

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
NEW JERSEY REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION  
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY  
MAY 7, 1977

THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY HAS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY THIS NOVEMBER -- AN OPPORTUNITY TO TOPPLE AN INCUMBENT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR. REPUBLICANS IN THE GARDEN STATE ARE ALWAYS A LIVELY, COMPETITIVE GROUP. TODAY'S STATE CONVENTION IS EVIDENCE OF THE ENTHUSIASM AND SPIRIT BUILDING IN THE PARTY AS YOU GET READY FOR THE CAMPAIGN AHEAD. A VICTORY IN A BIG URBAN STATE -- PARTICULARLY ONE WITH A SITTING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR -- WOULD GIVE THE ENTIRE PARTY VALUABLE MOMENTUM GOING INTO THE 1978 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

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AS I TRAVEL IN MY OWN STATE AND AROUND THE COUNTRY, I SEE MANY SIGNS OF A REINVIGORATED REPUBLICAN PARTY, HEALTHY, HARDY, FULL OF FIGHT, DETERMINED TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF ITS APPEAL, FULLY AWARE THAT GOOD CANDIDATES AND GOOD GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATION ARE THE KEYS TO SUCCESS, CONFIDENT THAT THE ISSUES AND CAUSES WHICH WE ESPOUSE ARE IN TUNE WITH THE CONCERNS AND INTERESTS OF A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

### EYES ON NEW JERSEY

THE LAST PLACE IN THE COUNTRY TO KEEP TRACK OF THE REAL PUBLIC MOOD IS IN WASHINGTON -- PREOCCUPIED, AS IT USUALLY IS, WITH THE RELATIVE CELEBRITY STATUS OF THE PERSONALITIES WHO EXERCISE REAL OR FANCIED POWER.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE EYES OF THE NATION WILL BE ON NEW JERSEY IN NOVEMBER. PRESIDENT CARTER'S OPINION POLL INTERPRETERS, STYLE-SETTERS, AND IMAGE MANIPULATORS WILL ALSO BE WATCHING NEW JERSEY THIS FALL.

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THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS NOW COMPLETED ITS FIRST 100 DAYS IN OFFICE -- WITH THE EMPHASIS ON STYLE OVER SUBSTANCE. IN THE WORDS OF NO LESS AN AUTHORITY THAN GEORGE MEANY, THERE HAVE BEEN "A LOT OF WORDS ABOUT A LOT OF THINGS" FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT VERY LITTLE ACTION ON ANYTHING.

WE NOW LEARN FROM THE PRESS THAT IT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S POLLING ADVISOR WHO SET THE TONE FOR THE FIRST 100 DAYS. THE PRESIDENT WAS WARNED, ABOVE ALL, NOT TO SUBSTITUTE SUBSTANCE FOR STYLE. THE POLLSTER IS SAID TO HAVE DEFINED THE "STYLISTIC POINTS" AND THE "VISIBLE SIGNALS" THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PREPARE FOR 1980. PREPARING FOR 1980 BEFORE HE HAD EVEN BEEN INAUGURATED!

THE PRESIDENT WAS ADVISED TO CONDUCT "A CONTINUING POLITICAL CAMPAIGN" BY DEVELOPING AN IMAGINATIVE AND REFRESHING IMAGE.

THAT HAS BEEN THE MOTTO OF THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE CARTER PRESIDENCY -- IMAGINATIVE IMAGE FIRST; WORRY ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF GOVERNING LATER.



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"REMOVE FROM THE JOB MARKET"

MR. CARTER WAS ADVISED IN THE PUBLISHED MEMO TO LIMIT POTENTIAL OPPOSITION WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BY -- AND I QUOTE -- "REMOVING FROM THE JOB MARKET AS MANY OF THOSE WITH THE EXPERIENCE AND TALENT IN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS AS CAN BE ACCOMODATED." END OF QUOTE.

TRANSLATED: TO MAKE SURE THAT POTENTIAL OPPONENTS IN THE PARTY DON'T HAVE ANY STAFF RESOURCES AT THEIR DISPOSAL, PUT ALL OF THE EXPERIENCED AND TALENTED FOLKS ON THE FEDERAL PAYROLL SO THEY'LL BE LOYAL TO JIMMY CARTER!

