

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
SEVENTH DISTRICT REPUBLICAN CONVENTION  
BIMIDJI, MINNESOTA  
SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1978

SEVENTEEN MONTHS AGO, WE REPUBLICANS LOST A NATIONAL ELECTION, AND JUST FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO, WE TURNED OVER THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT TO THE DEMOCRATS. THAT TRANSITION BROUGHT WITH IT A BREATH OF HOPE FOR MANY AMERICANS, A FLEETING 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, OF THE THREAT THAT ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT MIGHT SPREAD NATIONWIDE.

HOW QUICKLY THINGS CHANGE. TODAY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR PRESIDENT AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

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THE RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA -- IN THE INTEGRITY AND HONESTY AND GOOD SENSE OF HER LEADERS WHICH WAS RESTORED BY PRESIDENT FORD -- IS FADING. AND THE FORTUNES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- IN THE SEVENTH DISTRICT IN MINNESOTA, AND NATIONWIDE -- ARE ONCE AGAIN ON THE RISE.

#### LACK OF LEADERSHIP IN CARTER ADMINISTRATION

LET'S FACE IT. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HASN'T BEEN ALL BAD FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. ARLAN STANGELAND TOOK BOB BERGLAND'S CONGRESSIONAL SEAT HERE IN NORTHWEST MINNESOTA. AND WE'VE WON MOST OF THE OTHER OFF-YEAR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AROUND THE COUNTRY. WHATS MORE, THE CONTINUING SLIDE IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S POPULARITY IN THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR DEMOCRATIC PROSPECTS THIS FALL OR IN 1980. BACK IN WASHINGTON, DESPITE THE OVERWHELMING DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE CONGRESS, REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES ON ECONOMIC POLICY, ON FARM PROGRAMS, ON DEFENSE SPENDING, AND ON TAX RELIEF HAVE ACHIEVED

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A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF SUCCESS.

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 GRASS-ROOTS, 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 THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO RISE THIS EVENING WITH ANY SENSE OF POLITICAL SATISFACTION OR JUBILIATION.

AMERICA DISILLUSIONED

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,

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HAPPENING TO OUR NATION IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD.

WE FIND AMERICA 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 WHO PROMISE A LOT AND DELIVER A LITTLE. IN MINNESOTA AND AROUND THIS NATION, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE TO PROMOTE POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL STRENGTH, STABLIZE OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY, HELP OUR FAMILY FARMERS, AND GIVE THE ELECTORATE LESS REASON TO BE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES OF POLITICS.

REPUBLICAN ACTION THROUGH UNITY

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,

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AND PROPOSE FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE SOLUTIONS WHICH WILL MAINTAIN OUR WORLD LEADERSHIP ROLE AND STRENGTHEN OUR CITIES, OUR STATES, AND OUR NATION.

WE REPUBLICANS CAN DO THESE THINGS IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY WHAT UNITES US AND 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 THEIR NEEDS. INSPIRED RHETORIC ABOUT INDIVIDUALITY AND FREE

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ENTERPRISE AND NATIONAL STRENGTH STILL HAS ITS PLACE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. BUT THE VOTERS OF MINNESOTA -- AND VOTERS EVERYWHERE -- EXPECT MORE THAN 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 BIRMINGHAM, IN ST. PAUL, AND IN WASHINGTON.

AMERICANS ARE A PERCEPTIVE PEOPLE. THEY ARE NOT FOOLED BY POLITICAL GIMMICKRY AND SLOGANEERING AND DEMAGOGUERY. THEY KNOW THAT INFLATION IS TOO HIGH, THAT GOVERNMENT SPENDS TOO MUCH MONEY, THAT THE FAMILY FARMER IS IN A SEVERE ECONOMIC BIND, THAT OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP IS SLIPPING, THAT THERE ARE STILL TOO MANY AMERICANS WHO CAN'T FIND JOBS, THAT BURDENSOME GOVERNMENT REGULATION IS COSTING CONSUMERS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR. WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT FROM OUR PARTY -- FROM ALL POLITICIANS FOR THAT MATTER -- IS ACTION.

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THEY WANT TO SEE THE REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY AT WORK -- FOR THE MINNESOTA FARMER, FOR THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE WORKER, FOR THE EASTERN FACTORY WORKER, AND FOR THE BLACKS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS IN OUR GREAT AMERICAN CITIES.

