

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1978

NOT LONG AGO, WE REPUBLICANS LOST A NATIONAL ELECTION AND
TURNED OVER THE REINS OF LEADERSHIP TO A NEW PRESIDENT.
THAT TRANSITION BROUGHT WITH IT A BREATH OF HOPE FOR
MANY AMERICANS, A FLEETING MOOD OF OPTIMISM WHICH
SEEMS TO ENGULF OUR NATION AT THE BEGINNING OF ANY NEW
ADMINISTRATION. AND, TOO, IT SERVED TO REMIND REPUBLICANS
OF THE NARROWNESS OF OUR POLITICAL BASE, OF THE VITALITY
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OF THE DESPERATE NEED FOR
REPUBLICANS TO CONVINCE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT WHAT
WE STAND FOR BEST SERVES THEIR INTERESTS.

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TODAY, THE BREATH OF HOPE HAS BEEN SUFFOCATED, THE MOOD OF OPTIMISM HAS VANISHED. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE APPREHENSIVE, DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR PRESIDENT, SKEPTICAL ABOUT THEIR GOVERNMENT. THE RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA WHICH WAS RESTORED BY PRESIDENT FORD -- IN THE INTEGRITY AND HONESTY AND GOOD SENSE OF HER LEADERS -- IS FADING. AND THE PROSPECTS FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- IN SPRINGFIELD, IN MASSACHUSETTS, AND AROUND THIS NATION -- ARE ONCE AGAIN ON THE RISE.

REPUBLICANS SUCCESSFUL DURING OFF-YEARS

POLITICALLY, THINGS HAVE BEEN GOING OUR WAY. WE HAVE WON MOST OF THE OFF-YEAR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, MANY IN DISTRICTS LONG HELD BY OUR OPPONENTS. DESPITE HUGE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES IN THE CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM IS FLOUNDERING. REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES ON ECONOMIC POLICY, ON FARM

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PROGRAMS, ON DEFENSE SPENDING, ON TAX RELIEF FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ATTRACTED SUPRISING SUPPORT.

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 THIS YEAR 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 THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO RISE THIS EVENING WITH ANY SENSE OF POLITICAL SATISFACTION OR JUBILATION.

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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.

AMERICA DIVIDED AND DISILLUSIONED

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 BY BROKEN PROMISES AND MISSED OPPORTUNITIES.
IN MASSACHUSETTS AND AROUND THIS NATION, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY
TO PROMOTE POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR NATION'S COMMIT-
MENT TO NATIONAL STRENGTH, STABILIZE OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY,
FEED THOSE WHO CANNOT FEED THEMSELVES, FIND JOBS FOR THOSE WHO
NEED THEM, AND, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY GIVE THE ELECTORATE

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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 RESTORE OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP AND STRENGTHEN OUR CITIES, OUR STATES, AND OUR NATION.

ACTION THROUGH UNITY

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

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SHORTLY AFTER THE 1976 ELECTION, I SAID I THOUGHT WE NEEDED TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO ALL SEGMENTS OF OUR POPULATION -- TO BLACKS, TO BLUE COLLAR WORKERS, TO SPANISH SPEAKING AMERICANS, THAT WE SHOULDN'T SIT BACK TAKING STIFF NECKED PRIDE IN OUR REFUSAL TO EXPLORE NEW AVENUES OF APPROACH TO THE AFFECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I SAID THEN AND I BELIEVE EVEN MORE FIRMLY TODAY THAT I AM MORE INTERESTED IN OUR WINNING ELECTIONS AND SURIVING THAN I AM IN SEEING OUR PARTY FADE INTO HISTORY, PROUDLY CLINGING TO SOME NARROW NOTION OF IDEALOGICAL PURITY. WE SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD TO KEEP WINNING MORAL VICTORIES AND SUSTAINING POLITICAL DEFEATS.

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IF THE SEVENTEEN MONTHS SINCE THE LAST NATIONAL ELECTION ARE ANY INDICATION, WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUR FUTURE. WE'VE GONE A LONG WAY TOWARDS ERASING THE NEGATIVE IMAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS A PARTY WHICH CARES FOR THE RICH AND NOT THE POOR, THOSE WHO CAN HELP THEMSELVES AND NOT THOSE WHO NEED HELP. WE ARE NOT JUST CRITICIZING, WE'RE NOT JUST HARPING AT PRESIDENT CARTER. WE'RE OFFERING POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS. WE'RE TAKING THE INITIATIVE,

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IDENTIFYING NATIONAL NEEDS, RECOGNIZING WHERE A GOVERNMENTAL ROLE EXISTS IN MEETING THOSE NEEDS AND MOVING AHEAD OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL MAJORITY TO CALL NATIONAL ATTENTION TO THOSE NEEDS,

REPUBLICANS IN THE CONGRESS ARE AS UNITED AS THEY'VE EVER BEEN. AND IF THERE EVER 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.

