

REPUBLICAN PARTY DINNER
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA
SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1977

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN IN POWER FOR SIX MONTHS NOW. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE STILL PUZZLED ABOUT WHAT DIRECTION THE PRESIDENT IS PROPOSING TO TAKE US. THE FIRST FEW WEEKS WERE GIVEN OVER TO A SENSATIONAL DISPLAY OF PROMOTIONAL RAZZLE DAZZLE. HE MAY BE THE FIRST CHIEF EXECUTIVE TO PURSUE A WRITTEN STRATEGY PROCLAIMED BY HIS PUBLIC OPINION ADVISER AND CHIEF GURU PAT CADDELL OF NOT PERMITTING THE SUBSTANCE OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS TO GET IN THE WAY OF WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT: A FLASHY STYLE.

AND SO PRESIDENT CARTER WILL BE LEADING HIS ROAD SHOW ON DOWN TO YAZOO CITY, MISSISSIPPI. THERE WILL BE ANOTHER TOWN MEETING, AND THE CARTERS WILL SLEEP OVER WITH A LOCAL FAMILY. ALL THIS HAS THE EFFECT OF DISTRACTING ATTENTION FROM THE SUBSTANCE OR THE NON-SUBSTANCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES.

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THERE IS VERY LITTLE CONSISTENCY TO MR. CARTER'S PROGRAMS
THUS FAR.

BASED IN LARGE PART ON WHAT MR. CADDELL TELLS HIM WILL BE
POPULAR WITH A CERTAIN SEGMENT OF THE DIVERSE DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUENCY,
THE PRESIDENT OFFERS THE BARE OUTLINES OF SOME INITIATIVE. THERE'S
A BIG PR SPLASH, BUT SELDOM ARE THE IDEAS THOUGHT THROUGH IN ADVANCE.
THERE IS VERY LITTLE ADVANCE CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS.

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FOREIGN POLICY INCONSISTENCIES

HIS FOREIGN POLICY IS A PATTERN OF INCONSISTENCIES. THE RHETORIC OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS FOLLOWED BY EXPRESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION WITH CASTRO'S CUBA--A MOVE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM--AND THE MANNED WITHDRAWAL OF OUR TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA. REPUBLICANS ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSE THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERN WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD--BUT THESE STANDARDS CANNOT BE APPLIED SELECTIVELY. THEY SHOULD APPLY TO ALL PEOPLE--IN CUBA AND VIETNAM AS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. WE SHOULD KNOW BY NOW THAT THE BASIC RIGHTS OF MANKIND CANNOT BE PUT ON THE BARGAINING TABLE FOR POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS. IT IS UNTHINKABLE THAT THE UNITED STATES DEAL WITH CASTRO BEFORE HE IS PREPARED TO:

- HONOR THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE.
- WITHDRAW ALL CUBAN MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM THEIR MISCHIEF MAKING MISSIONS IN AFRICA.
- RELEASE AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO ARE STILL BEING HELD ON POLITICAL CHARGES.
- PAY FOR THE \$2 BILLION WORTH OF PRIVATE PROPERTY SEIZED FROM AMERICAN OWNERS IN 1959.

HUMAN RIGHTS ARE INDIVISIBLE. NO AMOUNT OF TALK, NO AMOUNT OF GOOD INTENTIONS, CAN ALTER THAT PRINCIPLE.

TRIP TO EUROPE AND ISRAEL

I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A WEEK-LONG TRIP TO EUROPE AND ISRAEL WHERE I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN ABOUT THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN. I MET WITH DISSIDENTS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND DELEGATES TO THE MEETING FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE AGENDA LATER IN THE YEAR. THAT IS THE CONFERENCE WHICH WILL REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD.

IN VIENNA, I TALKED WITH REFUGEES FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY LATVIA, POLAND, AND SOVIET RUSSIA, ALL OF WHOM HAD LEFT THEIR HOMELANDS WITHIN THE LAST THREE MONTHS.