THIS FROM AN ADMINISTRATION THAT TELLS US ALMOST DAILY HOW THEY'RE GOING TO REORGANIZE THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE IT MORE EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE! EFFECTIVE FOR WHOM?

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FOLLOWING THIS INTRODUCTORY SPLURGE OF SYMBOLISM -- WHICH PAT CADDELL CONSIDERED NECESSARY SO THAT SUBSTANCE WOULD NOT OVERCOME THE MORE IMPORTANT MATTER OF STYLE -- THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN IMPARTING A LOT OF IDEAS.

NOT MANY OF THEM HAVE BEEN VERY GOOD IDEAS. THEY AREN'T VERY WELL THOUGHT THROUGH. THEY AREN'T ALWAYS CONSISTENT. AND -- FORTUNATELY -- SOME OF THEM AREN'T VERY LONG LASTING.

BUT I MUST SAY HE HAS MANAGED TO KEEP OUR ATTENTION.

THE BEST POLICY FOR REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS IS TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT. WHEN HE IS WRONG, WE CAN SERVE OUR COUNTRY BEST -- AND EARN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE VOTERS -- BY OFFERING ALTERNATIVE IDEAS IN A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

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OUTNUMBERED AS WE ARE IN BOTH HOUSES, REPUBLICANS ARE HAVING AN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION. THE ARGUMENTS THAT MEMBERS OF OUR PARTY RAISED ABOUT THE INFLATIONARY EFFECT OF THE TAX REBATE FINALLY CAUSED THE PRESIDENT TO WITHDRAW IT. THE EMPLOYMENT TAX CREDIT THAT WAS CONTAINED IN THE TAX BILL -- AND WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION OPPOSES -- WAS ESSENTIALLY A REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE. IT IS BASED ON THE COMMON-SENSE PREMISE THAT ADDITIONAL TAX INCENTIVES OUGHT TO GO FIRST TO EMPLOYERS WHO WILL EXPAND THEIR PRODUCTION AND HIRE WORKERS. THAT WAY IT WILL BE EASIER FOR BUSINESSMEN TO FIND ROOM ON THEIR PAYROLLS FOR MARGINAL WORKERS, AT OR SLIGHTLY OVER THE MINIMUM WAGE, BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE SUBSIDIZING PART OF THE COST. THIS SHOULD BE OF SPECIAL BENEFIT TO THE HARD-CORE INNER-CITY TEENAGE UNEMPLOYED.

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### UNIVERSAL REGISTRATION

ONE OF THE FEW SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS THAT IMAGE SPECIALIST PAT CADDELL RECOMMENDED IN HIS MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT WAS UNIVERSAL REGISTRATION OF VOTERS. WE ARE ALL IN FAVOR OF DOING EVERYTHING REASONABLE TO MAKE VOTING EASIER. BUT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE LOWER UNREASONABLE BARRIERS TO VOTING WITHOUT ENCOURAGING FRAUD. A SECRET JUSTICE DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM DESCRIBED THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL FOR ON-THE-SPOT REGISTRATION ON ELECTION DAY, WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF ADVANCE REGISTRATION, AS "OPEN INVITATION TO FRAUD". THE EXPERTS TELL US THAT THE ACT OF NON-VOTING IS ITSELF OFTEN A DELIBERATE DECISION. IN MY OPINION, INSTEAD OF PROVIDING FOR INSTANT REGISTRATION, BOTH OF OUR PARTIES WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO IMPROVE THEIR LINES OF COMMUNICATION WITH VOTERS WHO ARE NOW TURNED OFF BY POLITICS AND POLITICIANS. WE SHOULD STIMULATE THEIR INTEREST AND MAKE THEM WANT TO VOTE AND WANT TO REGISTER TO VOTE.



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WHY DON'T WE WIN MORE ELECTIONS?

BUT IF ALL THE ISSUES ARE ON OUR SIDE -- TAXES, INFLATION, HONEST ELECTIONS -- WHY DON'T WE WIN MORE ELECTIONS?

THE LESSON I HOPE WE HAVE LEARNED IS THAT 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.



