

Mr. Ellin
REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
SUMMIT COUNTY LINCOLN DAY DINNER

AKRON, OHIO
FEBRUARY 17, 1971

Clyde Martin Ray

new Bio
Young man who
wants to be free

I GOT A LETTER THE OTHER DAY FROM A MAN IN AKRON WHO DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS "A CONCERNED REPUBLICAN". MY WRITER HAD BEEN ATTENDING LINCOLN DAY DINNERS FOR MANY YEARS, AND HE RAISED AN INTERESTING POINT.

"EVERY YEAR," HE WROTE, "THE AUDIENCE IS TREATED TO THE USUAL REPUBLICAN SPEECH OF THE NEED FOR A STRONG DEFENSE, LOWER RATES OF INFLATION, ETC. MAKE NO MISTAKE," HE WENT ON, "THIS TALK IS PLEASING TO MY EARS, BUT SUCH TALK HAS NOT WON ANY ELECTIONS FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES."

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THE MAN HAS A POINT. AS I STAND BEFORE YOU THIS EVENING, WE HAVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE A MAN WHO CONGRATULATES HIMSELF ON TURNING IN A BUDGET \$29 BILLION IN THE RED. WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE THAT SPENDS 38% OF THE ENTIRE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. WE OPERATE A FEDERAL BUDGET THAT HAS GROWN SIXFOLD IN LESS THAN A GENERATION, AND A NATIONAL DEBT THAT IS FAST APPROACHING A TRILLION DOLLARS.

THIS YEAR ALONE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WILL SPEND MORE ON DEBT INTEREST THAN ON ENERGY, FOREIGN AID, REVENUE SHARING, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, POLLUTION CONTROL, AGRICULTURE, CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT, AND COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO CITIES SUCH AS AKRON.

THE DEADENING EFFECTS OF BIG GOVERNMENT DON'T END THERE. AMERICAN CONSUMERS WILL PAY AN ADDITIONAL HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS IN 1979 BECAUSE GOVERNMENT HAS BURDENED US WITH A TOP-HEAVY AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE REGULATORY SYSTEM THAT IS SO USED TO SAYING NO THAT IT OVERLOOKS WHAT IT'S DOING TO THE VERY UNDERPINNINGS OF FREE ENTERPRISE.

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JIMMY CARTER'S HOUSE OF CARDS

NOW, IT'S TRUE THAT AT TIMES WE REPUBLICANS HAVE GOTTEN HUNG UP ON NUMBERS. PERHAPS WE'VE BEEN SO CONCERNED WITH THE ARITHMETIC OF FEDERAL IRRESPONSIBILITY THAT WE HAVEN'T ALWAYS CONVEYED OUR GRASP OF THE PERSONAL CONSEQUENCES. WE'VE TALKED ABOUT COMPETENCE INSTEAD OF COMPASSION, WITHOUT REALIZING THAT GOVERNMENT MUST COMBINE BOTH TO BE GOOD.

BUT CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVE . . . ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID YOU CAN'T FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME. PRESIDENT CARTER AGREES: HE'LL SETTLE FOR A SIMPLE MAJORITY. THE PRESIDENT HOPES TO CONVINCE ENOUGH AMERICANS THAT THE LIBERAL DEMOCRAT THEY ELECTED IN 1976, THE MAN WHO ASSAILED PRESIDENT FORD'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AS UNJUST TO THE WORKINGMAN AND WOMAN, THE SOCIAL EXPERIMENTER WHO PROMISED NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE AND A COMPLETE OVERHAUL OF THE WELFARE SCANDAL, THE EFFICIENCY EXPERT WHO GUARANTEED A BALANCED BUDGET BY 1980-- HAS CHANGED HIS STRIPES AND--PRESTO--HAS BECOME A CLOSET REPUBLICAN.

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BUT JIMMY CARTER HAS A PROBLEM. HIS PARTY IS FALLING APART. EVER SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION, ITS LEFT WING HAS REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY DEVIATION FROM A PLATFORM OF REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. EVEN TODAY, IN THE FACE OF GROWING OUTRAGE FROM THE NATION'S TAXPAYERS, THESE VISIONARIES TURNED MOSSBACKS ARE CONTENT TO GO ON PROMISING BENEFITS FROM A SEEMINGLY INEXHAUSTIBLE WELL, WITHOUT ASKING FOR THE EXERTION WE BELIEVE FORMS THE FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM.

