

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

TIPPECANOE COUNTY LINCOLN DAY DINNER
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1977

ONE STATE THAT PRESIDENT FORD AND I KNEW WOULD BE IN THE REPUBLICAN COLUMN LAST NOVEMBER WAS THE HOOSIER STATE. YOU DID NOT FAIL US. JERRY FORD AND I WILL NEVER FORGET YOUR RESOUNDING SUPPORT IN THAT ELECTION. SOMEHOW THE FUNERAL NOTICES THAT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED SO FREQUENTLY FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NEVER SEEM TO REACH THE VALLEY OF THE WABASH. YOUR SUCCESS UNDERSCORES THE IMPORTANCE OF RUNNING GOOD CANDIDATES, MAINTAINING AN EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, AVOIDING FACTIONAL SPLITS, AND BEING IN TUNE WITH THE INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES OF ALL THE VOTERS IN YOUR STATE. DICK LUGAR'S ARRIVAL IN THE SENATE IS A HAPPY EVENT, NOT JUST FOR INDIANA AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, BUT FOR THE VENERABLE INSTITUTION IN WHICH WE SERVE. HE REPRESENTS YOUR STATE WELL AND HAS A MOST PROMISING FUTURE AHEAD OF HIM.

- REPUBLICAN ENTHUSIASM -

THESE PAST FEW WEEKS -- A PROLONGED LINCOLN DAY SEASON WHICH SEEMS TO COME CLOSER TO THE FOURTH OF JULY -- ARE THE TRADITIONAL OCCASION FOR REPUBLICANS TO COME TOGETHER, CONSIDER THEIR COMMON ROOTS AS A PARTY, AND REFLECT ON WHAT WE CAN OFFER THE NATION -- WHAT COURSE WE SHOULD TAKE IN THE FUTURE. TRAVELING AND SPEAKING IN MANY DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY AT AFFAIRS SUCH AS THIS, I FOUND REPUBLICANS WHO ARE ENTHUSIASTIC AND FULL OF HOPE. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WAS FOUNDED HERE IN THE MIDWEST ON MR. LINCOLN'S TIMELESS PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN LIBERTY.

WE LIVE IN A FAR MORE COMPLICATED AGE TODAY. BUT THE QUEST FOR LIBERTY AND FREEDOM IS NEVER-ENDING. THE PRESSURES OF AN OVER-REGULATED SOCIETY, AND SENSELESS BUREAUCRATIC DOMINATION, REACH INTO EVERY CORNER OF OUR LIVES,

OURS IS STILL THE PARTY OF PRINCIPLE -- PRINCIPLE THAT NEED NOT BE BENT THIS WAY AND THAT TO PACIFY THE CONTRASTING ELEMENTS IN THE PARTY'S CONSTITUENCY, OURS IS STILL THE PARTY OF COMMON SENSE, OURS IS STILL THE PARTY OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY.

- FREEDOM ISSUES -

THERE ARE NEW FREEDOM ISSUES CROWDING THE AGENDA IN WASHINGTON THESE DAYS.

-- FREEDOM FROM CRIMINAL TERROR, OUR SOCIETY IS WORSE OFF THAN ANYONE COULD HAVE IMAGINED IF WE CANNOT DEVISE METHODS FOR PROTECTING OURSELVES AGAINST THE FEAR OF ATROCITIES AT THE HANDS OF TERRORIST GANGS WHO THREATEN TO MURDER HOSTAGES. THERE MUST BE SOME CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD LIMITATIONS IN THE FUTURE ABOUT WHAT IS AND IS NOT NEGOTIABLE IN SUCH SITUATIONS -- AND THE RIGHT OF THE RINGLEADER TO WALK HOME IMMEDIATELY -- BEFORE THE VICTIMS HAVE HARDLY HAD TIME TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR LOVED ONES -- ON NO MORE THAN HIS PROMISE TO SHOW UP FOR TRIAL -- SHOULD NOT BE ON THE TABLE FOR BARGAINING. TO DO THIS IS TO HOLD OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM ITSELF HOSTAGE.