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BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS SO COMMITTED TO GOVERNMENT ACTION, SO TRADITION-BOUND, SO TIED TO PAST PROGRAMS THAT NEVER WORKED, IT IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT OFFERS THE EXCITING OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEW APPROACHES. THE POSITIONS THAT WE TAKE ARE IN TUNE WITH THE INTERESTS OF ALL AMERICANS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE. ALL CLASSES AND ALL RACES -- A SLUM YOUTH WHO CAN'T FIND A JOB, A YOUNG COUPLE STRUGGLING TO SAVE THE DOWN PAYMENT FOR A HOUSE, A SMALL FARMER -- ALL FEEL THE IMPACT OF INFLATION AND UNDERSTAND THE FUTILE WASTEFULNESS OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS THAT DON'T WORK.

WHEN IT COMES TO INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS TO NAGGING PROBLEMS, THE TRUTH IS OUR PARTY IS UNDER FEWER CONSTRAINTS AND INHIBITIONS THAN IS THE OTHER PARTY. WE CAN OFFER FRESH IDEAS THAT DRAW ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, REVERSE THE BURGEONING GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT, AND WIND UP COSTING THE TAXPAYERS LESS.

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WE CANNOT ALLOW FACTIONALISM TO DIVIDE US. THERE IS ROOM IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR MEN AND WOMEN OF MANY IDEOLOGICAL PERSUASIONS. IN STATES LIKE NEW JERSEY THERE IS NO REASON WHY REPUBLICANS CANNOT HAVE A HARD FIGHT FOR THE NOMINATION AND THEN JOIN FORCES BEHIND THE NOMINEE.

THEN, TOO, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT WE'VE GOT TO BROADEN OUR BASE AND DO A MORE EFFECTIVE JOB OF APPEALING TO BLACKS AND OTHER RACIAL MINORITIES. THIS CAN BE DONE, I BELIEVE, BY RUNNING GOOD CANDIDATES -- GOOD BLACK AND HISPANIC CANDIDATES -- AND BY ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITIES WHERE THEY LIVE.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN BILL BROCK HAS WISELY EARMARKED \$250,000 FOR THE PURPOSE OF RECRUITING AND ASSISTING BLACK CANDIDATES. THIS BRINGS THE OVERALL GOP BUDGET FOR BLACK PROGRAMS TO \$375,000, AND IS SIX TIMES ANY PREVIOUS SUCH OUTLAY.

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ULTIMATELY, HOWEVER, EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION MUST COME FROM THE GRASS ROOTS UP. IT CANNOT BE ORDAINED FROM ON HIGH BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OR ANYONE ELSE.

AND AT THE SAME TIME, CANNOT AFFORD TO FORGET ETHNIC AMERICANS, MOST OF WHOM, PHILOSOPHICALLY AT LEAST, ARE INCLINED TOWARDS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. YOU KNOW WHAT THIS MEANS IN A MULTI-ETHNIC STATE LIKE NEW JERSEY. ITALIAN AMERICANS ALONE CROMPRISE 7% OF THE GARDEN STATE'S POPULATION, WHILE THE POLES AND GERMANS EACH REPRESENT 3%. ADD TO THESE PERCENTAGES THE SIZEABLE CHINESE, HUNGARIAN, GREEK, ~~Ukrainian~~ Bee-yellow-Russian, CZECH, SLOVAK, NORWEGIAN, SWEDISH, FINNISH, BYELORUSSIAN, LITHUANIAN, CUBAN, LATVIAN AND ESTONIAN COMMUNITIES, AND WE END UP WITH A TOTAL FOREIGN-STOCK POPULATION OF 30%. IF WE ADD THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION ETHNIC AMERICANS TO THAT FIGURE, WE COULD BE TALKING ABOUT A TOTAL POPULATION OF WELL OVER 40%. I AM PLEASED THAT NEW JERSEY HAS A GOP STATE HERITAGE GROUPS COUNCIL, AND I'M SURE THEY ENJOY YOUR SUPPORT.

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NEW JERSEY CAN SHOW THE WAY FOR THE REST OF THE PARTY  
ON ELECTION DAY IN NOVEMBER. A VICTORY IN THE GUBERNATORIAL  
ELECTION OF SUCH AN IMPORTANT STATE AS THIS WOULD BE A  
TREMENDOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST FOR REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE.  
I KNOW YOU ARE POISED TO PUT FORTH AN ENERGETIC  
ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT. I WISH YOU WELL.

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