

REMARKS OF SEN. ROBERT DOLE

NASHUA, NEW HAMPSHIRE

FEB. 20, 1979

IT'S A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE WITH YOU THIS EVENING. THE WEEK JUST PAST HAS BEEN FAR LESS PLEASURABLE. IN IRAN, IN AFGHANISTAN, IN MEXICO AND IN CHINA, AMERICAN PRESTIGE HAS BEEN DRAGGED THROUGH THE MUD. IT'S DIFFICULT TO CRITICIZE PRESIDENT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY, BECAUSE PRESIDENT CARTER DOESN'T HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY. ONLY DISARRAY AND CONFUSION MARK THIS ADMINISTRATION'S ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH A WORLD OUT OF CONTROL.

AT HOME, THINGS ARE LITTLE BETTER. INFLATION IS RISING AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF 16%. THE PRESIDENT IS CONGRATULATING HIMSELF FOR TURNING IN A BUDGET \$29 BILLION IN THE RED. THE NATIONAL DEBT IS APPROACHING A TRILLION DOLLARS, WHILE GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS APPROPRIATES 38% OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT.

JIMMY CARTER'S HOUSE OF CARDS

NOW, IT'S TRUE THAT REPUBLICANS HAVE SOMETIMES GOTTEN HUNG UP ON NUMBERS. PERHAPS AT TIMES, 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 THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME. PRESIDENT CARTER AGREES;HE'LL SETTLE FOR A SIMPLE MAJORITY. THE PRESIDENT HOPES TO CONVINCEN 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.

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, THESE VISIONARIES TURNED MOSSBACKS ARE CONTENT TO GO ON PROMISING BENEFITS FROM A SEEMINGLY INEXHAUSTIBLE WELL, WITHOUT ASKING FOR THE EXERTION WE BELIEVE FORM 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 INTERNATIONAL SAND, OVERLOOKING THE TURMOIL IN IRAN, THE CHAOS THAT AFFLICTS AFRICA AND THE PERSIAN GULF, THE RENEWED THREAT OF CHINESE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST TAIWAN.

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 AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF MERE PARTISANSHIP. THEY WANT SOLUTIONS IN PLACE OF SLOGANS. THEY ARE TURNED OFF TO MOST POLITICIANS, AND THEY'LL STAY THAT WAY UNTIL WE GIVE THEM SOMETHING MORE EXCITING THAN DENUNCIATIONS OF RED TAPE AND RED INK.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR REPUBLICANS TO DENOUNCE GOVERNMENT AS TOO BIG OR TOO REMOTE. WE MUST ALSO REJECT IT WHEN IT BECOMES TOO UNFEELING OR TOO PATERNALISTIC. WE MUST DENOUNCE IT WHEN IT ATTACHES MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN LIFELONG DEPENDENCY, WHEN IT PREFERS GOVERNMENT FROM ABOVE RATHER THAN A TRULY OPEN FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DON'T WANT A NEW FOUNDATION, BUT AN OLD FAITH. THEY WANT TO RESPECT THEIR GOVERNMENT AGAIN, NOT ONLY FOR IT'S HONESTY BUT FOR IT'S COMPETENCE. THEY WANT A GOVERNMENT THAT ENCOURAGES THEIR INDIVIDUAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SUCCESS. THEY WANT TO BE INDEPENDENT OF GOVERNMENT. THEY WANT THE INDEPENDENCE THAT COMES WITH A WEEKLY PAYCHECK, 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 OWN CHOICE. THAT'S WHAT REPUBLICANS WANT TOO.

OUR AMERICA DOESN'T PROMISE TO REDISTRIBUTE ALL WEALTH EQUALLY, BUT TO GIVE EVERY MAN AND WOMAN AN EQUAL CHANCE TO EARN WEALTH. OUR AMERICA BELIEVES THAT JOBS ARE BETTER THAN HANDOUTS, AND THAT THE ONLY LASTING JOBS, THE KIND THAT BUILDS AN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION UNDER NASHUA, ARE CREATED BY PRIVATE, NOT PUBLIC, MEANS.

