

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
THE ROAD TO TOMORROW

HAMPTON TOWN GOP LINCOLN DAY DINNER

HAMPTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1979

*Hampton
Crum!*

Jimmy Carter
Don Hughes

I HOPE YOU'LL FORGIVE ME A BIT OF POLITICAL HERESY THIS EVENING. IT'S THE CUSTOM AT THESE OCCASIONS TO TAKE FOR ONE'S MESSAGE A THEME FIRST DEVELOPED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN. BUT THESE DAYS, WHEN DEMOCRATS ARE BENDING OVER BACKWARDS TO SOUND LIKE REPUBLICANS, EVEN LINCOLN IS CLAIMED AS A CLOSET DISCIPLE OF DEFICIT SPENDING AND BIG GOVERNMENT.

INDEED, PRESIDENT CARTER LIKES TO EMPHASIZE HIS BONDS WITH THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT. FOR INSTANCE, HE, TOO KNOWS THAT YOU CAN'T FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME. HE'LL SETTLE FOR A SIMPLE MAJORITY.

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AND SOME PUNDITS THINK HE MAY SUCCEED IN OFFICE IF ONLY HE MANAGES TO CONVINCE ENOUGH AMERICANS THAT THE LIBERAL DEMOCRAT THEY ELECTED IN 1976, THE MAN WHO ASSAILED PRESIDENT FORD'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AS UNDULY HARSH, THE SOCIAL EXPERIMENTER WHO PROMISED NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE AND A COMPLETE OVERHAUL OF THE WELFARE SCANDAL, THE EFFICIENCY EXPERT WHO GUARANTEED A BALANCED BUDGET BY 1980--THAT THIS POLITICAL CHAMELEON HAS CHANGED HIS STRIPES AND--PRESTO--IS A CHAMPION OF REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

WITH THAT IN MIND, LET ME QUOTE, NOT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, BUT THOMAS JEFFERSON, FOUNDER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND SPIRITUAL FOREBEAR OF JIMMY CARTER. IN HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, JEFFERSON CALLED FOR "A WISE AND FRUGAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH SHALL RESTRAIN MEN FROM INJURING ONE ANOTHER, WHICH SHALL LEAVE THEM OTHERWISE FREE TO REGULATE THEIR OWN PURSUITS OF INDUSTRY AND IMPROVEMENT, AND SHALL NOT TAKE FROM THE MOUTH OF LABOR THE BREAD IT HAS EARNED."

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THE COLLAPSE OF POLITICS AS USUAL

THAT SOUNDS LIKE A GOOD NEW HAMPSHIRE REPUBLICAN TO ME. IT CERTAINLY BEARS NO RESEMBLANCE TO THE BLOATED AND SCHIZOPHRENIC ADMINISTRATION NOW IN OFFICE. LET'S LOOK AT THE FACTS:

HALF A CENTURY HAS PASSED SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION USHERED IN THE AGE OF BIG GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA. YET TODAY, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE QUESTIONING NOT ONLY THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT, BUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS GOOD INTENTIONS AND THE LONGRANGE TREND TOWARDS A RIGIDLY CONTROLLED ECONOMY. THEY WONDER IF WE ARE NOT PLACING THAT ECONOMY IN A REGULATORY STRAIGHT JACKET, THEREBY DEPRIVING FREE ENTERPRISE OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN CAPITAL ALONG WITH THE INCENTIVE TO INVEST THAT CAPITAL IN JOB-PRODUCING WAYS.

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BUT JIMMY CARTER HAS A PROBLEM. IT'S NOT BELLA ABZUG AND IT'S NOT BROTHER BILLY. IT EVEN GOES BEYOND TED KENNEDY AND WHATEVER JERRY BROWN'S ADVOCATING THESE DAYS. JIMMY CARTER'S PARTY IS FALLING APART. ITS LEFT WING REFUSES TO ACCEPT ANY DEVIATION FROM HISTORIC DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS TO REDISTRIBUTE AMERICA'S WEALTH. THEY ARE CONTENT TO GO ON PROMISING BENEFITS FROM A SEEMINGLY INEXHAUSTIBLE WELL, WITHOUT ASKING FOR THE EXERTION WE BELIEVE FORMS THE FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM.

SO JIMMY CARTER HAS TO PAPER OVER THE DIVISIONS IN HIS PARTY, AND PAPER THEM OVER FAST. THAT'S WHY HE STANDS BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND PATS HIMSELF ON THE BACK FOR TURNING IN A BUDGET \$29 BILLION IN THE RED. THAT'S WHY HE CALLS HIS CURRENT BUDGET "LEAN AND AUSTERE", PROVING ONCE AGAIN THAT OFFICIAL WASHINGTON SPEAKS A DIFFERENT BRAND OF ENGLISH FROM YOU AND I.