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THE MOST RECENT EMIGRE WAS ZDENEK MLYNAR WHO LEFT CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON JUNE 13. A HIGH RANKING COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIAL DURING THE DUBCEK ERA, MLYNAR WAS ONE OF THE ORIGINAL SIGNERS OF CHARTER 77, A DOCUMENT CALLING FOR GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BY ONE OF THE MORE REPRESSIVE REGIMES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

THE CZECHS SUPPORT AMERICA'S HUMAN RIGHTS CRUSADE. THEY LOOK TO BELGRADE WITH GREAT HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

A REFUGEE COUPLE FROM HUNGARY, WHERE THE REGIME IS SOMEWHAT LESS REPRESSIVE THAN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, TOLD ME THEY LEFT THEIR HOMELAND TO IMPROVE THEIR SPIRITUAL AND NOT THEIR MATERIAL WELL-BEING. SINCE BOTH ARE ENGINEERS, THEY OWNED THEIR OWN APARTMENT AND AN AUTOMOBILE. STILL, THEY WERE NO LONGER ABLE TO LIVE IN A COUNTRY WHERE THEY WERE AFRAID TO SPEAK THEIR MIND, EVEN WITH THEIR CLOSEST FRIENDS.

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JURJI MNUKH, ONE OF THE LAST MEMBERS OF THE HELSINKI WATCH COMMITTEE, INFORMED ME THAT WHILE THE SHORT-TERM FUTURE OF DISSENT IN THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO BE GRIM, THE LONG-TERM GAINS ARE BOUND TO BE BENEFICIAL. HE SAID THE UNITED STATES MUST BE PREPARED FOR A LONG HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN BECAUSE, IN HIS WORDS, "THE SOVIET UNION WON'T CHANGE OVERNIGHT."

ALL THE DISSIDENTS AGREED THAT A HELSINKI PROCESS WHICH CONTINUES TO CALL ATTENTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE PRESERVED AFTER BELGRADE.

IF THERE IS ONE MEMORY OF MY TRIP THAT WILL LINGER AFTER ALL THE OTHERS HAVE FADED, IT IS THE GREAT LOVE FOR AMERICA EXPRESSED BY THE REFUGEES AND DISSIDENTS I MET. THEY BELIEVE WE ARE STILL THE GREATEST NATION ON EARTH. THEY REJOICE THAT WE ARE WILLING TO CHAMPION THEIR CAUSE. WE CANNOT LET THEM DOWN.

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NO ONE IS INTERESTED IN CONFRONTATION IF IT PROVES TO BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. LET US PURSUE, IF NECESSARY, A COURSE OF QUIET DIPLOMACY IF THAT WILL PERMIT THE SOVIET LEADERS TO SAVE FACE.

BUT LET US NEVER BACK AWAY FROM OUR COMMITMENT. LET US CONTINUE TO PRESS FIRMLY AND WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. LET US USE EVERY RESPONSIBLE MEANS TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT OUR NATIONS CAN GO BEYOND A SIMPLE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS. WE MUST STRIVE FOR A PEACE THAT IS PREDICATED ON MUTUAL TRUST AND A RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY.

ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL WE TRULY MAINTAIN AND ENHANCE THE HELSINKI PROCESS, USING IT TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD.

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MY VISIT WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN IN ISRAEL CONVINCED ME THAT HE IS A RESPONSIBLE NATIONAL LEADER WHO IS READY TO NEGOTIATE FAIRLY AND REASONABLY THE TOUCHY ISSUES THAT HAVE EVADED SOLUTION FOR SO LONG IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE ISRAELIS AND THE ARABS ARE CAPABLE OF SETTling THEIR DIFFERENCES PEACABLY AND EQUITABLY IF THE SUPERPOWERS REFRAIN FROM INTERFERING. I WELCOME MR. BEGIN'S UPCOMING MEETING WITH MR. CARTER AND TRUST THAT THE TWO MEN WILL ARRIVE AT A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF OUR SEPARATE COUNTRIES. ISRAEL AND AMERICA ARE BOUND BY TIES OF AFFECTION AND RESPECT, BY HISTORY, CULTURE, AND COMMON TRADITION. BUT IN THE HARD LOGIC OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THE MOST IMPORTANT BOND BETWEEN NATIONS IS SELF-INTEREST JOINED WITH MILITARY SECURITY.

PRESIDENT CARTER TALKS OF THE NEED FOR MILITARY STRENGTH. BUT NOT ALL OF HIS CONCRETE ACTIONS ARE REASSURING.

B-1 Bomber

I WAS DISAPPOINTED BY MR. CARTER'S DECISION NOT TO GO AHEAD WITH PRODUCTION OF THE B-1 BOMBER. I KNOW THAT'S A SUBJECT OF CONCERN TO MANY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS. ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN THIS NATION'S ABILITY TO DETER AN ATTACK OR DEFEND ITSELF.