✓ THE PRESIDENT KNOWS THIS. ✓ HE KNOWS HE MUST PAPER OVER THE CRACKS THAT ARE RAPIDLY UNDERMINING HIS HOUSE OF CARDS. THAT'S WHY HE POINTS WITH PRIDE TO A \$29 BILLION DEFICIT. THAT'S WHY HE BURIES HIS HEAD IN THE SAND OF FOREIGN POLICY, OVERLOOKING THE TURMOIL IN IRAN, THE ONGOING PENETRATION OF AFRICA AND THE PERSIAN GULF BY SOVIET AND CUBAN FORCES. THAT'S WHY HE PROCLAIMS RECOGNITION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO BE THE POLITICAL MILLENNIUM, IGNORING ANY MORAL OBLIGATIONS WE MIGHT ATTACH TO A GOOD AND VALUED ALLY ON TAIWAN.

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MR. CARTER PROMISES HIS LEFTWING CRITICS A LITTLE MORE NEW DEAL. THEN HE SPEAKS OF ECONOMY. HE PROCLAIMS A NEW FOUNDATION, WITHOUT REALIZING THAT HIS ECONOMIC POLICIES ARE MAKING THE WHOLE HOUSE FALL DOWN.

BUT CRITICISM COMES CHEAP. THESE DAYS OF DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION,
IT MAY BE THE ONLY THING THAT DOES. THE THING THAT MY AKRON LETTERWRITER SENSES IS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF MERE PARTISANSHIP. THEY ARE TIRED OF SLOGANS IN PLACE OF SOLUTIONS. THEY ARE TURNED OFF TO MOST POLITICIANS, AND THEY WILL STAY THAT WAY UNTIL WE GIVE THEM SOMETHING MORE EXCITING THAN DENUNCIATIONS OF RED INK AND RED TAPE.

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IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR WE REPUBLICANS TO DENOUNCE GOVERNMENT AS TOO BIG OR TOO REMOTE. WE MUST ALSO REJECT IT WHEN IT BECOMES TOO UNFEELING OR TOO PATERNALISTIC. UNDER THE GUISE OF LIBERAL CONCERN, MODERN GOVERNMENT ATTACHES MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN LIFELONG DEPENDENCY. IT CARES LITTLE FOR OPENING UP THE ECONOMY AND STIMULATING ENTREPRENEURIAL SPIRIT--THAT WOULD CREATE JOBS AND FREE PEOPLE FROM ITS GRIP. INSTEAD, IT OPERATES UPON THE CONVICTION THAT 20TH CENTURY MAN REQUIRES DIRECTION FROM ABOVE.

A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE

THAT'S NOT MY VISION OF AMERICA. NEITHER IS IT YOURS. OUR AMERICA DOESN'T PROMISE TO REDISTRIBUTE ALL WEALTH EQUALLY. INSTEAD, OUR AMERICA BELIEVES THAT EVERY MAN AND WOMAN SHOULD HAVE AN EQUAL CHANCE AT EARNING WEALTH. OUR AMERICA BELIEVES THAT JOBS ARE BETTER THAN HANDOUTS, AND THE ONLY LASTING JOBS, THE KIND THAT FORM THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF AKRON, ARE BEST CREATED BY PRIVATE, NOT PUBLIC MEANS.

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OUR AMERICA BELIEVES IN ECONOMIC EXPANSION INSTEAD OF REGULATORY RETREAT. OUR AMERICA WOULD KEEP ITS WORD TO ALLIES ABROAD AS WELL AS TO THE PEOPLE AT HOME.

AND WE ARE NOT ALONE. THAT'S WHAT MAKES THIS YEAR'S ROUND OF LINCOLN DAY DINNERS SOMETHING MORE EXCITING THAN THE RITUALISTIC PROCLAMATIONS OF VICTORY IN THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE.

✓ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DON'T WANT A NEW FOUNDATION, THEY WANT AN OLD FAITH. THEY WANT A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN BE RESPECTED FOR ITS COMPETENCE AS WELL AS ITS HONESTY, A GOVERNMENT THAT RESPECTS AND ENCOURAGES THEIR INDIVIDUAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SUCCESS. THEY WANT TO BE INDEPENDENT OF GOVERNMENT. THEY WANT THE INDEPENDENCE THAT COMES WITH A WEEKLY PAYCHECK, THE INDEPENDENCE THAT ENABLES A FAMILY TO FEED AND CLOTHE ITSELF, TO LIVE IN A HOUSE OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING, TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO A SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE. THAT'S WHAT WE REPUBLICANS WANT, TOO.