AND ACTION IS EXACTLY WHAT THEY'RE GETTING FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. NO LONGER ARE THE DEMOCRATS PERCEIVED TO BE THE PARTY WHICH RESPONDS TO THE CONCERNS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHICH PROPOSES "SOLUTIONS" TO NATION, STATE, AND LOCAL PROBLEMS. TODAY, IT IS OUR OPPONENTS WHO DEFEND THE STATUS QUO, WHO ARE CONTENT WITH THINGS AS THEY ARE, NOT AS A GREAT MANY AMERICANS THINK THEY SHOULD BE. IT IS THE DEMOCRATS, THE ARCHITECTS OF THE BLOATED FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY, WHO RESIST PROGRESS -- PROGRESS AWAY FROM BIG GOVERNMENT AND HIGH TAXES AND TOWARD TAX RELIEF AND LESS REGULATION.

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### INNOVATIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES

ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS OUR OPPONENTS WHO ARE RESISTING INNOVATIVE NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES, POLICIES WHICH ENCOURAGE CREATION OF NEW JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, POLICIES WHICH LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- NOT THE GOVERNMENT -- DETERMINE WHO BEST TO SPEND THEIR HARD EARNED DOLLARS. IT IS REPUBLICANS -- MEN LIKE ARLAN STANGELAND AND TOM HAGEDORN AND BILL FRENZEL AND AL QUIE -- WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR THE AVERAGE MAN AND WOMAN, WHO OPPOSE EXORBITANT NEW TAXES IN THE NAME OF ENERGY CONSERVATION, WHO FIGHT DRASTIC INCREASES IN SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES, WHO RESIST MORE-OF-THE-SAME SCHEMES FOR EXPANDING THE SCOPE OF FEDERAL POWER.

YET THE DEMOCRATS PERSIST IN THEIR ADVOCACY OF THE "TAX AND TAX, SPEND AND SPEND" PHILOSOPHY. PRESIDENT CARTER 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 RE-

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SOURCES AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL ARE NECESSARY IF GOVERNMENT IS 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 EARN 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 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.

"TAXFLATION" IS INTOLERABLE

IF YOU FILED YOUR TAX RETURN IN THE PAST COUPLE OF WEEKS, YOU KNOW WHAT I'M TALKING ABOUT. YOU KNOW THERE'S SOMETHING FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG WITH A TAX SYSTEM WHICH REWARDS GOVERNMENT FOR

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THE INFLATION IT PRODUCES AND PENALIZES THE TAXPAYER WHO'S TRYING TO KEEP HIS HEAD ABOVE WATER. THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG WHEN A TAXPAYER WHO EARNED \$15,000 LAST YEAR MUST EARN NEARLY \$16,000 THIS YEAR JUST TO BREAK EVEN. BUT IF HE EARNS \$16,000 IN 1978, HIS TAX LIABILITY WILL BE INCREASED SO MUCH THAT IN FACT HE WILL SUFFER A LOSS. THIS "TAXFLATION" IS INTOLERABLE. IT'S WHY WE NEED INCOME TAX REDUCTIONS AND WHY MANY OF US IN CONGRESS HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD AUTOMATICALLY ADJUST PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES ACCORDING TO INCREASES OR DECREASES IN THE COST OF LIVING. HOLDING THE LINE ON AUTOMATIC TAX INCREASES WOULD SAVE AMERICAN CONSUMERS MORE MONEY THAN A HUNDRED "CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCIES". YET THE "STAND-PATTERS" IN CONGRESS AND IN THE WHITE HOUSE ARE RESISTING.

ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, IT HAS BEEN THE REPUBLICANS WHO WANT TO RE-EXAMINE THE "TRADITIONAL" WAY OF DOING THINGS.

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OTHER ISSUE INITIATIVES

ON FARM POLICY, ARLAN STANGELAND AND I FOUGHT FOR A "FLEXIBLE PARITY" TARGET PRICE CONCEPT, ONE WHICH WOULD LET THE MINNESOTA FARMER, NOT THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, CONTROL PRODUCTION AND TARGET PRICES. PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ALLIES IN CONGRESS FOUGHT THIS INNOVATIVE REPUBLICAN INITIATIVE. THEY SAID IT WOULD COST TOO MUCH. THEY ISSUED WILDLY EXAGGERATED COST AND SUPPLY ESTIMATES, AND THEY KILLED IT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE CONCEPT OF FLEXIBLE PARITY IS A REPUBLICAN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. I BELIEVE THE CONCEPT OF FLEXIBLE PARITY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE FARM LEGISLATION.

