the Republican Party. In New Jersey, in the East, and around this nation, we Republicans know that, given a chance, we can deliver to the voters. But only if we act together, motivated by what unites us, not inhibited by what divides us.

The public may be cynical about the personalities and processes of politics. But the people want strong leaders, men and women who understand their frustration with government, and are ready, willing, and able to do something about it.

The Republican Party can and must provide ^{the} leadership. Throughout this campaign, we must contrast our initiatives on tax reduction, spending restraint, national defense, and economic growth with the lack of clearly-focused policies from the White House and the Democratic Congress. And President Carter seems eager to help us. On issue after issue, policy after policy, this Administration has stumbled, hesitated, shifted direction, and confused both its supporters and detractors. But the President's disappointing performance will not be enough. People won't vote for Republicans simply because we say the Democrats are bad and we're available.

We've got to give the people of New Jersey, the people of America, a positive reason to vote for our candidates. And I think we're doing just that.

Demagoguery By The White House

Take taxes, for example. President Carter has proposed more tax increases and opposed more tax reductions than any ^{President} in recent history. He's already signed a \$225 billion Social Security Tax hike.

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proposed another \$125 billion in energy taxes, threatened to impose \$12 billion in oil import fees which would hit hardest at New Jersey and other Northeastern states. And he has repeatedly resisted Republican efforts to make meaningful reductions in federal taxes.

Indeed, nearly every effort to reduce taxes in Washington has been met with strong opposition by President Carter, by demagogic charges of tax windfalls for the wealthy, by trumped-up statistics designed to lead the American people to believe that Republican-sponsored tax reduction programs will benefit only a chosen few.

I, for one, don't think the American people are going to fall for such demagoguery. We mustn't let them. We must press on with the battle for meaningful income tax relief for individual taxpayers. We should continue to lead the charge for scaled-down capital gains taxes to afford tax relief to home owners and to reinvigorate the private economy.

Indexing & Other Tax Reduction Proposals
We mustn't let the American people forget that Republicans understood the need for tax relief long before "Proposition 13 fever" swept the nation. I, for one, have proposed legislation to exclude inflation-induced phantom increases in wages from federal income taxes. This so-called "indexing" of the tax system would keep more money in the hands of the people who earned it and less in the belly of big government. It would force the big spenders in Congress to vote for tax increases and not permit inflation to automatically increase federal revenues by pushing working Americans into higher and higher tax brackets each year. It's a bold plan, one which would put a lid on taxes and force federal spending restraint.

Other Republicans -- Congressman Kemp, Senator Roth, Senator Javits, and Congressman Steiger -- have sponsored similar tax reduction programs.

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And the overwhelming logic of such tax relief plans has attracted many Democrats to our cause.

Administration spokesmen have attacked ^{such} tax ^{cuts} proposals as irresponsible and unrealistic. But the American people know better. We aren't advocating -- and shouldn't advocate -- unrealistic spending and tax reduction policies which would really force government to abandon its commendable efforts to help the needy, turn a deaf ear to the unquestioned needs of our cities, or dismantle the defense establishment. We know that government can be a positive force in American society. But we also know that government can provide a wide range of important public services without incurring huge budget deficits, without extracting unnecessary billions of dollars in taxes each year from the American people, and without double-digit inflation.

And that 's the message we must carry to every state, every county, every city, every precinct of this land in 1978.

The President and the Democrats who dominate Congress are vulnerable on the pocketbook issues of our time. But for our criticism to be taken seriously, it must be measured, and our alternative policies clearly spelled out.

Inflation, taxation, government over-spending -- these are the gut issues of the day, the issues to which the people of the United States seem most responsive.

Need for consistent foreign policy
But, if we, as a Party aspire to national leadership, we must also address the important foreign policy issues of our time, the need for America to reassert its leadership role in the Free World, to chart a consistent, prudent course in foreign policy.

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Under the inexperienced direction of the Carter Administration, American foreign policy does not project such an image. Our goals are blurred, our commitment to allies questioned, our resolve to deal firmly with adversaries doubted. Uncertainty, contradiction, frequent shifts in policy, and inconsistency characterize American foreign policy today. Our image is of a nation which has seemingly lost its grip on the rudder of free world leadership.

As Republicans, as concerned citizens of America, we must speak out, constructively criticizing the Administration when appropriate, supporting the President when he is right and demanding stable, coherent strategies to guide our foreign and defense policies.

The Carter Administration has over-reacted to the mood of the moment in international affairs. It has permitted lofty idealism to supplant hard-nosed reality. As a result, our relations with the Soviets are deteriorating. Our national defense posture is slipping. Even the Administration's laudable commitment to human rights, which was launched with great fanfare last year, is fading.

The Administration's rhetoric on foreign policy has been tough, its deeds weak. We have unilaterally given up one weapon system after another, thrown away bargaining chip after bargaining chip in the strategic arms talks. We have been reluctant to become involved in blatant human rights violations, which, at first glance, appear not to affect us directly for fear of intervening in the "internal affairs" of another nation. But I say that so long as there is such blatant disregard of human rights as the Schoransky and Ginzburg trials, the Cambodian holocaust, the Cuban adventures on the African continent, none of us can hide behind national borders.

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We certainly don't want to return to the day-to-day tensions of the Cold War. We ask only for faithful adherence to American principles of democracy, for unswerving commitment to the notion that freedom is the birthright of all men, that the destiny of all the peoples of the world -- those living and to be born -- is to be free.

Foreign policy, Restoring the Two-Party System ~~overspending~~, government interference, the energy crisis, health care, farm policy, welfare reform, urban policy -- these are the issues our Party must address if we are to reassert our leadership role in America. I firmly believe the Republican Party offers the best hope for our nation, that the vast majority of the people in New Jersey and people everywhere share our basic values, our philosophy, our concern about government gone awry, our desire to do something about high taxes and wasteful spending, our commitment to American strength in the international arena.

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1978 can be the year when we take the first steps towards restoring balance and reinvigorating the two-party system in America. If we are successful this year, if Republicans make meaningful gains in November, the hopes and dreams of the average American taxpayer, the citizens concerned about American strength, can be realized. It's a challenge, an opportunity, we must not let pass.

if Jim C. is sent to Wash, [initials]