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TO REPUBLICANS IN AKRON, AS ALL ACROSS AMERICA, I SAY LET'S NOT BLOW IT. [LET'S NOT PERMIT THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR GENUINE AND LASTING REALIGNMENT TO SLIP THROUGH OUR FINGERS. PEOPLE WILL VOTE FOR HOPE.] WE MUST GIVE IT TO THEM. WE MUST CONVINCE THEM THAT REPUBLICANS CARE MORE FOR PEOPLE THAN PROFITS. WE MUST ADVOCATE, NOT GREED, BUT PERSONAL GROWTH, NOT INDIVIDUAL SELFISHNESS BUT INDIVIDUAL SELF-REALIZATION.

WE MUST GIVE THEM IDEAS TO CLING TO, INNOVATIVE IDEAS THAT BEAR NO RESEMBLANCE TO THE OLD DEMOCRATIC CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT AS ALL-KNOWING ARBITER OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE. AND THEN WE MUST GO OUT AND CONVINCE THEM THAT WE CAN PUT THESE IDEAS INTO PRACTICE.

IN THE WORDS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, "WE MUST DISENTHRAL OURSELVES, AND THEN WE SHALL SAVE OUR COUNTRY."

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ENDING REGULATORY DICTATORSHIP

THE FIRST STEP TOWARD ECONOMIC AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM IS AN ECONOMY WHERE PRODUCTIVITY IS ENCOURAGED INSTEAD OF STRANGLED. SADLY, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS LONG SINCE PASSED THE STAGE OF IMPARTIAL REFEREE BETWEEN BUSINESS AND CONSUMER. TODAY, OVER 80 REGULATORY AGENCIES AND MORE THAN 100,000 FEDERAL WORKERS HAVE AS THEIR SOLE FUNCTION TELLING OTHER AMERICANS WHAT GOVERNMENT HAS SAID THEY CANNOT DO. THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET HAS ESTIMATED THE COST OF SUCH REGULATION AS HIGH AS \$130 BILLION--ROUGHLY EQUAL TO \$2,000 FOR EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY. THAT'S ENOUGH TO PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN WITH A YEAR'S SUPPLY OF FREE GROCERIES. NEED I SAY MORE ABOUT THE IMPACT OF BIG GOVERNMENT ON THE DAILY LIFE OF AKRON?

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BUT THERE'S A HIDDEN PRICE AS WELL. BECAUSE THAT \$130 BILLION IS WITHHELD FROM INVESTMENT, AND BECAUSE INFLATION UNDERMINES THE PLANS OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY TO MODERNIZE ITS PLANT AND EQUIPMENT, THE RATE OF PRODUCTIVITY IN THIS COUNTRY HAS SLOWED TO A HALT. THAT MEANS FEWER JOBS FOR AKRON. IT MEANS AN ECONOMY THAT MOVES IN FITS. THE PEOPLE OF AKRON GET HIT BOTH WAYS. YOU PAY THE PRICE FOR REGULATION, AND FOR THE INFLATION IT PROMOTES.

NOW, NO ONE WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE ABANDON ALL REGULATION,
THAT WE INVITE THE SHODDY OR UNSAFE PRODUCT ON THE MARKET,
THAT WE OVERLOOK UNCLEAN AIR OR POLLUTED WATER.

• BUT CAN'T WE FIND MORE PRODUCTIVE WAYS OF POLICING FREE ENTERPRISE? CAN'T WE FIND A MORE CREATIVE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM? WHY CAN'T WE TRY INCENTIVES, SUCH AS TAX RELIEF FOR SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE COMPANIES, IN LIEU OF THE CURRENT TOP-HEAVY AND ALL TOO OFTEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE REGULATORY MACHINERY?