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THAT'S WHY THE PRESIDENT IS CONTENT TO BURY HIS HEAD IN THE SAND, OVERLOOKING THE TURMOIL IN IRAN, THE ONGOING PENETRATION OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT AFRICA AND THE PERSIAN GULF. THAT'S WHY HE PROCLAIMS CHINESE RECOGNITION A SORT OF DIPLOMATIC MILLENIUM, IGNORING ANY MORAL OBLIGATIONS WE MIGHT ATTACH TO A GOOD AND VALUED ALLY ON TAIWAN.

A SHAKY NEW FOUNDATION

THE PRESIDENT SEEKS TO PLACATE HIS DEMOCRATIC CRITICS BY PROMISING A LITTLE MORE NEW DEAL. HE SPEAKS OF ECONOMY, BUT HE PRACTICES SPENDTHRIFT TACTICS. HE PROCLAIMS A NEW FOUNDATION, WITHOUT REALIZING THAT HIS ECONOMIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES ARE MAKING THE WHOLE HOUSE FALL DOWN.

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THIS IS NO MERE INTRAPARTY DOGFIGHT. WE ARE WITNESSING AN ENTIRE ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY COMING APART AT THE SEAMS. WE ARE SEEING FIRSTHAND WHAT HAPPENS TO A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION GROWN FLABBY AND INTELLECTUALLY BARREN. MESMERIZED BY THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF GOVERNMENT AS A MORAL FORCE UNTO ITSELF, THIS PRESIDENT DOES NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT GOVERNMENT DERIVES ITS AUTHORITY, MORAL AND POLITICAL, FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. INSOFAR AS GOVERNMENT REPRESSES THEIR NATURAL CREATIVITY, OR THEIR GENIUS FOR SOLUTION THROUGH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, THEN THAT GOVERNMENT FORSAKES ITS CLAIM TO MORAL FORCE OR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

BUT CRITICISM COMES CHEAP. THESE DAYS OF DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION, IT MAY BE THE ONLY THING THAT DOES. IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR WE REPUBLICANS TO DENOUNCE GOVERNMENT AS TOO BIG, TOO REMOTE. WE MUST ALSO REJECT IT AS TOO UNFEELING, TOO PATERNALISTIC.

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UNDER THE GUISE OF LIBERAL CONCERN, MODERN GOVERNMENT ATTACHES MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN LIFELONG DEPENDENCY. IT CARES LITTLE FOR OPENING UP THE ECONOMY TO THE ENTREPRENEURIAL SPIRIT--THAT WOULD CREATE JOBS AND FREE PEOPLE FROM ITS GRIP. INSTEAD, IT OPERATES UPON THE CONVICTION THAT 20TH CENTURY MAN REQUIRES DIRECTION FROM ABOVE. TO MILLIONS OF BLACK AMERICANS, IT PROMISES ONLY MORE OF THE SAME, OF LIFE ON A POLITICAL RESERVATION, OR THE TREADMILL OF WELFARE AND JOBLESSNESS.

TO THE YOUNG, IT PROMISES NO GREAT SENSE OF MISSION, NOTHING TO ENLIST THEIR IDEALISM AND SENSE OF COMMITMENT--ONLY A GREY, FACELESS FUTURE WHEN INDIVIDUALS ARE REPLACED BY SPOKESMEN, WHEN INDIVIDUAL PASSIONS BECOME MERE QUOTATIONS. TO MILLIONS OF MIDDLE CLASS AMERICANS, IT REPLACES HISTORIC GOALS OF SELF-ACHIEVEMENT AND A PIECE OF THE ECONOMIC PIE WITH RAMPANT INFLATION AND CONFISCATORY TAXATION.

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A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE

THAT'S NOT MY VISION OF AMERICA. I DON'T THINK IT'S YOURS EITHER.

OUR AMERICA DOES NOT PROMISE TO REDISTRIBUTE ALL WEALTH EQUALLY, BUT PROMISES EACH MAN AND WOMAN AN EQUAL CHANCE TO EARN WEALTH. OUR AMERICA BELIEVES THAT JOBS ARE BETTER THAN PATERNALISTIC HANDOUTS AND THAT LASTING JOBS ARE CREATED BY PRIVATE, NOT PUBLIC MEANS.

OUR AMERICA BELIEVES IN ECONOMIC EXPANSION INSTEAD OF REGULATORY RETREAT. OUR AMERICA WOULD KEEP ITS WORD TO OUR FRIENDS ABROAD AS WELL AS OUR CITIZENS AT HOME.