AGAIN, MR. CARTER IS BEING INCONSISTENT. FIRST, HE KILLED THE B-1 BOMBER. THEN IN THE NEXT BREATH HE SAID THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE TO RELY ON STRATEGIC BOMBERS AS ONE OF THE THREE MAIN FORCES IN OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE. AFTER MORE THAN 20 YEARS OF SERVICE, THE B-52 IS NOT CAPABLE OF FULFILLING THE MISSION REQUIREMENTS FOR WHICH THE B-1 WAS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED.

MEANWHILE, HIS DECISION IS A CLEAR SIGNAL TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR THE SALT II TALKS WILL BE ONE OF WEAKNESS, NOT STRENGTH.

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NO NEED FOR CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY

MR. CARTER CONCEDED IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED ON JUNE 24 THAT HE WAS SURPRISED AT HOW COMPLEX SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ARE.

HE TALKS AT LENGTH ABOUT GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION AND ABOUT BALANCING THE BUDGET. MR. CARTER GOT TO BE PRESIDENT BY APPEALING FOR LESS GOVERNMENT--AND NOW HE CALLS FOR MORE FEDERAL EXPENDITURES AND YET ANOTHER FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCY. THE PRESIDENT IS ASKING CONGRESS TO CREATE ANOTHER REGULATORY BUREAUCRACY--THE AGENCY FOR CONSUMER ADVOCACY. INITIALLY, THE COST OF THE NEW AGENCY WOULD BE \$22 BILLION A YEAR. THE CONCEPT BEHIND THE CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY IS THAT A NEW AGENCY IS NEEDED TO LOBBY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO DO WHAT THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO DO ANYHOW. IT IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME AND GONE. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY STAFFED WITH CONSUMER PROTECTION ADVOCATES WHO ARE CAPABLE OF REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN CONSUMER. THERE IS NO NEED TO EXPAND THE BUREAUCRACY, I SUBMIT, AT ALL LEVELS, THE REGULATORY APPARATUS OF GOVERNMENT HAS RUN AMUCK. WHEN JIMMY CARTER WAS RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENT, HE CALLED THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON "A HORRIBLE BUREAUCRATIC MESS." HE SAID THE BUREAUCRACY WAS "BLOATED, CONFUSED, UNMANAGEABLE--IT HURTS OUR PEOPLE WORSE THAN ANYTHING I CAN THINK OF."

YET THE NEW FEDERAL REGULATIONS ARE CONTINUING TO POUR OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT--AT THE CURRENT ANNUAL RATE OF 71,000 PAGES IN THE FEDERAL REGISTER.

OSHA A MONSTROSITY

OSHA--THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION--IS THE MOST RECENT OF THE REGULATORY MONSTROSITIES. ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO, I AM HAPPY TO REPORT, THE SENATE ADOPTED MY AMENDMENT TO THE LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATION BILL WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THAT BEFORE PENALTIES CAN BE IMPOSED FOR ANY FIRST VIOLATION OF THE OSHA ACT, UNLESS SERIOUS AND WILLFUL, THE AGENCY MUST CONSULT WITH THE EMPLOYER ABOUT POSSIBLE METHODS FOR BRINGING THE PLANT INTO COMPLIANCE. THIS WILL MAKE IT EASIER TO OBTAIN THE SUPPOSED INTENT OF THE LAW: WHICH IS MAXIMUM HEALTH AND SAFETY IN PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT--AND THEREFORE MAXIMUM COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE LAW. IN THEIR MISSIONARY ZEAL, FEDERAL REGULATORS OFTENTIMES DIVEST THEMSELVES OF THEIR COMMON SENSE.

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ANTI-WESTERN TILT?

THE DIRECTION OF MOST OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S POLICIES MAY STILL BE IN DOUBT, BUT IT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE WESTWARD. MR. CARTER'S FIRST TWO TOWN MEETINGS AND SLEEPOVERS WERE IN THE NORTHEAST AND THE DEEP SOUTH, WHICH MAY BE A TRAVELING HAPPENSTANCE OF NO POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE WHATSOEVER.

THERE ARE OTHER MORE CONCRETE EARLY SIGNS, HOWEVER, THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION IS TILTING AGAINST THE WESTERN REGION.

--THE WATER DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS THAT THE PRESIDENT ORDERED STOPPED WERE LOCATED DISPROPORTIONATELY IN THE WESTERN STATES. HE SEEMS INSENSITIVE TO THE VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF WATER SUPPLY IN THIS PART OF THE NATION.

