

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
SANTA CLARA COUNTY REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA
FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1978

NOT LONG AGO, THE REINS OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WERE TURNED OVER TO A NEW PRESIDENT, A MAN WHO CAPTURED HIS PARTY'S NOMINATION AND SURVIVED A CLOSE ELECTION WITH A PLEDGE TO SHAKE UP THE WASHINGTON ESTABLISHMENT, TO MAKE GOVERNMENT AS GOOD AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO ALTER THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF DOING THINGS IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL. 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 EVERYWHERE OF THE NARROWNESS OF OUR POLITICAL BASE, OF THE VITALITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, OF THE DESPERATE NEED FOR OUR PARTY TO REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO CONVINCE THEM THAT WHAT WE STAND FOR BEST SERVES THEIR INTERESTS.

- AMERICANS DISILLUSIONED -

TODAY -- BARELY SIXTEEN MONTHS LATER -- THE BREATH OF HOPE HAS BEEN SUFFOCATED, THE MOOD OF OPTIMISM HAS VANISHED, AND THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF DOING THINGS IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE IN WASHINGTON. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE APPREHENSIVE, DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR PRESIDENT, SKEPTICAL OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, UNSURE ABOUT THEIR FUTURE. THE RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA AT HOME AND ABROAD IS FADING. AND THE PROSPECTS FOR OUR PARTY -- IN SANTA CLARA COUNTY, IN CALIFORNIA, AND AROUND THIS NATION -- ARE ONCE AGAIN ON THE RISE.

AS REPUBLICANS, WE SHOULD BE ELATED. WE SHOULD BE THANKFUL THAT THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP BY THE DEMOCRATS HAS GIVEN US A NEW LEASE ON LIFE AND OPENED UP TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITIES THIS YEAR AND IN 1980.

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- REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY -

BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR IMPROVED PROSPECTS REFLECT NOT JUST WHAT WE'VE BEEN DOING TO STRENGTHEN OUR PARTY, BUT -- PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY -- WHAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE FAILED TO DO FOR OUR COUNTRY. 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 A GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE REAL WORLD PROBLEMS OF OUR PEOPLE. AROUND THIS NATION, WE REPUBLICANS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR NATION'S COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL STRENGTH, STABILIZE OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY, FEED THOSE WHO CANNOT FEED THEMSELVES, FIND JOBS FOR THOSE WHO NEED THEM, AND -- PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY -- GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LESS REASON TO BE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES OF GOVERNMENT.

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- MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE -

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. IF WE ASPIRE TO LEADERSHIP, WE CAN'T AFFORD TO BE NEGATIVE. WE MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE. WE MUST PROPOSE RESPONSIVE AND RESPONSIBLE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES WHICH WILL RESTORE OUR POSITION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP, STRENGTHEN OUR CITIES, OUR STATES, AND OUR NATION, AND GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A GOVERNMENT THEY CAN BE PROUD OF.

WE REPUBLICANS CAN DO THESE THINGS IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY WHAT UNITES US AND NOT INHIBITED BY WHAT DIVIDES US. UNITED WE CAN BE A STRONG FORCE FOR GOOD IN CALIFORNIA AND IN AMERICA.

- POSITIVE CANDIDATES WITH A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY -

BUT UNITED ALONE WILL NOT MAKE GOVERNMENT BETTER OR ELECT MORE REPUBLICANS. WE'VE GOT TO BE POSITIVE. WE'VE GOT TO OFFER POSITIVE CANDIDATES WITH A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY. WE CAN'T BE CONTENT TO CRITICIZE A VULNERABLE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY.

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 PROPER ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AS SERVANT, NOT MASTER, OF THE PEOPLE IS NOT AN OUTDATED NOTION. THEY WANT MORE THAN INSPIRED RHETORIC ABOUT INDIVIDUALITY AND FREE ENTERPRISE AND NATIONAL STRENGTH. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA AND PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ALREADY SHARE OUR BASIC VALUES, OUR PHILOSOPHY. WHAT THEY WANT FROM US ARE CANDIDATES AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHO WILL PUT THAT PHILOSOPHY TO WORK.

