

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

BANGOR, MICHIGAN

SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1978

IT'S ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO BE IN MICHIGAN, THE HOME STATE OF JERRY FORD, A MAN WHO CAME TO THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN THE LAND ON THE HEELS OF FIFTEEN YEARS OF WAR, WASTE, AND WATERGATE AND PUT AN END TO THE HEMORRHAGING OF OUR NATIONAL SELF RESPECT, A LEADER WHO REKINDLED THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE AND IN OUR HEARTS.

IF HE HAD DONE THAT AND NOTHING MORE, HISTORY WOULD COUNT JERRY FORD AS ONE OF OUR GREAT PRESIDENTS. BUT HE DID DO MORE. MUCH MORE. WHEN HE LEFT THE PRESIDENCY, OUR NATION WAS AT PEACE, OUR ECONOMY STABILIZED, THE GROUNDWORK LAID FOR A NEW PROSPERITY. SADLY, UNDER HIS SUCCESSOR, WORLD TENSIONS HAVE INCREASED, INFLATIONARY FORCES ONCE AGAIN THREATEN ECONOMIC STABILITY, AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PROSPERITY ARE GUARDED.

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I SUPPOSE WE, AS FRIENDS OF JERRY FORD, CAN TAKE SOME COMFORT FROM POLLS WHICH INDICATE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PREFER JERRY FORD OVER PRESIDENT CARTER TODAY. BUT THE PSYCHIC REWARDS OF FAVORABLE PUBLIC OPINION DON'T CHANGE THE STATUS QUO. PRESIDENT CARTER IS STILL PRESIDENT. THE DEMOCRATS STILL DOMINATE THINGS POLITICAL IN WASHINGTON. THE VAST MAJORITY OF GOVERNORSHIPS AND STATE LEGISLATURES ARE FIRMLY WITHIN OUR OPPONENT'S GRASP.

1978 - YEAR OF HOPE

BUT 1978 IS A YEAR OF HOPE -- AND OPPORTUNITY -- FOR OUR PARTY, FOR CITIZENS EVERYWHERE WHO YEARN FOR COMMON SENSE IN GOVERNMENT, FOR A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS COMPASSIONATE YET FRUGAL, IDEALISTIC BUT NOT FOOLHARDY, RESPONSIVE TO ITS CITIZENS AND RESPONSIBLE TO ITS TAXPAYERS. 1978 CAN BE A REPUBLICAN YEAR, A YEAR WHEN THE REPUBLICAN MESSAGE, THE REPUBLICAN VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA IS BOLDLY IMPRINTED ON THE FABRIC OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT --



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FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL.

UNLIKE OUR OPPONENTS, UNLIKE PRESIDENT CARTER, WE WON'T HAVE TO SHAPE OUR POLICIES AND ATTITUDES TO FIT THE MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE. BECAUSE THE CONCERNS, THE FEARS, THE FRUSTRATIONS, THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN 1978 ARE AND HAVE BEEN REPUBLICAN CONCERNS, FEARS, FRUSTRATIONS, HOPES AND DREAMS FOR YEARS.

AFTER DECADES OF DEMOCRATIC DOMINATION IN THE CONGRESS, AFTER LESS THAN TWO YEARS OF RENEWED DEMOCRATIC STEWARDSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH. THEY'RE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES OF POLITICS, ANGRY ABOUT INCESSANT GOVERNMENT MEDDLING IN THEIR BUSINESSES AND PRIVATE LIVES, ALARMED ABOUT AMERICA'S SAGGING FORTUNES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, FINANCIALLY BURDENED BY GOVERNMENT-INDUCED DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION, AND FED UP WITH THE TOLL GOVERNMENT EXTRACTS FROM THEM IN EVER-INCREASING TAXES.

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REPUBLICANS PROVIDING LEADERSHIP

YOU AND I KNOW THAT THERE'S NOT A FORCE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY BETTER EQUIPPED TO ARTICULATE THESE CONCERNS, THIS MORE REALISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT THAN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN MICHIGAN, IN THE MIDWEST, AND AROUND THIS NATION WE REPUBLICANS KNOW THAT, GIVEN A CHANCE, WE CAN DELIVER TO THE VOTERS. BUT ONLY IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY WHAT UNITES US, NOT INHIBITED BY WHAT DIVIDES US.

THE PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN ARE LOOKING TO OUR PARTY FOR LEADERSHIP. AND BILL MILLIKEN AND BOB GRIFFIN ARE PROVIDING THAT LEADERSHIP.

WHAT A CONTRAST TO THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY. ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, POLICY AFTER POLICY, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS STUMBLER, HESITATED, SHIFTED DIRECTION, AND, IN THE PROCESS, CONFUSED BOTH ITS SUPPORTERS AND DETRACTORS.