ONE APPROACH IS A BILL I INTRODUCED THIS WEEK WHICH WOULD PREVENT THE IMMEDIATE PRE-TRIAL RELEASE WITHOUT BAIL OF ANYONE ACCUSED OF THREATENING THE LIVES OF HOSTAGES. TOO MANY CRIMINALS WITH RECORDS ARE TURNED LOOSE TO COMMIT NEW CRIMES WHILE AWAITING TRIAL. THE BAIL SYSTEM ITSELF IS IN NEED OF REVIEW. IN OUR CONCERN FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF DEFENDANTS, WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THE EVEN MORE BASIC RIGHT OF DEFENSELESS POTENTIAL VICTIMS TO BE LEFT ALONE -- NOT TO BE FREE GAME FOR MUGGERS, ARMED ROBBERS, RAPISTS AND OTHER VIOLENT CRIMINALS.

-- ANOTHER FREEDOM IS THE FREEDOM TO JOIN A UNION OR NOT JOIN A LABOR UNION, AS THE WORKER PREFERS. SOME 20 STATES, AS YOU KNOW, HAVE CHOSEN TO PASS LAWS PROHIBITING COMPULSORY UNION MEMBERSHIP AGREEMENTS. OTHER STATES HAVE CHOSEN NOT TO. ONCE AGAIN THIS YEAR, ORGANIZED LABOR IS TRYING TO HAVE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SUPERCEDE THE STATES ON THIS AND FLATLY PROHIBIT THE STATES FROM PROHIBITING COMPULSORY UNION SHOP AGREEMENTS.

-- ANOTHER FREEDOM IS THE FREEDOM TO BE ABLE TO PLAN YOUR LIVES WITH REASONABLE CERTAINTY. THE MILITARY DRAFT WAS ENDED BY THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION, BUT NOW SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND SOME OFFICIALS IN THE PENTAGON ARE QUESTIONING A SYSTEM THAT PAYS A LIVING WAGE TO PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS. IN TIME OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY, WE OBVIOUSLY WOULD RESORT TO CONSCRIPTION, AND QUICKLY. BUT IN TIME OF PEACE, LET'S GIVE THE VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCES A CHANCE TO WORK.

WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF MILITARY SECURITY, OUR EXPERIENCE HAS USUALLY BEEN THAT PROBLEMS BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO SOLVE THE BIGGER AND MORE COMPLICATED BECOMES THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY CREATED TO SOLVE THEM.

- ENERGY CRISIS -

THE SENATE HAS PASSED A BILL GIVING THE PRESIDENT THE AUTHORITY HE REQUESTED TO REORGANIZE THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT. THIS CAN BE DONE BY SHIFTING, CONSOLIDATING OR ABOLISHING AGENCIES. IT IS THE EARNEST DESIRE OF ALL OF US THAT HE USE THIS POWER WISELY AND ACCOMPLISH MORE THAN A MERE RESHUFFLING OF BUREAUCRATS. WE'LL SEE. BUT THE PRESIDENT'S INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE ENERGY CRISIS WAS CALLING FOR A NEW DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE WHITE HOUSE MAILED OUT LETTERS TO FIND OUT WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THINK ABOUT THE ENERGY CRISIS -- SOMETHING WHICH HE SHOULD HAVE LEARNED DURING THE CAMPAIGN.

ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO, INDIANA AND MANY OTHER STATES WERE IN THE GRIP OF A SEVERE SHORTAGE OF NATURAL GAS WHICH REQUIRED THE TEMPORARY CLOSING OF PLANTS, STORES AND SCHOOLS. THE CRITICAL UNDER-SUPPLY OF ENERGY IN A WORLD OF GROWING DEMAND WILL NOT BE SOLVED BY MAKING WHIPPING BOYS OF THE OIL COMPANIES AND UTILITIES. IT ISN'T LIKELY TO BE SOLVED BY CORRESPONDING WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND IT ISN'T LIKELY TO BE SOLVED BY CREATING A MORE INTRICATE REGULATORY ARRANGEMENT -- WHICH, NO MATTER WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE TO SAY, IS THE MOST LIKELY SOLUTION TO BE PUT FORWARD BY A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION AND A DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED CONGRESS. SOLVING THE ENERGY CRISIS WILL REQUIRE DIFFERENT LIVING HABITS FOR ALL AMERICANS -- ELIMINATING THE WASTEFUL USES OF ENERGY, AND CREATING THE CONDITIONS -- ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CONDITIONS -- THAT WILL ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOURCES OF SUPPLY. THIS MUST BE DONE WITHOUT ALSO CREATING ECONOMIC HARDSHIP FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- WHICH IS NO SMALL ORDER. IT IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF URGENT QUESTIONS CONFRONTING THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN IN OFFICE NOW FOR TWO MONTHS. THE NEW PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY HAVE BEEN OUR CONSTANT COMPANIONS ON THE TELEVISION SCREEN, THE RADIO, AND THE FRONT PAGES OF OUR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES. THE TRANSITION FROM THE EASY RHETORIC OF THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE TO THE AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNING THIS NATION IS ALWAYS HARD. IT IS NATURAL FOR HIM TO WANT TO MAKE A GOOD IMPRESSION AND TO DELAY MAKING SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS. BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TREATED TO A PUBLIC RELATIONS BLITZ UNPRECEDENTED IN THE HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY. FROM TREE HOUSES AND TOWN MEETINGS, WE ARE BOMBARDED WITH THE IMAGE OF A FOLKSY AMERICAN FAMILY THAT HAS OUR BEST INTERESTS AT HEART.

- SUPPORT PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT -

AS THE PARTY OF THE "LOYAL OPPOSITION", WE WISH
THE PRESIDENT WELL.

OUR POSITION AS REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS SHOULD
BE -- AND WILL BE -- TO SUPPORT HIM WHEN HE IS RIGHT.
WHEN HE IS WRONG, WE CAN SERVE OUR COUNTRY BEST -- AND
MERIT THE CONFIDENCE OF THE VOTERS -- BY OFFERING ALTERNATIVE
IDEAS IN A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

SAYING "NO" TO MORE AND BIGGER GOVERNMENT IS NOT
ENOUGH. WE'VE GOT TO SPELL OUT HOW THE FORCES OF OUR
PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM CAN BE HARNESSSED TO DEAL WITH
PROBLEMS THAT ARE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO MANY OF OUR
CITIZENS. AND THAT IT CAN BE DONE MORE EFFECTIVELY THAT
WAY THAN BY EXPANDING THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY AND
RAISING TAXES.

AT THE TOWN MEETING IN MASSACHUSETTS LAST WEEK, MR. CARTER SAID HE EXPECTED TO BALANCE THE FEDERAL BUDGET WITHIN FOUR YEARS. THAT IS A COMMENDABLE OBJECTIVE. IF WE ARE TO RESTORE ECONOMIC VITALITY WITHOUT RUNAWAY INFLATION, FEDERAL SPENDING MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL. BUT THE PRESIDENT IS NOT STARTING OFF VERY WELL. THE BUDGET REVISIONS THAT HE RECOMMENDED WOULD ADD ABOUT \$10 BILLION TO THE FINAL FORD BUDGET, BRINGING THE TOTAL PROJECTED DEFICIT FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR TO \$68 BILLION.