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AND WE ARE NOT ALONE. THERE'S SOMETHING HAPPENING IN THIS COUNTRY TODAY. YOU CAN SEE IT IN THE WHITE MOUNTAINS AS WELL AS THE ROCKIES. YOU CAN SENSE IT AMONG MILLWORKERS IN MANCHESTER AND MINNEAPOLIS. THEY WANT, NOT A NEW FOUNDATION, BUT AN OLD FAITH. THEY WANT TO RESPECT THEIR GOVERNMENT, NOT ONLY FOR ITS HONESTY BUT FOR ITS COMPETENCE. AND THEY WANT THEIR GOVERNMENT TO RESPECT THEIR INDIVIDUAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SUCCESS. THEY WANT THE INDEPENDENCE THAT ENABLES A FAMILY TO FEED AND CLOTHE ITSELF, TO LIVE IN A HOUSE OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING, TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO A SCHOOL OF THEIR CHOICE.

AMERICANS WANT TO BELIEVE IN AMERICA. BUT IT'S NOT THE AMERICA OF DOLLAR DIPLOMACY AND EMPTY RHETORIC ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. IT'S NOT THE AMERICA WILLING TO TOLERATE 9,10,11 PERCENT INFLATION BECAUSE THE LEFTWING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PREFERS TO SPEND ITS WAY TO INSTANT UTOPIA.

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THE TAXPAYERS' REVOLT IS FAR MORE THAN THAT. PEOPLE WANT MORE THAN THEIR TAXES CUT. THEY WANT THEIR GOVERNMENT REFORMED. AND THAT'S THE MESSAGE WE REPUBLICANS CANNOT ALLOW TO SLIP BETWEEN OUR FINGERS.

PEOPLE WILL VOTE FOR HOPE. WE MUST GIVE IT TO THEM. WE MUST CONVINCE THEM THAT REPUBLICANS CARE MORE FOR PEOPLE THAN PROFITS. WE ADVOCATE, NOT PERSONAL GREED, BUT PERSONAL GROWTH. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN INDIVIDUAL SELFISHNESS, BUT IN INDIVIDUAL SELF-REALIZATION.

WE BELIEVE THAT DOLLARS AND HUMAN DIGNITY ARE INESCAPABLY ENTWINED, AND WE PROPOSE TO GIVE PEOPLE BOTH. WE STAND FOR THE ULTIMATE CIVIL RIGHT--A JOB IN A HEALTHY ECONOMY.

HOW DO WE ACHIEVE SUCH GOALS? LET ME COUNT THE WAYS.

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ENDING REGULATORY DICTATORSHIP

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS LONG SINCE PASSED THE STAGE OF IMPARTIAL REFEREE BETWEEN BUSINESS AND CONSUMER. IN FACT, MODERN GOVERNMENT HAS COME TO PROMOTE A SOCIETY OF WE VERSUS THEY, OF RICH AGAINST POOR, OF CITY DWELLER VERSUS RURAL RESIDENT. TODAY, OVER 80 REGULATORY AGENCIES AND MORE THAN 100,000 FEDERAL WORKERS HAVE AS THEIR SOLE FUNCTION TELLING OTHER AMERICANS WHAT GOVERNMENT HAS SAID THEY CANNOT DO. THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET HAS ESTIMATED THE COST OF SUCH REGULATION AS HIGH AS \$130 BILLION--ROUGHLY EQUAL TO \$2,000 FOR EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY, OR ENOUGH TO PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN WITH A YEAR'S SUPPLY OF FREE GROCERIES.

WHY IS THIS SO DETRIMENTAL? WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE ON YOUR DAILY LIFE? WELL, TO BEGIN WITH, YOU WIND UP PAYING THE BILL FOR THE REGULATORY JUNGLE. BUT THERE'S A HIDDEN PRICE AS WELL. BECAUSE THAT \$130 BILLION IS WITHHELD FROM INVESTMENT, AND BECAUSE INFLATION UNDERMINES THE PLANS OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY TO MODERNIZE ITS PLANT AND EQUIPMENT, THE RATE OF PRODUCTIVITY IN THIS COUNTRY HAS SLOWED TO A HALT. THAT, IN TURN, STIMULATES FURTHER INFLATION.

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HOW DO WE ESCAPE THIS VICIOUS CIRCLE? NO ONE WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE ABANDON REGULATION, THAT WE INVITE THE SHODDY OR UNSAFE PRODUCT ON THE MARKET, THAT WE OVERLOOK UNCLEAR AIR OR POLLUTED WATER. ONE LOOK AT THE LANDSCAPE OF THIS ROCKRIBBED STATE IS ENOUGH TO CONVINCE ANYONE HOW PRECIOUS ARE OUR NATURAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES.

