

REMARKS BY SENATOR BOB DOLE
ALBANY COUNTY REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE
LINCOLN DAY DINNER

THIS MONTH OF FEBRUARY IS THE TRADITIONAL OCCASION FOR REPUBLICANS TO COME TOGETHER -- TO EXAMINE OUR ROOTS AS A PARTY -- AND TO CONSIDER THEIR MEANING FOR THE FUTURE. AT A TIME WHEN MANY AMERICANS ARE INTENSELY INTERESTED IN ALL THE DETAILS THEY CAN UNCOVER OF THEIR ANCESTRAL ORIGINS, IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY REMEMBER WHERE IT CAME FROM . . . AND THAT IT WAS FOUNDED ON LINCOLN'S NOBLE AND TIMELESS PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN LIBERTY.

WE LIVE IN AN EVER MORE COMPLICATED AGE. BUT THE QUEST FOR LIBERTY IS NEVER ENDING. MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, BUREAUCRATIC STRANGULATION HAS ONLY WORSENERED THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE AS A NATION. WHILE MANY OF OUR CITIZENS STRUGGLE DESPERATELY TO IMPROVE THEIR LIVES, THERE IS GROWING RESISTANCE TO AN OVER-REGULATED SOCIETY.

Feb 28

- 2 -

WE LOST SOME ELECTIONS LAST YEAR, NOT BECAUSE OF THE POSITIONS WE TOOK -- AND CERTAINLY NOT BECAUSE OF THE PRINCIPLES WE SHARE AS REPUBLICANS.

WE LOST, FIRST, BECAUSE WE DID NOT DO A GOOD ENOUGH JOB OF IDENTIFYING THE POSITIONS WE TOOK WITH THE INTERESTS OF ENOUGH PEOPLE. WE DID NOT DO A GOOD ENOUGH JOB OF GETTING OUR MESSAGE ACROSS.

- 3 -

ROCKEFELLER'S LEAD

THERE ARE MANY SOLID AREAS OF ACHIEVEMENT WHERE
YOUR OWN NELSON ROCKEFELLER HAS BEEN A PROMINENT LEADER FOR
MANY YEARS.

-- GENERAL REVENUE SHARING, THE AUTOMATIC RETURN OF
TAX DOLLARS BACK TO YOUR COMMUNITIES, FOR EXPENDITURE AS
YOUR STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS KNOW BEST.

-- SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING, THE MIXING TOGETHER OF
FEDERAL GRANTS SO THAT YOUR STATE AND LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIALS
HAVE MORE FLEXIBILITY AND LESS RED TAPE TO CONTEND WITH.

-- THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A STRONG NATIONAL
DEFENSE.

- 4 -

THESE ARE POSITIONS CONSISTENT WITH REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES. THESE ARE POSITIONS CONSISTENT WITH THE ATTITUDES OF MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THESE ARE POSITIONS WHICH REPUBLICANS OF WHATEVER SUBTITLE AND FROM WHATEVER REGION -- NEW YORK, CALIFORNIA, KANSAS, AND -- YES -- GEORGIA -- CAN JOIN.

IF WE KEEP FAITH WITH THE LEVEL-HEADED PRINCIPLES OF MR. LINCOLN, ALL REPUBLICANS CAN STAND BEHIND SPECIFIC COMMON SENSE ALTERNATIVES -- WHERE ALTERNATIVES ARE NEEDED -- TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

ON ECONOMIC POLICY, THE ENERGY CRISIS, NATIONAL SECURITY, EXECUTIVE BRANCH REORGANIZATION, HOUSING URBAN REVITALIZATION, AND MANY OTHER URGENT PROBLEMS, REPUBLICANS CAN OFFER FRESH IDEAS DRAWING ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND REVERSING THE BURGEONING GROWTH OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

- 5 -

IN THE RECENT PAST, OUR IMAGE AMONG IMPORTANT VOTING GROUPS HAS BEEN THAT OF "AGINNERS."