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BUT IT'S NOT JUST BUSINESS THAT SUFFERS FROM FEDERAL GOBBLEDYGOOK. IT'S THE AVERAGE AMERICAN, YOU AND I, WHO FIND OURSELVES TURNED OFF BY SUCH BIZARRE DOUBLETALK AS THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION'S DEFINITION OF THE WORD "EXIT". I QUOTE: "THAT PORTION OF A MEANS OF EGRESS WHICH IS SEPARATED FROM ALL OTHER SPACES OF THE BUILDING OR STRUCTURE BY CONSTRUCTION OR EQUIPMENT AS REQUIRED IN THIS SUB-PART TO PROVIDE A PROTECTED WAY OF TRAVEL TO THE EXIT DISCHARGE." IF THAT MAKES SENSE TO YOU, YOU'RE PROBABLY A JERRY BROWN DEMOCRAT.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

ONCE AGAIN, IT'S NOT ENOUGH FOR REPUBLICANS TO CRITICIZE REGULATION. NOW WE MUST DO SOMETHING CONCRETE. I'VE SUGGESTED A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION, PATTERNED ON THE TWO CREATED AFTER WORLD WAR II, WHICH TOGETHER SAVED AMERICAN TAXPAYERS BETWEEN \$8 AND \$12 BILLION IN NEEDLESS BUREAUCRACY.

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SUCH A COMMISSION WOULD BE EMPOWERED TO INVESTIGATE AND RECOMMEND CHANGES IN THE BEWILDERING ARRAY OF BOARDS, COMMISSIONS, COMMITTEES, BLUE RIBBON PANELS AND JUST PLAIN BOONDOGGLES THAT CURRENTLY PASS FOR A REGULATORY SYSTEM IN AMERICA. AND TO HEAD SUCH A COMMISSION, I HAVE PROPOSED THE ONE MAN WHO CARRIES THE UNIQUE PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE ACCORDED PRESIDENT HOOVER IN 1947. I WAS HONORED TO RUN WITH GERALD FORD IN 1976, AND I CAN TELL YOU FROM INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE THAT NO ONE WOULD MAKE A FINER LEADER FOR THIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BUREAUCRATIC CRUSADERS.

A MANDATED BALANCED BUDGET

IF REGULATION CAN BE REGULATED, THEN SO CAN THE FEDERAL BUDGET.
I'VE INTRODUCED A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THAT WOULD MANDATE
A BALANCED BUDGET AND RESPONSIBLY REDUCE FEDERAL SPENDING TO 18 PERCENT OF THE GNP. MY AMENDMENT WOULD ALLOW FOR FLEXIBILITY--FOR AN UNBALANCED BUDGET, IF NECESSARY, IN TWO OUT OF EVERY FIVE YEARS.

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IT WOULD PERMIT SPENDING TO RISE ABOVE THIS 18 PERCENT LIMIT IF 2/3 OF THE CONGRESS WERE WILLING TO VOTE FOR SUCH A RISE. NEEDLESS TO SAY, IN TIMES OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY, WHETHER MILITARY OR ECONOMIC, THE FEDERAL BUDGET WOULD NOT BE TRAPPED BY UNREALISTIC DEMANDS.

SUCH AN AMENDMENT WOULD SET FORTH, ONCE AND FOR ALL, THE POLICY OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO BURDEN GENERATIONS YET UNBORN WITH A HEAVY LOAD OF DEBT SERVICE, NOR WEAKEN THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY BY DRAWING OFF CAPITAL AND UNDERMINING THE DOLLAR AT HOME AND ABROAD.

I PREFER TO SEE MY AMENDMENT ADOPTED BY TRADITIONAL MEANS. BUT IF THE CONGRESS IS UNWILLING TO ACCEPT WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT, I CANNOT HIDE BEHIND LEGALISTIC FEARS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE PROBLEMS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. TO DO SO WOULD BE A TRIUMPH OF TIMIDITY OVER COURAGE. IT WOULD BE DISHONEST POLITICS AND DANGEROUS ECONOMICS.

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WE REPUBLICANS MUST MAKE THIS ISSUE OUR OWN. IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH A CONVENTION, LET'S SOLVE THEM. BUT, WHATEVER WE DO, LET'S NOT BE AFRAID TO PROPOSE A NEW OR UNUSUAL SOLUTION TO AN OLD AND DEADLY PROBLEM. NOTHING ELSE WOULD DO AS MUCH TO PROMOTE A REBIRTH OF CITIES LIKE THIS ONE, A RENEWAL FUNDED WITH PRIVATE DOLLARS AND JOBS THAT ARE NOT CREATED IN CONGRESSIONAL HEARING ROOMS BUT BECAUSE A STRONG AND EXPANDING ECONOMY REQUIRES THEM.