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ADMINISTRATION ECONOMICS OUT OF CONTROL

ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, THE ADMINISTRATION CAN TAKE SOME CREDIT FOR THE GAINS IN PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYMENT OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. BUT THE FIRES OF INFLATION ARE ONCE AGAIN RAGING OUT OF CONTROL. THIS IS MOST CERTAINLY NOT A PROBLEM INHERITED FROM THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. JERRY FORD REPEATEDLY FOUGHT THE CONGRESSIONAL BIG SPENDERS AND BEAT BACK INFLATION TO LESS THAN SIX PERCENT IN THE LAST YEAR OF HIS PRESIDENCY, ONLY TO SEE DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION REINTRODUCED TO OUR ECONOMY A YEAR LATER BY HIS SUCCESSOR.

JERRY FORD HAD THE RIGHT IDEA LONG BEFORE PROPOSITION 13 "FEVER" SWEEPED THE NATION: VETO UNNECESSARY SPENDING BILLS, RESTRAIN THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CUT THE PEOPLES TAXES. HE TRIED REPEATEDLY AND WAS REBUFFED BY THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS.

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THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS EMBRACED JUST THE OPPOSITE APPROACH. THE BUDGET HAS GROWN TO OVER HALF A TRILLION DOLLARS. AND PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PROPOSED MORE TAX INCREASES AND OPPOSED MORE TAX REDUCTIONS THAN ANY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN RECENT HISTORY. HE HAS ALREADY SIGNED A \$225 BILLION SOCIAL SECURITY TAX HIKE, PROPOSED ANOTHER \$125 BILLION IN ENERGY TAXES, THREATENED TO IMPOSE \$15 BILLION IN "FEES" ON IMPORTED FUELS, AND REPEATEDLY RESISTED REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO MAKE MEANINGFUL REDUCTIONS IN FEDERAL TAXES.

INDEED, NEARLY EVERY EFFORT TO REDUCE TAXES IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN MET WITH STRONG OPPOSITION BY THE ADMINISTRATION, BY DEMAGOGIC CHARGES OF TAX WINDFALLS FOR THE WEALTHY, BY TRUMPED-UP STATISTICS DESIGNED TO LEAD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BELIEVE THAT REPUBLICAN-BACKED TAX REDUCTION PROGRAMS WILL BENEFIT ONLY A CHOSEN FEW.



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I, FOR ONE, DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO FALL FOR SUCH DEMAGOGUERY. WE MUSTN'T LET THEM. THE PEOPLE MUST KNOW THAT WE, THE REPUBLICANS, WANT GOVERNMENT OFF THEIR BACKS AND OUT OF THEIR POCKETS, THAT WE WILL FIGHT FOR LOWER TAXES, REDUCED FEDERAL REGULATIONS, AND BUDGETARY RESTRAINT.

NEED FOR LEADERSHIP, REALISTIC POLICY

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PARTY IN POWER HAVE LEFT A HUGE VACUUM ON THIS ISSUE. IT IS A VACUUM WE CAN -- AND MUST -- FILL. BUT WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS. WE MUSN'T DEMAGOGUE THE TAX AND SPENDING ISSUE LEST OUR CREDIBILITY BE LOST. WE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT ADVOCATE UNREALISTIC SPENDING AND TAX REDUCTION POLICIES WHICH REALLY WOULD FORCE GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON ITS COMMENDABLE EFFORTS TO HELP THE NEEDY, TURN A DEAF EAR TO THE UNQUESTIONED NEEDS OF OUR CITIES, OR IGNORE THE ECONOMIC CRUNCH FACING OUR FAMILY FARMERS.

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WE KNOW GOVERNMENT CAN BE A POSITIVE FORCE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY, BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT GOVERNMENT CAN PROVIDE A WIDE RANGE OF IMPORTANT PUBLIC SERVICES WITHOUT INCURRING HUGE BUDGET DEFICITS, WITHOUT EXTRACTING UNNECESSARY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN TAXES EACH YEAR FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL WELCOME THIS KIND OF FRANKNESS IN THEIR POLITICAL LEADERS. BECAUSE IT'S A TYPE OF CANDOR SADLY LACKING IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND IN THE CONGRESS TODAY.

IF WE ARE TO LEAD THIS NATION ONCE AGAIN, OUR CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ADMINISTRATION MUST BE MEASURED, OUR ALTERNATIVE POLICIES CLEARLY SPELLED OUT.



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INFLATION, TAXATION, SPENDING -- THESE SEEM TO BE THE ISSUES OF THE DAY, THE ISSUES TO WHICH THE VOTERS OF AMERICA ARE MOST RESPONSIVE. BUT, PERHAPS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION IS THE URGENT NEED FOR AMERICA TO REASSERT ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE FREE WORLD, TO CHART A CONSISTENT, PRUDENT COURSE OF FOREIGN POLICY.