I KNOW, AND YOU KNOW, THAT AS REPUBLICANS WE CANNOT WRITE OFF TEN MILLION MINORITY CITIZENS AND EXPECT TO BE ANYTHING BUT A FRUSTRATED, QUIBBLING, VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS. IT IS UNTHINKABLE THAT THIS BE PERMITTED TO HAPPEN TO THE PARTY OF LINCOLN.

I KNOW, AND YOU KNOW, THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR REPUBLICANS TO WIN ELECTIONS IN THE FUTURE IF BLACKS, PUERTO RICANS, AND ^[Che-Kahn-ohs] CHICANOS GIVE NINETY PERCENT OF THEIR VOTES TO THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

I AM PAINFULLY AWARE -- IF YOU AREN'T -- THAT THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED IN NOVEMBER.

- 6 -

IMPORTANCE OF MINORITY VOTERS

HAD WE BEEN ABLE MERELY TO HOLD THE 30 PERCENT OR SO OF THE MINORITY VOTERS THAT IS THE TRADITIONAL -- AND, AT THAT, SHOCKINGLY UNSATISFACTORY -- REPUBLICAN SHARE OF THE NATIONAL VOTE OF RACIAL MINORITIES, MR. CARTER WOULD HAVE LOST EVERY SOUTHERN STATE BUT HIS HOME STATE OF GEORGIA, AND ALL THE NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL STATES. IF THE MINORITY VOTE HAD DIVIDED EVENLY, GERALD FORD WOULD HAVE BEEN ELECTED IN AN ELECTORAL COLLEGE LANDSLIDE.

OPINION SURVEYS CONDUCTED DURING AND AFTER THE LAST CAMPAIGN INDICATED THAT WE WERE DOING VERY WELL AMONG YOUNGER VOTERS GENERALLY -- WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF YOUNG MINORITY VOTERS, WHO APPARENTLY STILL IDENTIFY US WITH OPPOSITION TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. THAT THIS SHOULD HAPPEN TO THE PARTY OF LINCOLN IS UNCONSCIONABLE.

- 7 -

AND IT IS PAST TIME WE FACE UP TO ANOTHER TRUTH.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CANNOT EXPECT TO GOVERN EFFECTIVELY IF ENTIRE LARGE GROUPS OF VOTERS ARE CONVINCED ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY THAT WE ARE AGAINST THEM. THE FUNCTIONING OF ANY GOVERNMENT IN A DEMOCRACY REQUIRES NOT ONLY THE CONSENT BUT ALSO THE CONFIDENCE OF THE GOVERNED. ONE OF LINCOLN'S CORNERSTONE PRINCIPLES -- THAT THE LAW MUST BE OBEYED -- DEPENDS ON AN ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE CITIZENS THAT THE LAW IS FAIR.

- 8 -

OPEN DOOR POLICY

YOUR REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK STATE
ARE FAR AHEAD OF MOST OF THE REST OF US IN DEMONSTRATING HOW
OUR PARTY CAN APPEAL TO BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS AND CHICANOS;
TO WOMEN, YOUNG PEOPLE, AND ALL ETHNIC GROUPS. I APPLAUD THE
OPEN DOOR POLICY THAT YOU HAVE ESTABLISHED TO BROADEN THE
BASE OF THE PARTY IN NEW YORK. THE BLACK CONFERENCE COMMITTEE
THAT WAS SET UP AND IS NOW BEING EXPANDED BY YOUR PARTY LEADERS
IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARD GETTING THE MESSAGE TO BLACK
AMERICANS THAT WE CARE ABOUT THEM. IT IS CUSTOMARY AT
LINCOLN DAY AFFAIRS FOR REPUBLICAN ORATORS TO INVOKE THE
HERITAGE OF OUR FOUNDER AND TO POINT OUT -- AGAIN AND AGAIN --
THAT IT WAS A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT WHO FREED ALEX HALEY'S
FOREBEARERS FROM BONDAGE. BUT WE SHOULD HAVE LEARNED BY NOW
THAT ISN'T ENOUGH TO IMPRESS ALEX HALEY'S SONS AND GRANDSONS.

- 9 -

THERE ARE SEVERAL STEPS WE CAN TAKE AS REPUBLICANS.