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

NOW TO THE REPUBLICANS OF NASHUA AS ALL ACROSS AMERICA, I SAY, LET'S NOT BLOW THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR A GENUINE AND LASTING REALIGNMENT. PEOPLE WILL VOTE FOR HOPE. WE MUST GIVE IT TO THEM. WE MUST CONVINCED 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, IDEAS THAT BEAR NO RESEMBLANCE TO THE TOPHEAVY AND ALL-KNOWING GOVERNMENT ESPOUSED BY OUR DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS, AND WE MUST GO OUT AND CONVINCED THEM THAT WE CAN PUT THESE IDEAS INTO PRACTICE.

LET ME PROVIDE YOU WITH A FEW EXAMPLES.

AN END TO REGULATORY DICTATORSHIP

TODAY, OVER 80 REGULATORY AGENCIES EMPLOY MORE THAN 100,000 PERSONS WHOSE SOLE FUNCTION IS 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 PER AMERICAN FAMILY, ENOUGH TO BUY EACH AMERICAN A YEAR'S SUPPLY OF FREE GROCERIES.

NOW, NO ONE WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE ABANDON ALL REGULATION, THAT WE INVITE THE SHODDY OR UNSAFE PRODUCT ON THE MARKET, THAT OVERLOOK UNCLEAN AIR OR POLLUTED WATER. ONE LOOK AT THE ROCKRIBBED LANDSCAPE OF THIS GRANITE STATE WOULD CONVINCE ANY DOUBTERS OF THE NEED TO PROTECT THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH WE LIVE.

BUT CAN'T WE FIND MORE CREATIVE, MORE PRODUCTIVE WAYS OF POLICING FREE ENTERPRISE? DO WE HAVE TO REGULATE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO DISCOURAGE CAPITAL FORMATION, INVESTMENT AND JOB CREATION? WHY NOT TRY INCENTIVES, SUCH AS TAX RELIEF FOR SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE COMPANIES, INSTEAD OF THE CURRENT TOPHEAVY AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE REGULATORY MACHINE?

-6-

AND 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 SEPERATED 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 ANY SENSE, THEN YOU'RE PROBABLY A JERRY BROWN DEMOCRAT. EITHER THAT, OR YOU'VE BOUGHT A USED CAR FROM HUGH GALLEN.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

IF REGULATION IS TO BE REGULATED THEN WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DO IT OURSELVES. THAT'S WHY I'VE CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION TO EXAMINE THE PRESENT MAZE OF BOARDS, COMMITTEES, COMMISSIONS, BLUE RIBBON PANELS AND JUST PLAIN BOONDOGGLES THAT NOW PASS FOR THE AMERICAN REGULATORY SYSTEM.

TO HEAD SUCH A COMMISSION, WHICH COULD RESULT IN THE SAVING OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND COULD STIMULATE A WHOLE NEW APPROACH TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN THIS COUNTRY, I'VE SUGGESTED THE NAME OF MY GOOD FRIEND AND FORMER RUNNING MATE, GERALD FORD. NO ONE WOULD COMMAND MORE PRESTIGE FOR SUCH A MISSION, AND NO ONE KNOWS THE INTRICACIES OF MODERN GOVERNMENT BETTER.

A MANDATED FEDERAL BUDGET

AND IF REGULATION CAN BE REGULATED, THEN SO CAN THE FEDERAL BUDGET ITSELF. I'VE INTRODUCED A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF CAPPING BOTH SPENDING AND TAXATION AT 18% OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. MY AMENDMENT WOULD ALLOW FOR FLEXIBILITY: FOR AN UNBALANCED BUDGET, IF NEED BE, IN FOUR OUT OF NINE YEARS. MOREOVER, SPENDING WOULD BE PERMITTED TO RISE ABOVE THE 18% LEVEL WITH THE APPROVAL OF 2/3 OF THE CONGRESS. IN TIMES OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY, MILITARY OR ECONOMIC, THE FEDERAL BUDGET WOULD NOT BE TRAPPED BY UNREALISTIC DEMANDS.

I PREFER TO SEE MY AMENDMENT ADOPTED BY TRADITIONAL MEANS. BUT IF ✓ THE CONGRESS IS UNWILLING TO ACCEPT HAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY REQUIRES, I CANNOT HIDE BEHIND LEGALISTIC FEARS ABOUT POSSIBLE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. TO DO SO WOULD BE A TRIUMPH OF TIMIDITY OVER COURAGE.

IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH A CONVENTION, THEN LET'S SOLVE THEM. BUT LET'S NOT BE AFRAID TO PROPOSE A NEW OR UNUSUAL SOLUTION TO OLD AND DANGEROUS PROBLEMS. THIS IS A REPUBLICAN ISSUE: WE SHOULD MAKE IT OUR OWN, NOW, BEFORE THE SAME DEMOCRATS WHO ARE BENDING OVER BACKWARDS TO SOUND LIKE BORN AGAIN TAX CUTTERS DECIDE THAT THEY, TOO, WANT TO PUT A LIMIT OF GOVERNMENT'S INSATIABLE GROWTH.

- 8 -

TAX INDEXING

ANOTHER IDEA THAT REPUBLICANS SHOULD EMBRACE IS TAX INDEXING. AS IT IS NOW, YOU PAY A DOUBLE PENALTY FOR GOVERNMENT'S INFLATIONARY EXCESS. YOU PAY EVERY TIME YOU GO TO THE SUPERMARKET, TAKE A TRIP, BUY A SUIT OR DRESS. YOU ALSO PAY IN LESS VISIBLE WAYS. FOR INFLATION MAY KICK YOU UPSTAIRS INTO A HIGHER TAX BRACKET. YOU DON'T HAVE ANY MORE REAL DOLLARS TO SPEND, BUT THAT DOESN'T PREVENT GOVERNMENT FROM TAXING YOU AT A HIGHER RATE.

THAT'S WHY I'VE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO LINK THE WITHOLDING TAX TO THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX. WHEN PRICES RISE, THE TAX STRUCTURE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY ADJUST TO REFLECT THAT FACT. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THIS MIGHT DISCOURAGE GOVERNMENT FROM INFLATING PRICES SO AS TO RAISE FEDERAL REVENUE. IT WOULD ALSO PUT AN END TO SHADOWY, ESSENTIALLY DISHONEST "TAX CUTS" LIKE THE ONE PASSED LAST FALL.

SUCH FOOL'S GOLD HAS A WAY OF VANISHING IN THE LIGHT OF CONTINUING INFLATION. CERTAINLY, I CAN'T FIND MANY PEOPLE WHO THINK THEY'RE ANY BETTER OFF IN TERMS OF REAL SPENDING POWER.

FILLING IN THE HEALTH GAPS

BY THE SAME TOKEN, IT'S NOT ENOUGH FOR REPUBLICANS TO OPPOSE CRADLE TO GRAVE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE. IT IS TRUE THAT GAPS EXIST IN OUR CURRENT SYSTEM, GAPS WHICH, IN THE FACE OF SUDDEN OR CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS CAN OFTEN WIPE OUT THE SAVINGS OF EVEN UPPER MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES. THAT'S WHY I'M WORKING ON MY PROPOSAL, WHICH WILL STRESS CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS AND MAXIMUM USE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR. WE WANT TO PRESERVE WHAT IS GOOD ABOUT AMERICAN HEALTH CARE, THE DIVERSITY OF LOCAL HOSPITALS, THE INDIVIDUAL ATTENTION WE ASSOCIATE WITH THE WORLD'S FINEST HEALTH SYSTEM. TO DO THAT, WHILE FILLING IN THE GAPS THAT THREATEN EVERYONE'S FINANCIAL SECURITY, IS NO EASY TASK. BUT WE MUST TACKLE IT, OR RUN THE RISK OF APPEARING NOTHING MORE THAN NAYSAYERS AND OPPONENTS.

ONCE AGAIN, PEOPLE WILL VOTE FOR HOPE, AND WE MUST GIVE IT TO THEM.

THE ROAD TO TOMORROW

THIS STATE'S GREAT POET LAUREATE, ROBERT FROST, ONCE WROTE A
POEM ABOUT THE AGONIES 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.

AS A PARTY AND A NATION, WE STAND TODAY AT SUCH 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?OR DO WE CHOOSE THE ROAD LESS TAKEN, MAKING FREE ENTERPRISE TRULY FREE, OPENING DOORS TO EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY WHILE REVERSING THE TREND TOWARD GOVERNMENT DOMINATION OF PRIVATE LIVES?

THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE. THE CHOICE IS OURS. WHAT WILL IT BE?