

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
VIRGINIA FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
APRIL 21, 1978

SEVENTEEN MONTHS AGO, WE REPUBLICANS LOST A NATIONAL ELECTION, AND JUST FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO, WE TURNED OVER THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT TO OUR OPPONENTS. THAT TRANSITION BROUGHT WITH IT A BREATH OF HOPE FOR MANY AMERICANS, A MOMENTARY MOOD OF OPTIMISM WHICH MUCH OF THE COUNTRY SEEMS TO FEEL AT THE BEGINNING OF ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION. AND, TOO, IT REMINDED REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE OF THE NARROWNESS OF OUR POLITICAL BASE, OF THE STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND OF THE EROSION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN AMERICA.

DISILLUSIONMENT

HOW QUICKLY THINGS CHANGE. TODAY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR PRESIDENT AND THEIR GOVERNMENT. THE RE-NEWED CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA -- IN THE INTEGRITY AND HONESTY

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AND GOOD SENSE OF HER LEADERS IN WASHINGTON WHICH WAS RESTORED BY PRESIDENT FORD -- IS FADING. AND THE FORTUNES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ARE ONCE AGAIN ON THE RISE.

SUCCESSFUL REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

ANY WAY YOU LOOK AT IT, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN GOOD FOR REPUBLICANS. ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL, WE PICKED UP MOST OF THE OFF-YEAR CONGRESSIONAL SEATS WHICH WERE CONTESTED, INCLUDING MANY IN DISTRICTS LONG HELD BY OUR OPPONENTS. HERE IN THE OLD DOMINION, WE RETAINED THE GOVERNORSHIP AND ELECTED AN ATTORNEY GENERAL. AND WE HAVE FIELDIED AN OUTSTANDING GROUP OF CANDIDATES TO REPLACE BILL SCOTT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. IN AN OVERWHELMINGLY DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES ON ECONOMIC POLICY, ON DEFENSE, ON GOVERNMENT REGULATION HAVE ACHIEVED A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF SUCCESS.

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AS REPUBLICANS, WE SHOULD BE ELATED. WE SHOULD BE THANKFUL THAT THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND ON CAPITOL HILL HAS BREATHED NEW LIFE INTO OUR PARTY AND OPENED UP NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR POLITICAL SUCCESS IN 1978 AND IN 1980. BUT THE SAD FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE IMPROVED PROGNOSIS FOR OUR PARTY REFLECTS NOT JUST OUR REINVIGORATED EFFORTS IN CONGRESS AND AT THE GRASSROOTS, BUT A SERIOUS REVERSAL IN OUR COUNTRY'S FORTUNES AT HOME AND ABROAD. SO WHILE WE, AS REPUBLICANS, CAN AND SHOULD TAKE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OF PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION WITH OUR OPPONENTS, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO RISE THIS AFTER-NOON WITH ANY SENSE OF POLITICAL SATISFACTION OR JUBILATION.

RATHER, I COME BEFORE YOU AS A VERY TROUBLED AMERICAN -- YOUR PARTISAN ALLY -- WITH A GROWING SENSE OF SADNESS AND DISMAY AT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN WASHINGTON, HAPPENING TO OUR COUNTRY, HAPPENING TO OUR NATION IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD.

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REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY

WE FIND OUR NATION DIVIDED, UNEASY ABOUT OUR PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO PREEMINENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, UNSURE AND DISILLUSIONED ABOUT THE LACK OF DIRECTION HERE AT HOME, AND UTTERLY FRUSTRATED WITH POLITICIANS BIG ON PROMISES AND SMALL ON ACCOMPLISHMENTS. IN VIRGINIA AND AROUND THIS NATION, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO PROMOTE POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL STRENGTH, STABILIZE OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY, AND GIVE THE ELECTORATE LESS REASON TO BE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES OF POLITICS.

I THINK THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN MEASURE UP TO THIS TASK. WE CAN GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY WANT, IF WE WILL. WE CAN TAKE THE INITIATIVE, IDENTIFY PROBLEMS, AND PROPOSE FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE SOLUTIONS WHICH WILL MAINTAIN OUR WORLD LEADERSHIP ROLE AND STRENGTHEN OUR CITIES, OUR STATES, AND OUR NATION.

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WE REPUBLICANS CAN DO THESE THINGS IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY WHAT UNITES US NOT INHIBITED BY WHAT DIVIDES US.

IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME FOR REPUBLICAN UNITY, THIS IS IT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DESPERATELY SEARCHING FOR LEADERS WHO SHARE THEIR SENSE OF FRUSTRATION, WHO WANT GOVERNMENT OFF THEIR BACKS AND OUT OF THEIR POCKETS, WHO BELIEVE THAT THE LEGITIMATE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AS SERVANT, NOT MASTER, OF THE PEOPLE IS NOT AN OUTDATED NOTION.