--THE ADMINISTRATION-BACKED NATIONAL STRIP MINING BILL WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO MINE THE VAST RESERVES OF THE CLEANER, LESS POLLUTING COAL IN THE NORTHERN PLAINS AND MOUNTAIN STATES.

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--THE FARM BILL THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS THREATENED TO VETO WOULD HELP TO BOLSTER THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY IN THE SPARSELY SETTLED RURAL STATES WHERE ABUNDANT HARVESTS LEAD, IRONICALLY, TO LOWER PRICES AND INCOME THAT SOMETIMES DOES NOT COVER THE COST OF PRODUCTION.

--AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT IS DESIGNED NOT TO INCREASE THE DOMESTIC OUTPUT OF OIL AND NATURAL GAS--BY PRICE REGULATION, WHICH MR. CARTER PLEDGED TO SUPPORT DURING LAST YEAR'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN--BUT RATHER THE ADMINISTRATION WANTS TO IMPOSE ECONOMIC PENALTIES FOR THE USE OF THE AUTOMOBILE.

--THE ALLOCATION FORMULAS UNDER THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT WERE REWRITTEN IN BOTH HOUSES THIS YEAR SO THAT MORE OF THE MONEY GOES TO OLDER CITIES OF THE NORTHEAST--A REGION THAT IS LOSING POPULATION--IN COMPARISON WITH THE SO-CALLED SUN BELT OF THE SOUTH AND WEST--A REGION OF BOOMING GROWTH.

OUR NATIONAL HISTORY TEACHES US TO BE WARY OF REGIONALISM. WE ARE ONE NATION. EFFORTS TO FAVOR ONE REGION OVER ANOTHER OR TO TURN ONE REGION AGAINST ANOTHER, HAVE BEEN TROUBLESOME AND DIVISIVE IN THE PAST. AS YOU KNOW, THE REPUBLICAN TICKET OF WHICH I WAS PRIVILEGED TO BE PART, CARRIED ALL THE WESTERN STATES LAST YEAR EXCEPT HAWAII, AND STILL LOST THE ELECTION.

I DO NOT BELIEVE EITHER OF OUR PARTIES SHOULD BE SECTIONAL PARTIES. I DO NOT BELIEVE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SHOULD MAKE NARROW SECTIONAL APPEALS. I DO NOT BELIEVE THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BESTOW BENEFITS ON THE BASIS OF ANYTHING OTHER THAN DEMONSTRATED NEED.

GOP ON VERGE OF COMEBACK

IF THE VOTERS IN THE WEST WERE WISER AND MORE PERCEPTIVE LAST NOVEMBER THAN A MAJORITY OF THOSE IN SOME OF THE OTHER STATES, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE REST OF THE COUNTRY WILL SOON BE FOLLOWING THEM. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ON THE VERGE OF A COMEBACK IN MANY AREAS. IF, THAT IS, WE ARE ABLE TO AVOID THE SORT OF IDEOLOGICAL STRIFE THAT HAS PLAGUED US IN THE PAST BUT WHICH THE DEMOCRATS ARE USUALLY ABLE TO ESCAPE; AND IF WE CONCENTRATE ON GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATION AND THE SELECTION OF EXCEPTIONALLY QUALIFIED CANDIDATES. TRADITIONALLY DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL SEATS HELD BY TWO MEMBERS OF THE CARTER CABINET--IN MINNESOTA AND IN WASHINGTON--TURNED OVER TO REPUBLICANS IN THE SPECIAL ELECTIONS THAT WERE HELD TO FILL THE VACANCIES. IN NEW JERSEY, THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE OF UNSEATING AN INCUMBENT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR THIS FALL. AND WE NOMINATED A BLUE RIBBON TICKET IN VIRGINIA, WHERE THE GOVERNORSHIP IS ALSO AT STAKE.

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AS REPUBLICANS, I BELIEVE WE CAN LOOK TO THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY WITH OPTIMISM. OUR POSITIONS ARE IN TUNE WITH THE THINKING OF MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN WHATEVER REGION OF THIS COUNTRY.

OUR COMMON ROOTS AS REPUBLICANS RUN DEEP. IF WE HOLD FAST 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 WILL BE BRIGHT--IN CALIFORNIA, KANSAS, GEORGIA, AND ALL THE OTHER STATES OF THE UNION.