NOW TO GET THE ECONOMY BACK IN GEAR AGAIN -- AND MORE PEOPLE BACK TO WORK -- WITHOUT SETTING OFF A NEW SURGE OF INFLATION -- IS A CONCERN OF ALL OF US. CONSUMER PRICES WENT UP IN FEBRUARY AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF 12.7 PERCENT, AN INTOLERABLE TREND THAT WE CANNOT PERMIT TO CONTINUE. SEVERE WINTER WEATHER HAD A LOT TO DO WITH THE HIGHER FOOD PRICES. BUT IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE LABOR DEPARTMENT STATISTICS THAT MANY OF THE INCREASES WERE UNRELATED TO THE COLD WEATHER. WE ARE IN DANGER OF BEING CAUGHT UP IN ANOTHER INFLATION PSYCHOLOGY THAT ACCEPTS THE INEVITABILITY OF CREEPING INFLATION. THROUGHOUT RECENT YEARS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN THE FASTEST GROWING ITEM IN THE FAMILY BUDGET. THIS DOESN'T TURN UP IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, BUT THE AVERAGE AMERICAN FAMILY KNOWS IT!

- SENATE TAX BILL -

JUST THIS MORNING THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE FINISHED WORK ON THE ECONOMIC STIMULUS PACKAGE THAT WAS REPORTED TO THE FULL SENATE FOR ACTION SOON. THE VOTE IN COMMITTEE WAS 10 TO 8. ALL THE REPUBLICAN SENATORS WERE OPPOSED. WE PREFERRED PERMANENT CUTS IN INCOME TAX RATES INSTEAD OF A ONE-SHOT \$50 PER PERSON REBATE ON 1976 TAXES AS PROVIDED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE BILL AND BY THE BILL PASSED EARLIER BY THE HOUSE. THE REBATE WOULD HARDLY BEGIN TO MAKE UP FOR LAST WINTER'S INCREASED HEATING BILL. THEREFORE, IT WOULD NOT PUT MANY MORE SPENDABLE DOLLARS BACK INTO THE HANDS OF CONSUMERS.

THIS EFFORT TO BRING TAX RATES IN LINE WITH EARNING POWER WILL BE RENEWED WHEN THE LEGISLATION IS ON THE FLOOR -- AND LATER WHEN IT IS REFERRED TO A CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF BOTH HOUSES.

I FAVOR PERMANENT TAX CUTS FOR THE MIDDLE-CLASS AS WELL AS LOW-INCOME FAMILIES, ONE OF THE INSIDIOUS EFFECTS OF INFLATION HAS BEEN THE AUTOMATIC BOOSTING OF WAGE-EARNERS INTO HIGHER TAX BRACKETS, A WORKER GETS A SMALL RAISE TO BARELY KEEP UP WITH THE HIGHER COST OF LIVING, AND EVEN THOUGH CONGRESS MAY VOTE TAX CUTS, HE WINDS UP PAYING MORE INCOME TAXES BECAUSE HE FINDS HIMSELF IN A HIGHER TAX BRACKET.

I FAVOR THE COMBINATION OF AN INCREASE IN THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT AND A SPECIAL EMPLOYMENT TAX CREDIT WHICH REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN PROPOSING AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE DEMOCRAT-SPONSORED INCREASES IN THE BUDGET FOR PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS, THE JOBS TAX CREDIT WOULD BE AN INCENTIVE FOR EMPLOYERS TO STEP UP THEIR OPERATIONS AND HIRE ADDITIONAL WORKERS, BECAUSE PART OF THE EXTRA WAGES COULD BE CHARGED OFF AGAINST THEIR TAXES, THESE WOULD BE PERMANENT JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND WOULD HAVE MANY ADVANTAGES OVER THE PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS PROGRAM, THESE ARE TEMPORARY JOBS, TOO OFTEN THEY HAVE BEEN MAKE-WORK PROJECTS OF DUBIOUS PUBLIC VALUE.