NEED FOR RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT

BUT, TOO, THE PEOPLE WANT A GOVERNMENT THAT IS RESPONSIVE TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT US. INSPIRED RHETORIC ABOUT INDIVIDUALITY AND FREE ENTERPRISE AND NATIONAL STRENGTH STILL HAS ITS PLACE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. BUT THE VOTERS OF AMERICA EXPECT MORE THAN

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THAT FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. THEY ALREADY SHARE OUR BASIC VALUES, OUR PHILOSOPHY. WHAT THEY WANT FROM US ARE CANDIDATES AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHO WILL PUT THAT PHILOSOPHY TO WORK IN ARLINGTON COUNTY, IN RICHMOND, AND IN WASHINGTON.

AMERICANS ARE A PERCEPTIVE PEOPLE. THEY WILL NOT BE FOOLED BY SLOGANEERING AND DEMOGOGUERY. THEY KNOW THAT INFLATION IS TOO HIGH, THAT OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP IS SLIPPING, THAT THERE ARE STILL TOO MANY AMERICANS WHO CAN'T FIND WORK, THAT BURDENSOME GOVERNMENT REGULATION IS COSTING THE AMERICAN CONSUMER BILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR. WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT FROM OUR PARTY -- FROM ALL POLITICIANS FOR THAT MATTER -- IS ACTION. THEY WANT TO SEE THE REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY AT WORK -- FOR THE FARMER IN THE MIDWEST, THE BUSINESSMAN IN THE SOUTH, THE FACTORY WORKER IN THE EAST, AND THE BLACKS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS IN OUR GREAT AMERICAN CITIES.

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AND ACTION IS EXACTLY WHAT THEY'RE GETTING FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. FROM THE NEW DEAL TO THE MIDDLE OF THE PAST DECADE, IT WAS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHICH SEEMED TO BE RESPONDING TO THE CONCERNS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHICH SEEMED TO BE PROPOSING SOLUTIONS TO NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL PROBLEMS. WE ARE PERCEIVED AS STANDING FOR THE STATUS-QUO, AS STICK-IN-THE-MUD CONSERVATIVES CONTENT WITH THINGS AS THEY WERE, NOT AS A GREAT MANY AMERICANS THOUGHT THEY SHOULD BE.

IN RECENT YEARS HOWEVER, THE ROLES HAVE BEEN REVERSED. TODAY, IT IS THE DEMOCRATS, THE ARCHITECTS OF THE BLOATED FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WE HAVE TODAY, WHO LIKE THINGS AS THEY ARE, WHO RESIST CHANGE.

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DEMOCRAT "STATUS-QUO" VS. REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE

ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS OUR OPPONENTS WHO ARE RESISTING INNOVATIVE NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES. THE MAJORITY PARTY LIKES THINGS AS THEY ARE. THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ALLIES IN CONGRESS KNOW THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS INFLATION'S MOST SATISFIED CONSTITUENT, THAT INFLATION LEADS TO HIGHER TAXES AND MORE MONEY FOR GOVERNMENT TO SPEND, THAT EVER INCREASING RESOURCES AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL WILL ENABLE GOVERNMENT TO EXPAND ITS REGULATORY GRIP ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE REPUBLICANS DON'T LIKE THAT "STATUS-QUO". WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT FOR TAX REDUCTIONS, FOR KEEPING MORE MONEY IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO EARNED IT AND LESS IN THE BELLY OF BIG GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR SPENDING RESTRAINT TO STIFLE THE ROBBER BARON OF INFLATION. WE'RE TIRED OF "WINDFALL PROFITS" -- FOR GOVERNMENT. WE KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER WHO RECEIVES

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A PAY INCREASE TODAY WILL END UP IN A HIGHER TAX BRACKET TOMORROW AND WIND UP LOSING MONEY DESPITE THE PAY HIKE. AND WE DON'T LIKE IT.

I'M SURE YOU ALL KNOW HOW THIS WORKS, BUT LET ME GIVE YOU A BRIEF EXAMPLE. IF A \$14,000 A YEAR WAGE EARNER RECEIVED A TEN PERCENT PAY INCREASE EACH YEAR THROUGH 1980 -- AND IF YOU FIGURE HE GETS THE "SO-CALLED" TAX CUTS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PROPOSED, WHICH IS DOUBTFUL -- AND IF YOU CALCULATE INFLATION AT ONLY SIX PERCENT A YEAR, WHICH IS ALSO DOUBTFUL -- YOU FIND THAT BY 1980 HIS TEN PERCENT PAYRAISE HAS BEEN WHITTLED AWAY TO JUST THREE PERCENT.

OR, TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, A TAXPAYER WHO EARNED \$15,000 LAST YEAR WOULD HAVE TO EARN \$15,900 JUST TO BREAK EVEN THIS YEAR --

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EVEN IF INFLATION WERE ONLY SIX PERCENT. BUT IF HE EARNED \$15,900 IN 1978, HIS TAX LIABILITY WILL BE INCREASED SO MUCH THAT IN FACT HE WILL SUFFER A LOSS.