AMERICANS WANT ACTION

REPUBLICANS ALL ACROSS THIS NATION ARE RECOGNIZING THAT WE NEED MORE THAN INSPIRED RHETORIC ABOUT INDIVIDUALITY AND FREE

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ENTERPRISE AND NATIONAL STRENGTH IF WE ARE TO WIN ELECTIONS. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE 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 SPRINGFIELD, IN BOSTON, AND IN WASHINGTON.

AMERICANS ARE A PERCEPTIVE PEOPLE. THEY'RE NOT GOING TO BE FOOLED BY POLITICAL GIMMICKRY AND SLOGANEERING AND DEMAGOGUERY. THEY KNOW THAT INFLATION IS TOO HIGH, THAT GOVERNMENT SPENDS TOO MUCH, 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. THEY WANT TO SEE THE REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY AT WORK --

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FOR THE KANSAS FARMER, FOR THE SOUTHERN BUSINESSMAN, FOR THE NEW ENGLAND FACTORY WORKER, AND FOR THE BLACKS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS IN OUR GREAT AMERICAN CITIES.

THEY WANT MORE THAN REPUBLICANS CRITICISM OF ILL-CONCEIVED DEMOCRATIC POLICY. THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT THEY'RE GETTING. NO LONGER ARE THE DEMOCRATS PERCEIVED TO BE THE PARTY WHICH RESPONDS TO THE CONCERNS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHICH PROPOSES "SOLUTIONS" TO NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL PROBLEMS. TODAY, IT IS THE DEMOCRATS WHO ARE DEFENDING 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, WHO ARE RESISTING INNOVATIVE REPUBLICAN PROGRAMS, PROGRAMS WHICH TAKE US AWAY FROM BIG GOVERNMENT AND HIGH TAXES AND TOWARD TAX RELIEF AND LESS REGULATION.

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REPUBLICANS FIGHTING FOR INNOVATIONS

ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS OUR OPPONENTS WHO ARE RESISTING INNOVATIVE NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES, POLICIES WHICH ENCOURAGE THE CREATION OF NEW JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, POLICIES WHICH LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- NOT THE GOVERNMENT -- DETERMINE HOW BEST TO SPEND THEIR HARD EARNED DOLLARS. IT IS THE REPUBLICANS -- MEN AND WOMEN LIKE ED BROOKE AND SILVIO CONTE AND MARGARET HECKLER -- WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR THE AVERAGE MAN AND WOMAN, WHO OPPOSE EXORBITANT NEW TAXES IN THE NAME OF ENERGY CONSERVATION, WHO RESIST MORE-OF-THE-SAME SCHEMES FOR EXPANDING THE SCOPE OF FEDERAL POWER.

REPUBLICANS OF ALL STRIPES -- LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE, SOUTHERNERS AND NORTHERNERS, ARE FIGHTING THE "STATUS QUO". IT IS REPUBLICANS WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR TAX REDUCTION, FOR KEEPING

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MORE MONEY IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE WHO EARN IT AND LESS IN
THE BELLY OF BIG GOVERNMENT.

REPUBLICANS ARE TAKING INITIATIVE

ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, IT HAS BEEN THE REPUBLICANS WHO WANT
TO RE-EXAMINE THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF DOING THINGS, WHO HAVE
TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING INNOVATIVE NEW NATIONAL
ENERGY POLICIES, FOOD STAMP AND WELFARE REFORM, AND PROGRAMS
TO HELP SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN. IT IS THE REPUBLICANS
WHO HAVE 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 CONCEPT -- WHICH HAS ATTRACTED WIDE
BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN WASHINGTON.

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HEW WASTE

REPUBLICANS ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE EXTRAVAGANCE AND WASTE OF GOVERNMENT. RECENT REPORTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE SHOWED THAT THE AGENCY SQUANDERED LAST YEAR BETWEEN \$6.3 BILLION AND \$7.4 BILLION AS A RESULT OF FRAUD, ABUSE, AND WASTE IN THEIR PROGRAMS. THE HEW REPORT WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT THE FIGURES "PORTRAY A CONSERVATIVE MEASURE OF THE EXTENT OF FRAUD, ABUSE, AND WASTE IN KEY HEW PROGRAMS, AND THEIR CAUSES". THESE FIGURES ARE ALARMING. SEVEN BILLION DOLLARS WASTED FROM THIS ONE GOVERNMENT AGENCY IS ENOUGH TO RUN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT FOR OVER THREE YEARS. IF WE EVEN HOPE TO RESTORE FAITH IN GOVERNMENT, THIS GROSS ABUSE OF TAXPAYERS' MONEY MUST STOP.

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MIDDLE EAST POLICY CONFUSED

IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, TOO, REPUBLICANS MUST URGE THE LEADERS OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO PURSUE POLICIES WHICH REINFORCE OUR COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER. IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN PARTICULAR, THE MEANDERING POLICIES OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAVE CONTRIBUTED NOT TO STABILITY BUT INSTABILITY, NOT TO A RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT, BUT TO A CONFUSION OF RHETORIC.

FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN NURTURING A SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IT IS VITAL THAT OUR EFFORTS BE SKILLFUL, BALANCED, AND CONSISTENT. THERE IS NO ROOM FOR AMATEURISM OR INCONSISTENCY IF OUR POSITIVE INFLUENCE IN THE PEACE PROCESS IS TO CONTINUE.