THE ROAD TO TOMORROW

THESE IDEAS MAY NOT BE THE ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS. I WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND YOUR CRITICISMS. BUT I WILL NOT YIELD IN MY CONVICTION THAT WE REPUBLICANS MUST EARN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE MUST BE LEADERS, NOT FOLLOWERS OR REACTORS. WE HAVE THE IDEAS. WE HAVE THE EXPERTISE.

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WE LIVE ON A TIRED OLD GLOBE IN A DANGEROUS AGE FOR FREEDOM.
WE OWE OUR NATION MORE THAN MERE PARTISAN CRITICISM OF THE
ADMINISTRATION IN OFFICE. WE OWE THE COUNTRY WE LOVE SOLUTIONS
TO PROBLEMS WHICH THE PARTY IN POWER HAS FAILED TO SOLVE.
WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO TALK COMMON SENSE TO THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE, TO MAKE NO PROMISES WE CANNOT KEEP, BUT LEVEL WITH
THEM ABOUT THE PAINFUL CHOICES AHEAD.

THE GREAT NEW ENGLAND POET, ROBERT FROST, ONCE WROTE A POEM
ABOUT THE AGONY OF CHOICE. HE CALLED IT THE ROAD NOT TAKEN,
AND HIS ADVICE HOLDS TRUE FOR NATIONS AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALS . . .

"TWO ROADS DIVERGED IN A YELLOW WOOD
AND SORRY I COULD NOT TRAVEL BOTH
AND BE ONE TRAVELER, LONG I STOOD
AND LOOKED DOWN ONE AS FAR AS I COULD
TO WHERE IT BENT IN THE UNDERGROWTH;

TWO ROADS DIVERGED IN A WOOD, AND I-
I TOOK THE ONE LESS TRAVELED BY,
AND THAT HAS MADE ALL THE DIFFERENCE."

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AS A PARTY AND A NATION, WE STAND TODAY AT A CROSSROADS OF CHANGE. LIKE FROST'S TRAVELER, WE MIGHT LIKE TO TRAVEL BOTH, TO HAVE THE GOOD LIFE WITHOUT COST, TO SPEND MORE THAN WE EARN, TO PROMISE PEOPLE THE MOON AND THE STARS INSTEAD OF WORLDLY REALITY.

BUT THE ROADS DIVERGE, AND WE MUST CHOOSE. DO WE OPT FOR MORE OF THE SAME, FOR GOVERNMENT BY CHARGE CARD, FOR THE SLOW, STEADY EROSION OF INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY? DO WE ABANDON THE CITIES TO GOVERNMENT'S GOOD INTENTIONS AND STUMBLING INCAPACITIES? OR DO WE CHOOSE THE ROAD LESS TAKEN, MAKING FREE ENTERPRISE TRULY FREE, OPENING DOORS TO EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY? THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE. THE CHOICE IS YOURS. WHAT WILL IT BE?

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

SUMMIT COUNTY LINCOLN DAY DINNER

Akron, Ohio

February 17, 1979

I got a letter the other day from a man in Akron who described himself as "a concerned Republican". My writer had been attending Lincoln Day Dinners for many years, and he raised an interesting point.

"Every year," he wrote, "the audience is treated to the usual Republican speech of the need for a strong defense, lower rates of inflation, etc. Make no mistake," he went on, "this talk is pleasing to my ears, but such talk has not won any elections for Republican candidates."

The man has a point. As I stand before you this evening, we have in the White House a man who congratulates himself on turning in a budget \$29 billion in the red. We have a government structure that spends 38% of the entire Gross National Product. We operate a federal budget that has grown sixfold in less than a generation, and a national debt that is fast approaching a trillion dollars.

This year alone, the people of the United States will spend more on debt interest than on energy, foreign aid, revenue sharing, science and technology, pollution control, agriculture, civil service retirement, and community and regional development to cities such as Akron.

The deadening effects of big government don't end there. American consumers will pay an additional hundred billion dollars in 1979 because government has burdened us with a top-heavy and counterproductive regulatory system that is so used to saying no that it overlooks what it's doing to the very underpinnings of free enterprise.