WE CAN TAKE THE LEAD IN ENACTING LEGISLATION TO ENSURE THAT GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRATS STRICTLY ENFORCE EXISTING LAWS THAT PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND THE POOR.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BEEN SLOW -- ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTH -- TO RUN MINORITY AND WOMEN CANDIDATES. THEY HAVE LEFT US WITH A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR BRINGING NEW BLOOD INTO OUR PARTY.

- 10 -

WHEN THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT WAS EXTENDED IN 1975, MANY REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS (INCLUDING MYSELF) FELT THAT IF THE FEDERAL POWERS IN THAT ACT WERE GOOD FOR THE SOUTH -- AND FOR CERTAIN PARTS OF NEW YORK STATE -- THEY SHOULD APPLY TO ALL FIFTY OF OUR STATES. ONE EFFECT OF THIS WOULD BE TO PROVIDE A LEGAL GROUND FOR STRIKING DOWN AT-LARGE ELECTION SCHEMES WHICH ARE SOMETIMES EMPLOYED BY DEMOCRATS TO PREVENT THE ELECTION OF REPUBLICANS OR MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES ON CITY COUNCILS. IF A DISTRICT SYSTEM IS CHANGED OVER TO A SINGLE CITYWIDE DISTRICT, A UNITED BUT SLIM MAJORITY CAN SWEEP ALL THE SEATS ON THE COUNCIL.

MANY OF OUR REPUBLICAN-SPONSORED LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES ARE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF MINORITY CITIZENS, IF WE CAN ONLY DO A BETTER JOB OF GETTING OUR MESSAGE ACROSS.

- 11 -

ECONOMIC POLICY

ECONOMICS IS AN EXAMPLE. ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS TO SOLVE IS THE YOUNG BLACK MAN IN THE INNER CITY WHO CAN'T FIND A JOB -- THE SO-CALLED "HARD-CORE" UNEMPLOYED. WE ARE TOLD THAT ONE OF THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THIS PROBLEM IS THAT MANY EMPLOYERS DO NOT FEEL THEY CAN HIRE WHAT THEY CONSIDER MARGINAL WORKERS AT THE MINIMUM WAGE.

AS FAR BACK AS 1965, I SPONSORED A BILL FOR AN EMPLOYMENT TAX CREDIT AND I INTRODUCED IT THIS YEAR IN THE SENATE. BY THIS APPROACH, EMPLOYERS COULD CLAIM A TAX CREDIT FOR PART OF THE COST OF HIRING ADDITIONAL WORKERS. IN EFFECT, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PICKING UP PART OF THEIR ADDITIONAL PAYROLL COST IF THEY EXPANDED THEIR OPERATIONS AND PUT MORE PEOPLE TO WORK AT PERMANENT, PRODUCTIVE JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

- 12 -

THE MEANING OF THIS PROGRAM FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED OUGHT TO BE OBVIOUS. IT WOULD NOT BE A STOP-GAP TEMPORARY SOLUTION. IT WOULD NOT BE A MAKE-WORK PROJECT. FOR EVERY ADDITIONAL WORKER HIRED AT THE \$2.30 HOURLY MINIMUM WAGE, THE EMPLOYER COULD TAKE \$1 OF THE HOURLY WAGE OFF HIS TAX BILL.

THIS IS A REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE -- A NEW IDEA THAT MAKES USE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR -- AND I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT A VERSION OF THE EMPLOYMENT TAX CREDIT HAS BEEN INCORPORATED IN THE BILL BEING PREPARED BY THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE. IT IS AN EXAMPLE OF A REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE THAT WOULD HELP NOT THE COUNTRY CLUB SET BUT BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS AND CHICANOS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN OUR COUNTRY.