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IN MY OPINION, THIS DOES NOT INVOLVE PUBLIC DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND. IT DOES NOT NECESSITATE AN INVITATION TO THE SOVIET UNION TO RE-ENTER THE DIPLOMATIC PICTURE. AND IT DOES NOT ENTAIL CARELESS ACCOMMODATION OF ARAB OR EGYPTIAN DEMANDS, WHICH LEADS TO UNREALISTIC ILLUSIONS ON THEIR PART.

I, FOR ONE, BELIEVE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SHOULD CAREFULLY REFLECT UPON THE CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY MADE TO THE PEACE EFFORT, AND DEMONSTRATE MORE SENSITIVITY TOWARD THE POINTS OF OUR BASIC POLICY DISAGREEMENTS, SUCH AS THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE WEST BANK, THE GAZA STRIP, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. IN ADDITION, OUR GOVERNMENT MUST BE WILLING TO ASK FOR RECIPROCAL CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS PEACE FROM EGYPTIAN AND ARAB LEADERS, SO THAT NO ONE NATION FEELS INTIMIDATED BY THE CALL FOR SACRIFICE AND CONCESSIONS.

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ARMS "PACKAGE" INEPT

UNFORTUNATELY, PRESIDENT CARTER'S ARM SALES "PACKAGE" FOR EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, AND ISRAEL HAS COMPLICATED MATTERS. EVEN IF THE PROPOSED TRILATERAL PACKAGE WILL BE BENEFICIAL TO THE LONG RANGE STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE TIMING AND METHOD OF ITS PRESENTATION HAS BEEN INEPT. THE CURRENT SENSITIVE STAGE OF MIDDLE EAST CONDITIONS IS NOT RECEPTIVE TO A LARGE INFLUX OF MAJOR WEAPONS PURCHASES. AND THE EFFORT TO TIE THESE ARMS PROPOSALS TOGETHER SERVES ONLY TO OBSCURE THE CRITICAL MILITARY AND POLITICAL FACTORS THAT SHOULD BE EXAMINED IN DETAIL FOR EACH OF THESE SEPARATE PROPOSALS.

AS REPUBLICANS, WE SHOULD INSIST THAT THE UNITED STATES RETAIN A BALANCED AND PERSUASIVE ROLE IN THE MEDIATION PROCESS,

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AND NOT ATTEMPT TO DICTATE TERMS TO EITHER SIDE. AS ONE WHO FEELS THAT THE TIME FOR AN EQUITABLE MIDDLE EAST SOLUTION IS AT HAND, I HOPE THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL ENCOURAGE ALL PARTIES TO BEGIN TALKING WITH EACH OTHER ONCE AGAIN AND LISTENING TO EACH OTHER ONCE AGAIN.

OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, RETAINS ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY.

BUT REPUBLICANS IN THE CONGRESS, WHO SHARE THE SACRED PUBLIC TRUST WITH THE DEMOCRATS, MUST ENCOURAGE FOREIGN, AS WELL DOMESTIC POLICIES WHICH BEST SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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NEITHER THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS NOR THE UNITED STATES HAS LEGISLATED OUR MINORITY STATUS. 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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NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE

YET, ALL OF OUR INITIATIVES FACE AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE AT BEST BECAUSE THERE IS 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.

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BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES
IS GOVERNMENT TRULY RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF ALL ITS
CITIZENS.

AND I THINK WE ALL UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS. THE COMMONWEALTH OF
MASSACHUSETTS COULD USE ANOTHER REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR. IF WE
WORK HARD, WE CAN RECAPTURE THE STATE TREASURER'S OFFICE,
AND ELECT AN ATTORNEY GENERAL. WE CAN STRENGTHEN OUR REPUB-
LICAN POSTURE IN EVERY CITY AND COUNTY IN THE COMMONWEALTH.

IN 1978, IN MASSACHUSETTS, WE CAN DEMONSTRATE TO THE REST
OF THE NATION THAT REPUBLICANS NEED NOT REMAIN A MINORITY PARTY.

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THAT'S WHY I'D LIKE TO SEE ED BROOKE RE-ELECTED TO THE SENATE
THE YEAR.

EVEN THOUGH ED AND I OCCASIONALLY DISAGREE ON THE ISSUES,
I THINK WE SHARE THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL VISION FOR AMERICA --
FOR A NATION RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, FOR AN ECONOMIC
CLIMATE WHICH PROVIDES JOBS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND REASONABLE
PRICES FOR AMERICAN CONSUMERS, FOR ENERGY POLICIES WHICH MOVE
US TOWARDS ENERGY INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT DRASTIC TAX-INDUCED
PRICE INCREASES, FOR AN AMERICA FREED OF THE LAST VESTIGES
OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

PARTY SYSTEM ESSENTIAL TO STABILITY

I THINK ED AND I UNDERSTAND THAT THE EXISTENCE OF TWO
BROADLY BASED POLITICAL PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL TO STABILITY IN
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. BECAUSE ONLY WHEN THERE IS A REASONABLE