PRESENT FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONABLE

UNFORTUNATELY, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, UNDER THE INEXPERIENCED DIRECTION OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, DOES NOT PROJECT SUCH AN IMAGE. OUR GOALS ARE BLURRED, OUR COMMITMENT TO ALLIES QUESTIONED, OUR RESOLVE TO DEAL FIRMLY WITH ADVERSARIES DOUBTED. UNCERTAINTY, CONTRADICTION, FREQUENT SHIFTS IN POLICY, AND INCONSISTENCY CHARACTERIZE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES TODAY. OUR IMAGE IS OF A NATION WHICH HAS SEEMINGLY LOST ITS GRIP ON THE RUDDER OF FREE WORLD LEADERSHIP.

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AS REPUBLICANS, AS CONCERNED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, WE CANNOT STAND IDLY BY. WE MUST SPEAK OUT, CONSTRUCTIVELY CRITICIZING THE ADMINISTRATION WHEN APPROPRIATE, SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT, AND DEMANDING STABLE, COHERENT STRATEGIES TO GUIDE OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES. BECAUSE WHERE THERE IS NO VISION, THERE CAN BE NO STRENGTH OF PURPOSE. AND, SADLY, THIS ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO HAVE HAD NO VISION, NO PURPOSE.

RATHER THAN ADHERING TO A CONSISTENT, PRACTICAL OUTLOOK TOWARDS OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS, THE ADMINISTRATION WHEN APPROPRIATE, SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT, AND DEMANDING STABLE, COHERENT STRATEGIES TO GUIDE OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES. BECAUSE WHERE THERE IS NO VISION, THERE CAN BE NO STRENGTH OF PURPOSE. AND, SADLY, THIS ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO HAVE HAD NO VISION, NO PURPOSE.



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RATHER THAN ADHERING TO A CONSISTENT, PRACTICAL OUTLOOK TOWARDS OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS OVER-REACTED TO THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT, AND PERMITTED LOFTY IDEALISM TO SUPPLANT HARD-NOSED REALITY. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ARE DETERIORATING. OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE IS SLIPPING. EVEN THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH WAS LAUNCHED WITH GREAT FANFARE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, IS FADING.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S RHETORIC HAS BEEN TOUGH, ITS DEEDS WEAK. WE HAVE UNILATERALLY GIVEN UP ONE WEAPON SYSTEM AFTER ANOTHER, THROWN AWAY BARGAINING CHIP AFTER BARGAINING CHIP IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. WE HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN BLATANT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH, AT FIRST GLANCE, APPEAR NOT TO AFFECT US DIRECTLY FOR FEAR OF INTERVENING IN THE "INTERNAL AFFAIRS" OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. BUT I SAY

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TO YOU THAT SO LONG AS THERE IS SUCH BLATANT DISREGARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS THE SCHARANSKY, PETKUS, AND GINZBURG TRIALS, THE CAMBODIAN HOLOCAUST, THE CUBAN ADVENTURES ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, NONE OF US CAN HIDE BEHIND NATIONAL BORDERS.

AS REPUBLICANS, AS THE LOYAL OPPOSITION, WE SHARE WITH PRESIDENT CARTER A DUTY TO PURSUE POLICIES WHICH BEST REFLECT OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS. IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, THAT MEANS AN AMERICA WHICH IS FIRM BUT NOT INTRANSIGENT, COMMITTED TO FREEDOM AND SELF-RULE, DEDICATED TO THE PRESERVATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE GLOBE;

WE DON'T WANT TO RETURN TO THE DAY TO DAY TENSIONS OF THE COLD WAR. WE ASK ONLY FOR REALISM IN FOREIGN POLICY, FOR FAITHFUL ADHERENCE TO AMERICAN PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND DECENCY, FOR UNSWERVING COMMITMENT TO THE NOTION THAT FREEDOM IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF ALL MEN, THAT THE DESTINY OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD -- THOSE LIVING AND TO BE BORN -- IS TO BE FREE.



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NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE

FOREIGN POLICY, TAXATION, SPENDING, GOVERNMENT REGULATION, ENERGY, HEALTH CARE, FARM POLICY, WELFARE REFORM, URBAN POLICY -- THESE ARE THE ISSUES OUR PARTY MUST ADDRESS IF WE ARE TO REASSERT OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AMERICA. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR OUR NATION. WE STAND TODAY AT A POINT IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF OUR NATION WHEN THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE IS GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE. THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY ARE NOT PROBLEMS FOR A ONE-PARTY CONGRESS OR ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN MICHIGAN, AS PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, SHARE OUR BASIC VALUES, OUR PHILOSOPHY, OUR CONCERN ABOUT GOVERNMENT GONE AWRY, OUR DESIRE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT HIGH TAXES AND WASTEFUL SPENDING, OUR COMMITMENT TO AMERICAN STRENGTH IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

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1978 CAN BE THE YEAR WHEN WE TAKE THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS  
RESTORING BALANCE AND REINVIGORATING THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM  
IN AMERICA. IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL, THIS COUNTRY WILL BE A  
BETTER PLACE TO LIVE. AND OUR WORLD WILL BE A FAR SAFER  
PLACE FOR US, OUR CHILDREN, AND OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN.

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