- 13 -

DRAFT EVADER PARDON

I FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT THE BLANKET PARDON GRANTED BY THE PRESIDENT TO ALL VIETNAM ERA DRAFT EVADERS. I BELIEVE IT WAS AN UNFAIR AND UNWISE POLICY. SOME OF YOU MAY NOT AGREE WITH ME. BUT YOU WILL RECOGNIZE, I KNOW, THAT THE YOUNG AMERICANS WHO DID ANSWER THE CALL TO DUTY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA -- WHO SERVED HONORABLY -- AND SOME OF WHOM WERE KILLED OR WOUNDED OR TAKEN PRISONER IN THAT WAR -- WERE DISPROPORTIONATELY MEMBERS OF THE LOWER SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GROUPS IN OUR SOCIETIES. BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS AND CHICANOS WERE REPRESENTED ON THE CASUALTY LISTS FAR OUT OF PROPORTION TO THEIR PRESENCE IN THE POPULATION. THE YOUNG MEN WHO FLED THE COUNTRY RATHER THAN ANSWER THE CALL TO SERVICE WERE USUALLY MORE SOPHISTICATED AND EDUCATED. FOR EVERY COLLEGE STUDENT WHO DUCKED HIS DUTY AND RAN OFF TO SWEDEN, SOMEONE ELSE HAD TO BE INDUCTED AND SENT TO VIETNAM -- PERHAPS TO DIE IN BATTLE.

- 14 -

LOWER-INCOME AMERICANS PAID A HIGHER PERSONAL PRICE
FOR THE VIETNAM WAR.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE
IS PAYING A DECENT WAGE TO THE PROFESSIONAL SOLDIER. YET WE
ARE TOLD THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION -- WHICH HAS JUST
CALLED FOR A REDUCTION OF \$2.5 BILLION IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET
DRAWN UP BY PRESIDENT FORD -- IS DISTRESSED BY THE HIGH COST
OF PROVIDING MANPOWER FOR THE ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE.

- 15 -

WHAT IS WRONG, I ASK, WITH PAYING A DECENT WAGE TO A PROFESSIONAL SOLDIER WHO IS WELL-TRAINED AND DEDICATED TO DOING HIS DUTY? SOME OF OUR FRIENDS IN THE OTHER PARTY WOULD RATHER CONSCRIPT YOUNG MEN INTO MILITARY SERVICE AND PAY THEM SEMI-SLAVE WAGES. AND NO MATTER WHAT KIND OF DEFERMENT SYSTEM IS DEvised, IT IS THE LOWER CLASSES AND THE RACIAL MINORITIES WHO ARE LIKELY TO BE DRAFTED.

REPUBLICANS HAVE A CASE TO MAKE TO MINORITY CITIZENS AS WELL AS TO ALL AMERICANS. IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IN THE MONTHS AHEAD FOR THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION TO MATCH PROMISES WITH PERFORMANCE. ALREADY, WE HAVE SEEN OPEN DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN ORGANIZED LABOR AND MINORITY GROUP ORGANIZATIONS OVER CABINET APPOINTMENTS AND REPRESENTATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

- 16 -

BALANCING THIS ACT WILL NOT BE EASY.

SO, IF WE ARTICULATE WHAT WE STAND FOR IN TERMS THAT CAN BE UNDERSTOOD BY ALL THE SO-CALLED "ETHNIC GROUPS" IN OUR SOCIETY, THERE IS NO NEED FOR REPUBLICANS TO BE DOWNCAST THIS FEBRUARY.

ULTIMATELY OUR CAUSE CAN PREVAIL, FOR OUR POSITIONS ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE -- BLACKS AND BROWNS AS WELL AS WHITES.

ULTIMATELY OUR CAUSE WILL PREVAIL BECAUSE OF OUR PRINCIPLES. OUR PRINCIPLES ARE SOUND. OUR ROOTS ARE SOUND. OUR ROOTS AS A PARTY RUN DEEP. THEY WILL, GOD WILLING, STAND THE TEST OF TODAY, AND TOMORROW, AND ALL THE DAYS TO COME.

#####

Rocky -
Jat Jeth -
Bulley -

Connolly -
Jury. Dangle up the country

Mandula -

Bulley -

Take over -

Home Sent in Minnesota -

Nothing like a valley -

Pay Nois. Should be Evening
mail 50-50

Study =

Strategy Session - London

Alhany -
I don't want it

T
Geeled Wing
when 06-01
Ag. Plan.