- OTHER PROBLEMS -

THERE ARE A GREAT MANY OTHER PROBLEMS THAT SHOULD BE COMMANDING THE URGENT ATTENTION OF THE ADMINISTRATION:

-- ONE IS KEEPING THE PEACE. THE DANGER OF A BLOODY RACE WAR IN AFRICA IS WITH US ALL THE TIME. WE CAN SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-DETERMINATION ON THAT CONTINENT WITHOUT EVEN CONSIDERING BECOMING INVOLVED BY SENDING A SO-CALLED POLICE FORCE INTO THAT PART OF THE WORLD. IT IS UNTHINKABLE FOR US TO BE TALKING ABOUT A RESTORATION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH CUBA WHILE CASTRO IS SENDING CUBAN SOLDIERS TO STIR UP TROUBLE IN AFRICA.

-- TRADE PROTECTIONISM IS ANOTHER. THE PRESSURE IS GROWING FOR PROTECTION AGAINST IMPORTS. THE PRODUCTIVITY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AND OTHER EXPORT GOODS IS OUR GREAT RELIABLE ECONOMIC STRENGTH. WE CANNOT EXPECT OUR TRADING PARTNERS TO ENGAGE IN FREE TRADE ON SOME ITEMS ONLY IF WE REFUSE TO ADMIT THEIR PRODUCTS INTO OUR MARKETS. FREE TRADE IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR WELL-BEING IN THE MIDWEST. WHETHER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CAN WITHSTAND THE PRESSURE OF THE FORCES OF PROTECTIONISM IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PUBLIC POLICY QUESTIONS BEFORE US.

-- THE FUTURE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM IS ANOTHER. THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET REVISION MESSAGE POSTPONED ANY RECOMMENDATION ON THIS VERY IMPORTANT MATTER. UNLESS SOMETHING IS DONE TO SHORE UP THE SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUND, IT WILL COME CLOSE TO THE BRINK OF INSOLVENCY WITHIN A FEW YEARS. CONGRESS HAS BEEN WAITING ANXIOUSLY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S THOUGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT.

I CAN'T HELP BUT FEEL THAT THE PRESIDENT OUGHT TO LAY OFF A FEW OF HIS P.R. EXPERTS AND ASSIGN SOME OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF TO STUDYING SOCIAL SECURITY FINANCING OPTIONS. IF SOME OF THIS CREATIVE ENERGY COULD ONLY BE DIVERTED TO SOLVING THE NATION'S PRESSING PROBLEMS -- IF THE WHITE HOUSE TEAM IS HALF AS IMAGINATIVE GOVERNING THE COUNTRY AS IT HAS BEEN MARKETING THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE -- I SUPPOSE WE NEED NOT FEAR,

- GOP UNDER FEWER CONSTRAINTS -

WHEN IT COMES DOWN TO INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS TO NAGGING PUBLIC PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS THAT REQUIRE DOWN-TO-EARTH THINKING AND NOT STAGE-MANAGED GIMMICKS, THE TRUTH IS OUR PARTY IS UNDER FEWER CONSTRAINTS AND INHIBITIONS THAN IS THE OTHER PARTY. WE CAN OFFER FRESH, EXCITING IDEAS THAT DRAW ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, REVERSE THE BURGEONING GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT, AND WIND UP COSTING THE TAXPAYERS LESS.

THESE ARE POSITIONS CONSISTENT WITH REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES. THESE ARE POSITIONS CONSISTENT WITH THE THINKING OF MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- IN GARY AND INDIANAPOLIS AND SOUTH BEND, AS WELL AS ON THE FARMS AND SMALL TOWNS. THESE ARE POSITIONS WHICH REPUBLICANS OF WHATEVER SUB-TITLE AND FROM WHATEVER REGION OF OUR COUNTRY -- FROM NEW YORK OR INDIANA, OR EVEN GEORGIA -- CAN ENDORSE ENTHUSIASTICALLY.

OUR ROOTS AS A PARTY RUN DEEP. IF WE REMAIN TRUE TO OUR PRINCIPLES, AND TAKE OUR CASE TO THE PEOPLE, IN TERMS THAT HAVE MEANING FOR THEIR EVERYDAY LIVES, THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN AND WILL BE BRIGHT.