JUST THIS WEEK THE BASIC CONCEPT OF FLEXIBLE PARITY WAS ADOPTED BY THE SENATE-HOUSE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE EXCEPT THAT CONTROL OVER THE SET-ASIDE AND TARGET PRICE NOW RESTS WITH THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE RATHER THAN WITH THE FARMER.

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UNDER THE CONFERENCE AGREEMENT THE SECRETARY IS AUTHORIZED TO INCREASE THE ESTABLISHED PRICE OF WHEAT, FEED GRAINS, AND UPLAND COTTON BY SUCH AMOUNTS AS HE DETERMINES APPROPRIATE TO COMPENSATE PRODUCERS FOR PARTICIPATION IN ANY SUCH SET-ASIDE.

I BELIEVE REPUBLICANS CAN CLAIM PARTIAL VICTORY FOR THE FLEXIBLE PARITY CONCEPT. THE CONCEPT IS THERE TO INCREASE THE TARGET PRICE TO THE FARMER AS THE ACRE SET-ASIDE IS INCREASED. THIS IS ONLY HALF A LOAF FOR THE FARMER BUT THERE WASN'T ANY CHOICE IF WE WANTED TO HELP THE WHEAT AND COTTON FARMER THIS YEAR. THE ADMINISTRATION MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THIS IS ALL THEY WOULD ACCEPT AND NOT VETO.

THE ADMINISTRATION DOESN'T SEEM TO QUARREL WITH THE FLEXIBLE PARITY CONCEPT AS LONG AS THEY HAVE THEIR HAND ON THE CONTROL LEVER. THEY WANT TO CONTROL THE LOAN RATE, THE SET-ASIDE PERCENTAGE, AND NOW THE INCREASE IN TARGET PRICES. THE SECRETARY HAS SAID

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IF GIVEN THIS AUTHORITY HE WOULD RAISE THE 1978 TARGET PRICE FOR WHEAT TO \$3.40.

IF MINNESOTA FARMERS ARE FORCED TO ENDURE MUCH MORE OF THE DEMOCRATS' PALTRY FARM POLICY, THE DFL MAY HAVE TO DROP THE "F" FROM ITS NAME -- BECAUSE ALL THE FARMERS ARE GOING TO BE SUPPORTING REPUBLICANS LIKE ARLAN STANGELAND -- A MAN WHO CARES ABOUT OUR FARMERS, WHO BELIEVES THAT SAVING THE FAMILY FARM IS VITAL TO THE ECONOMY OF MINNESOTA, TO THE UNITED STATES, AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD.

SO, TOO, REPUBLICANS ARE TAKING THE INITIATIVE ON NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY, ON FOOD STAMP AND WELFARE REFORM, AND ON PROGRAMS TO HELP SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN. IT IS REPUBLICANS WHO ARE POINTING OUT 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 CONCEPT -- WHICH HAS ATTRACTED WIDE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN WASHINGTON.

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NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE

ON ANY NUMBER OF ISSUES, REPUBLICANS ARE ACTING, NOT REACTING. YET, ALL OF OUR INITIATIVES FACE AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE AT BEST BECAUSE THERE'S A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND A TWO-TO-ONE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS. IF WE STICK TOGETHER, WE CAN BLOCK PARTS OF THE "MORE-OF-THE-SAME" GOVERNMENT OUR OPPONENTS WILL TRY TO FOIST UPON US. BUT UNLESS WE INCREASE OUR NUMBERS, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ADVANCE OUR OWN PROGRAMS BEYOND THE RHETORICAL STAGE.

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. THAT'S WHY IT'S SO IMPORTANT THAT ARLAN STANGELAND BE RE-ELECTED TO THE HOUSE. THAT'S WHY WE NEED RUDY BOSCHWITZ IN THE SENATE. AND THAT'S WHY I THINK THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA ARE READY TO ELECT TWO REPUBLICAN SENATORS AND A GOVERNOR THIS YEAR.

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I KNOW THAT REPUBLICANS IN MINNESOTA ARE READY FOR THIS YEAR'S ELECTIONS -- READY WITH ATTRACTIVE CANDIDATES AND EAGER WORKERS. LET'S FACE IT, THE DFL IS A BIT RUSTY ON OBTAINING PUBLIC OFFICE THROUGH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. IF WE WORK HARD IN MINNESOTA, WE CAN RELIEVE THE DEMOCRATS OF THE BURDEN OF HAVING TO APPOINT MEN AND WOMEN TO OFFICE.

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