- AMERICAN PEOPLE DEMANDING TAX RELIEF -

I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF MORE-OF-THE SAME GOVERNMENT IN SACRAMENTO AND IN WASHINGTON. THEY'RE TIRED OF EVER-ESCALATING INCOME AND SALES AND PROPERTY TAXES. THAT'S WHY PROPOSITION 13 HERE IN CALIFORNIA HAS ATTRACTED STRONG SUPPORT THROUGHOUT THE STATE AND SYMPATHY THROUGHOUT THE NATION.

THE PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING TAX RELIEF, AND THEY DESERVE IT. THEY'RE PAYING TOO MUCH TO GOVERNMENT AND NOT RECEIVING ENOUGH IN RETURN. THEY SEE WASTE IN THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY, WASTE IN SACRAMENTO. AND THEY SEE THEIR OWN PURCHASING POWER DWINDLE BECAUSE OF THE SEEMINGLY IRREPRESSIBLE INFLATIONARY FORCES RAMPANT IN OUR LAND.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO ACT. IN THE CONGRESS, REPUBLICANS HAVE ADVANCED SEVERAL PROPOSALS FOR MEANINGFUL FEDERAL INCOME TAX RELIEF. I, FOR ONE, HAVE PROPOSED A SYSTEM OF TAX "INDEXATION" WHEREBY FEDERAL INCOME TAX RATES WILL AUTOMATICALLY BE ADJUSTED TO REFLECT INCREASES IN THE COST OF LIVING. BECAUSE I THINK GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS INFLATION'S MOST SATISFIED CONSTITUENT, OUGHT TO SUFFER ALONG WITH THE REST OF US. GOVERNMENT REVENUE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO AUTOMATICALLY RISE AS INFLATION ESCALATES. THE PEOPLE -- NOT THEIR GOVERNMENT -- KNOW BEST HOW TO SPEND THEIR HARD-EARNED DOLLARS. WE SIMPLY SHOULDN'T PERMIT A LARGER AND LARGER PORTION OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME TO BE TAKEN AWAY FROM THE PEOPLE AND GIVEN TO GOVERNMENT.

- DEMOCRATS UNDECIDED -

ON ANOTHER FRONT, REPUBLICANS IN THE CONGRESS HAVE CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED SHARP INCREASES IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY PAYROLL TAX. THE DEMOCRATS AREN'T QUITE SURE WHERE THEY STAND ON THIS ISSUE. LAST YEAR, THEY VOTED IN OVERWHELMING NUMBERS TO SUPPORT PRESIDENT CARTER'S PLAN TO INCREASE SOCIAL SECURITY LEVIES BY OVER \$100 BILLION OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS. A FEW MONTHS LATER, THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS VOTED TO SUPPORT A ROLL-BACK IN THIS DRASTIC TAX INCREASE. THEN -- JUST THIS WEEK -- THE DEMOCRATS ON THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE FLIP-FLOPPED AND DECIDED NOT TO SEEK A SOCIAL SECURITY TAX ROLL-BACK AFTER ALL. I DON'T THINK THAT'S THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR. REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT ON THIS ISSUE. WE THINK SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES ARE TOO HIGH, AND WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR SOME FORM OF RELIEF FOR AMERICAN WAGE EARNERS AND BUSINESSMEN.

- STEIGER-HANSEN CAPITAL GAINS REDUCTION BILL -

AND, WHILE WE FIGHT THE SOCIAL SECURITY BATTLE, ANOTHER FAR-REACHING TAX REDUCTION SCHEME IS ATTRACTING SURPRISING SUPPORT IN CONGRESS. IT'S A BILL I'M SUPPORTING, ALONG WITH CONGRESSMAN STEIGER AND SENATOR HANSEN, WHICH WOULD ROLL-BACK THE MAXIMUM TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS TO LEVELS WHICH EXISTED PRIOR TO 1969. IT WOULD HELP SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN HERE IN CALIFORNIA AND COULD POTENTIALLY LEAD TO THE CREATION OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NEW JOBS AROUND THE NATION. THE AMERICAN ELECTRONICS ASSOCIATION IN PALO ALTO HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT LOBBYING JOB ON CAPITOL HILL IN SUPPORT OF THIS PRO-GROWTH TAX REDUCTION PLAN.