JIMMY CARTER'S HOUSE OF CARDS

Now, it's true that at times we Republicans have gotten hung up on numbers. Perhaps we've been so concerned with the arithmetic of federal irresponsibility that we haven't always conveyed our grasp of the personal consequences. We've talked about competence instead of compassion, without realizing that government must combine both to be good.

But consider the alternative . . . Abraham Lincoln said you can't fool all of the people all of the time. President Carter agrees; he'll settle for a simple majority. The President hopes to convince enough Americans that the liberal Democrat they elected in 1976, the man who assailed President Ford's economic policies as unjust to the workingman and woman, the social experimenter who promised national health insurance and a complete overhaul of the welfare scandal, the efficiency expert who guaranteed a balanced budget by 1980--has changed his strips and--PRESTO--has become a closet Republican.

But Jimmy Carter has a problem. His party is falling apart. Ever since the Great Depression, its left wing has refused to accept any deviation from a platform of redistribution of wealth. Even today, in the face of growing outrage from the nation's taxpayers, these visionaries turned mossbacks are content to go on promising benefits from a seemingly inexhaustible well, without asking for the exertion we believe forms the foundation of economic and political freedom.

The President knows this. He knows he must paper over the cracks that are rapidly undermining his house of cards. That's why he points with pride to a \$29 billion deficit. That's why he buries his head in the sand of foreign policy, overlooking the turmoil in Iran, the ongoing penetration of Africa and the Persian Gulf by Soviet and Cuban forces. That's why he proclaims recognition of the People's Republic of China to be the political millenium, ignoring any moral obligations we might attach to a good and valued ally on Taiwan.

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Mr. Carter promises his left wing critics a little more New Deal. Then he speaks of economy. He proclaims a New Foundation, without realizing that his economic policies are making the whole house fall down.

But criticism comes cheap. These days of double digit inflation, it may be the only thing that does. The thing that my Akron letterwriter senses is that the American people have had enough of mere partisanship. They are tired of slogans in place of solutions. They are turned off to most politicians, and they will stay that way until we give them something more exciting than denunciations of red ink and red tape.

It is not enough for we Republicans to denounce government as too big or too remote. We must also reject it when it becomes too unfeeling or too paternalistic. Under the guise of liberal concern, modern government attaches millions of people in lifelong dependency. It cares little for opening up the economy and stimulating entrepreneurial spirit--that would create jobs and free people from its grip. Instead, it operates upon the conviction that 20th century man requires direction from above.

A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE

That's not my vision of America. Neither is it yours. Our America doesn't promise to re-distribute all wealth equally. Instead, our America believes that every man and woman should have an equal chance at earning wealth. Our America believes that jobs are better than hand-outs, and the only lasting jobs, the kind that form the economic foundation of Akron, are best created by private, not public means.

Our America believes in economic expansion instead of regulatory retreat. Our America would keep its word to allies abroad as well as to the people at home.

And we are not alone. That's what makes this year's round of Lincoln Day Dinners something more exciting than the ritualistic proclamations of victory in the uncertain future.

The American people don't want a New Foundation, they want an old faith. They want a government that can be respected for its competence as well as its honesty, a government that respects and encourages their individual aspirations for success. They want to be independent of government. They want the independence that comes with a weekly paycheck, the independence that enables a family to feed and clothe itself, to live in a house of their own choosing, to send their children to a school of their choice. That's what we Republicans want, too.

To Republicans in Akron, as all across America, I say let's not blow it. Let's not permit this opportunity for genuine and lasting realignment to slip through our fingers. People will vote for hope. We must give it to them. We must convince them that Republicans care more for people than profits. We must advocate, not greed, but personal growth, not individual selfishness but individual self-realization.

We must give them ideas to cling to, innovative ideas that bear no resemblance to the old Democratic concept of government as all-knowing arbiter of private and public life. And then we must go out and convince them that we can put these ideas into practice.

In the words of Abraham Lincoln, "We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

ENDING REGULATORY DICTATORSHIP

The first step toward economic and individual freedom is an economy where productivity is encouraged instead of strangled. Sadly, the federal government has long since passed the stage of impartial referee between business and consumer. Today, over 80 regulatory agencies and more than 100,000 federal workers have as their sole function telling other Americans what government has said they cannot do. The Office of Management and Budget has estimated the cost of such regulation as high as \$130 billion--roughly equal to \$2,000 for every American family. That's enough to provide every American with a year's supply of free groceries. Need I say more about the impact of big government on the daily life of Akron?