INDEXING AS A REMEDY

SOME ECONOMISTS ARE CALLING THIS "TAXFLATION". IT'S HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS TODAY. IT'S THE STATUS-QUO. AND I THINK WE OUGHT TO CHANGE IT.

SEVERAL PIECES OF LEGISLATION HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED -- SOME CALLED "INFLATION NEUTRALIZERS", SOME CALLED "TAX INDEXATION" -- WHICH WOULD AUTOMATICALLY ADJUST PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES ACCORDING TO INCREASES OR DECREASES IN THE COST OF LIVING. WITH THESE ADJUSTMENTS, WHEN A TAXPAYER IS PUSHED INTO A HIGHER BRACKET BY WAGE INCREASES, HIS RAISE WOULD NOT BE EATEN UP BY HIGHER TAXES AND INFLATION.

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INDEXING IS NOT THE FINAL ANSWER TO THE AMERICAN TAX PROBLEM. BUT IT IS A MEANS OF KEEPING UP WITH THE HIGH COST OF LIVING. AND INDEXATION ISN'T A NEW IDEA. BUT THE INDEXATION CONCEPT HAS BEEN EMBRACED AND ADVOCATED BY REPUBLICANS OF ALL STRIPES IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. IT WOULD BE A PROGRESSIVE, MEANINGFUL CHANGE -- ONE THAT WOULD SAVE CONSUMERS MORE MONEY THAN A HUNDRED "CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCIES". YET THE "STAND-PATTERNS" IN CONGRESS AND IN THE WHITE HOUSE ARE RESISTING.

INFLATION AND TAXATION IS JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF THE ACTIVIST REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY AT WORK.

INNOVATIONS BRING ACTION

DESPITE THE OVERWHELMING ODDS, DESPITE INTENSE WHITE HOUSE OPPOSITION, IT HAS BEEN REPUBLICANS IN THE CONGRESS WHO HAVE TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING INNOVATIVE NATIONAL ENERGY POLICIES, ~~FAIRLY RECENTLY~~

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FARM ASSISTANCE, FOOD STAMP AND WELFARE REFORM. IT HAS BEEN REPUBLICANS WHO POINTED UP THE NEED FOR RELIEF FOR HARD-PRESSED MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES WHO WANT TO SEND THEIR KIDS TO COLLEGE. AND IT IS THE REPUBLICAN TUITION TAX CREDIT PLAN -- AN INNOVATIVE, SIMPLE RELIEF CONCEPT -- WHICH HAS ATTRACTED WIDE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS.

ON ANY NUMBER OF ISSUES -- FOREIGN AS WELL AS DOMESTIC -- REPUBLICANS ARE ACTING, NOT REACTING.

YET, ALL OF OUR INITIATIVES FACE AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE AT BEST BECAUSE OF THE TWO-TO-ONE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN CONGRESS AND A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE. IF WE STICK TOGETHER, WE CAN BLOCK PARTS OF THE "MORE-OF-THE-SAME" GOVERNMENT OUR OPPONENTS WILL TRY TO FOIST UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT UNLESS WE INCREASE

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OUR NUMBERS, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ADVANCE OUR OWN PROGRAMS
BEYOND THE RHETORICAL STAGE.

RESPONSIBLE BALANCE

AND SO WE STAND AT A POINT IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF OUR NATION
WHEN THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE IN WASHINGTON IS GREATER
THAN EVER BEFORE.

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY ARE NOT PROBLEMS FOR A ONE-PARTY
CONGRESS OR A ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT. THIS YEAR, THE PEOPLE OF
VIRGINIA CAN HELP RESTORE THE BALANCE IN THE CONGRESS BY ELECTING
A REPUBLICAN TO BILL SCOTT'S SEAT IN THE SENATE AND BY INCREASING
REPUBLICAN STRENGTH IN THE VIRGINIA HOUSE DELEGATION.

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✓ REPUBLICANS HAVE AN ATTRACTIVE, ACTIVIST, PROGRESSIVE PHILOSOPHY, A NO-NONSENSE FISCALLY RATIONAL APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT. MEN LIKE JOHN DALTON AND MARSHALL COLEMAN HAVE ARTICULATED THAT PHILOSOPHY WELL, AND HAVE REAPED THE POLITICAL REWARDS. THEY HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE THAT WE NEED NOT REMAIN A MINORITY PARTY.

NEITHER THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA NOR THE UNITED STATES HAVE LEGISLATED OUR MINORITY STATUS. BUT NEITHER HAVE THEY LEGISLATED OUR EXISTENCE.

SO, WE HAVE SACRIFICES TO MAKE. WE HAVE HARD WORK TO DO. IF WE WORK TOGETHER, I THINK WE'LL BE QUITE SUCCESSFUL.

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