IT'S ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT THIS CONGRESS WILL ADOPT THE STEIGER-HANSEN CAPITAL GAINS REDUCTION BILL AND REJECT PRESIDENT CARTER'S IDEA OF INCREASING CAPITAL GAINS RATES TO STILL HIGHER LEVELS. THIS WOULD BE A TREMENDOUS VICTORY FOR THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER, FOR BUSINESS, FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE OVER GOVERNMENT. CAPITAL GAINS REDUCTIONS, COUPLED WITH MEANINGFUL PERSONAL TAX CUTS AND SOCIAL SECURITY TAX RELIEF, COULD DO MORE THAN ALL THE PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS PROGRAMS PROPOSED IN THE LAST TWO YEARS TO FUEL THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY, TO HELP US FIND JOBS FOR PEOPLE WHO DESPERATELY WANT THEM, AND TO REASSERT OUR NATION'S COMMITMENT TO A STRONG, PRIVATE ECONOMY DOMINATED BY INDIVIDUALS, NOT GOVERNMENT.

- REPUBLICANS IN FRONT -

REPUBLICANS ARE OUT FRONT WITH POSITIVE PROGRAMS TO REDUCE TAXES, TO INCREASE DOMESTIC ENERGY SUPPLIES, TO PROVIDE TUITION RELIEF FOR PARENTS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS, TO REFORM OUR NATION'S ANTIQUATED WELFARE SYSTEM, TO ENSURE AN AMERICAN DEFENSE POSTURE SECOND TO NONE.

NOT ONLY ARE WE CONCERNED WITH FIGHTING THE HIGH TAXES BORNE BY THE MIDDLE CLASS AND ENDLESS PROBLEMS FACING THE IDEAS AND INNOVATIONS OF THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN OR WOMAN -- WE ARE ALSO WORKING ON PROGRAMS WHICH SERVE TO BETTER OUR SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.

WE'RE WORKING ON PROGRAMS TO EXPAND FEDERAL NUTRITION EDUCATION EFFORTS, SO THAT WE CAN PREVENT ILLNESS AND THWART THE BIG SPENDERS IN CONGRESS WHO WOULD FORCE COSTLY COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE ON THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER.

MY PLAN TO REFORM THE NATION'S FOOD STAMP SYSTEM HAS ALREADY BEEN ADOPTED AND IS BEING IMPLEMENTED THIS FALL. OTHER REPUBLICANS HAVE PROPOSED WELFARE REFORM PROGRAMS WHICH WILL BREAK THE CYCLE OF WELFARE DEPENDENCY WITHOUT BANKRUPTING THE TREASURY.

AS A MINORITY PARTY, WE ALSO RECOGNIZE OUR OBLIGATION TO OPPOSE ILL-CONCEIVED SPENDING PROGRAMS BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ALLIES IN CONGRESS. THAT'S WHY MANY OF US ARE FIGHTING ONE-SIDED LABOR "REFORM" LEGISLATION WHICH COULD FORCE UNIONISM ON UNWILLING WORKERS. THAT'S WHY MOST REPUBLICAN SENATORS OPPOSED THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, AND WHY MANY VIEW WITH SKEPTICISM ANY STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT WHICH MAKES UNDUE CONCESSIONS TO THE RUSSIANS.

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YET, NO MATTER HOW WELL TAKEN OUR VIEWPOINT, NO MATTER HOW MERITORIOUS OUR INITIATIVES, THEY 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. UNLESS WE INCREASE OUR NUMBERS, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ADVANCE OUR OWN PROGRAMS BEYOND THE RHETORICAL STAGE.

- NEED FOR 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. THAT'S WHY IT'S SO IMPORTANT TO ELECT REPUBLICANS THIS YEAR, AND HERE IN CALIFORNIA AND AROUND THIS NATION, REPUBLICANS HAVE TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITIES IN 1978.

WE NEED NOT REMAIN A MINORITY PARTY. NEITHER THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA NOR THE UNITED STATES HAS 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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