But there's a hidden price as well. Because that \$130 billion is withheld from investment, and because inflation undermines the plans of private industry to modernize its plant and equipment, the rate of productivity in this country has slowed to a halt. That means fewer jobs for Akron. It means an economy that moves in fits. The people of Akron get hit both ways. You pay the price for regulation, and for the inflation it promotes.

Now, no one would suggest that we abandon all regulation, that we invite the shoddy or unsafe product on the market, that we overlook unclean air or polluted water.

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But can't we find more productive ways of policing free enterprise? Can't we find a more creative approach to the problem? Why can't we try incentives, such as tax relief for socially responsible companies, in lieu of the current top-heavy and all too often counterproductive regulatory machinery?

But it's not just business that suffers from federal gobbledygook. It's the average American, you and I, who find ourselves turned off by such bizarre doubletalk as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's definition of the word "exit". I quote: "that portion of a means of egress which is separated from all other spaces of the building or structure by construction or equipment as required in this sub-part to provide a protected way of travel to the exit discharge." If that makes sense to you, you're probably a Jerry Brown Democrat.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

Once again, it's not enough for Republicans to criticize regulation. Now we must do something concrete. I've suggested a new Hoover Commission, patterned on the two created after World War II, which together saved American taxpayers between \$8 and \$12 billion in needless bureaucracy.

Such a commission would be empowered to investigate and recommend changes in the bewildering array of boards, commissions, committees, blue ribbon panels and just plain boondoggles that currently pass for a regulatory system in America. And to head such a commission, I have proposed the one man who carries the unique prestige and influence accorded President Hoover in 1947. I was honored to run with Gerald Ford in 1976, and I can tell you from intimate knowledge that no one would make a finer leader for this campaign against the bureaucratic crusaders.

A MANDATED BALANCED BUDGET

If regulation can be regulated, then so can the federal budget. I've introduced a Constitutional amendment that would mandate a balanced budget and responsibly reduce federal spending to 18 percent of the GNP. My amendment would allow for flexibility--for an unbalanced budget, if necessary, in two out of every five years.

It would permit spending to rise above this 18 percent limit if 2/3 of the Congress were willing to vote for such a rise. Needless to say, in times of national emergency, whether military or economic, the federal budget would not be trapped by unrealistic demands.

Such an amendment would set forth, once and for all, the policy of the American government not to burden generations yet unborn with a heavy load of debt service, nor weaken the domestic economy by drawing off capital and undermining the dollar at home and abroad.

I prefer to see my amendment adopted by traditional means. But if the Congress is unwilling to accept what the American people want, I cannot hide behind legalistic fears about the possible problems of a Constitutional Convention. To do so would be a triumph of timidity over courage. It would be dishonest politics and dangerous economics.

We Republicans must make this issue our own. If there are problems with a convention, let's solve them. But, whatever we do, let's not be afraid to propose a new or unusual solution to an old and deadly problem. Nothin else would do as much to promote a rebirth of cities like this one, a renewal funded with private dollars and jobs that are not created in Congressional hearing rooms but because a strong and expanding economy requires them.

THE ROAD TO TOMORROW

These ideas may not be the ultimate solutions. I welcome your comments and your criticisms. But I will not yield in my conviction that we Republicans must earn the confidence of the American people. We must be the leaders, not followers or reactors. We have the ideas. We have the expertise.

We live on a tired old globe in a dangerous age for freedom. We owe our nation more than mere partisan criticism of the administration in office. We owe the country we love solutions to problems which the party in power has failed to solve. We have an obligation to talk common sense to the American people, to make no promises we cannot keep, but level with them about the painful choices ahead.

The great New England poet, Robert Frost, once wrote a poem about the agony of choice. He called it 'The Road Not Taken', and his advice holds true for nations as well as individuals . . .

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Two roads diverged in a yellow wood
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I-
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

As a party and a nation, we stand today at a crossroads of change. Like Frost's traveler, we might like to travel both, to have the good life without cost, to spend more than we earn, to promise people the moon and the stars instead of worldly reality.

But the roads diverge, and we must choose. Do we opt for more of the same, for government by charge card, for the slow, steady erosion of individual opportunity? Do we abandon the cities to government's good intentions and stumbling capacities? Or do we choose the road less taken, making free enterprise truly free, opening doors to equal participation in the American success story? The choice must be made. The choice is yours. What will it be?

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