BUT CAN'T WE FIND MORE PRODUCTIVE WAYS OF POLICING FREE ENTERPRISE? WHY CAN'T WE TRY INCENTIVES, SUCH AS TAX RELIEF FOR SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE COMPANIES, IN LIEU OF THE CURRENT TOP-HEAVY AND ALL TOO OFTEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE REGULATORY MACHINERY?

IT'S NOT JUST BUSINESS THAT SUFFERS FROM FEDERAL GOBBLEDYGOOK. IT'S THE AVERAGE AMERICAN, YOU AND I, WHO FIND OURSELVES TURNED OFF BY SUCH BIZARRE DOUBLETALK AS THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION'S DEFINITION OF THE WORD "EXIT". I QUOTE: "THAT PORTION OF A MEANS OF EGRESS WHICH IS SEPARATED FROM ALL OTHER SPACES OF THE BUILDING OR STRUCTURE BY CONSTRUCTION OR EQUIPMENT AS REQUIRED IN THIS SUB-PART TO PROVIDE A PROTECTED WAY OF TRAVEL TO THE EXIT DISCHARGE."

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IF THAT MAKES ANY SENSE TO YOU, YOU'RE PROBABLY A JERRY BROWN DEMOCRAT.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

IT'S TO GET RID OF THIS KIND OF BUREAUCRATIC TRAVESTY, THAT I'VE SUGGESTED A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION, PATTERNED ON THE TWO CREATED AFTER WORLD WAR II, WHICH TOGETHER SAVED AMERICAN TAXPAYERS BETWEEN \$8 AND \$12 BILLION IN NEEDLESS BUREAUCRACY.

I'M ADVOCATING A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION EMPOWERED TO INVESTIGATE AND RECOMMEND CHANGES IN THE BEWILDERING ARRAY OF BOARDS, COMMISSIONS, COMMITTEES, BLUE RIBBON PANELS AND JUST PLAIN BOONDOGGLES THAT CURRENTLY PASS FOR A REGULATORY SYSTEM IN AMERICA. AND TO HEAD SUCH A COMMISSION, I HAVE PROPOSED THE ONE MAN WHO CARRIES THE UNIQUE PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE ACCORDED PRESIDENT HOOVER IN 1947. I WAS HONORED TO RUN WITH GERALD FORD IN 1976, AND I CAN TELL YOU FROM INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE THAT NO ONE WOULD MAKE A FINER LEADER FOR THIS NEW CRUSADE AGAINST THE BUREAUCRATIC CRUSADERS.

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A FORD COMMISSION COULD SAVE US BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, IT COULD SET THE STAGE FOR A WHOLE NEW APPROACH TO THE WAY WE TREAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

A BALANCED BUDGET AND THE CONSTITUTION

ANOTHER IDEA WHICH I'VE LAID BEFORE THE CONGRESS WOULD AMEND THE CONSTITUTION TO PLACE DEFINITE LIMITS, BOTH ON FEDERAL REVENUES AND FEDERAL SPENDING.

FIFTY YEARS AGO, GOVERNMENT SPENDING AT ALL LEVELS AMOUNTED TO 11% OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. TODAY IT STANDS AT 38 PERCENT. IN LESS THAN TWENTY YEARS THE FEDERAL BUDGET HAS GROWN SIXFOLD. IN A FEW YEARS THE NATIONAL DEBT WILL APPROACH A TRILLION DOLLARS--A FIGURE SO FANTASTIC AS TO DEFY IMMEDIATE COMPREHENSION.

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AND HERE'S WHERE WE REPUBLICANS HAVE GOTTEN HUNG UP IN THE PAST. WE'VE BEEN SO CONCERNED WITH THE ARITHMETIC OF FEDERAL IRRESPONSIBILITY, THAT WE HAVEN'T ALWAYS CONVEYED A GRASP OF THE PERSONAL CONSEQUENCES. WE'VE STRESSED COMPETENCE OVER COMPASSION, INSTEAD OF URGING BOTH SIMULTANEOUSLY.

WE HAVEN'T ALWAYS EXPLAINED THE LINKAGE BETWEEN A BALANCED BUDGET AND A STRONG ECONOMY, BETWEEN RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND JOBS FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE. AT TIMES, WE'VE ALLOWED OURSELVES TO BE PORTRAYED AS CITIZENS OF THE COUNTRY CLUB INSTEAD OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY.

BUT, IN OUR EFFORT TO MANDATE A BALANCED BUDGET, TO RESPONSIBLY REDUCE FEDERAL SPENDING TO 18 PERCENT OF THE GNP--IN THAT WE HAVE NOTHING TO APOLOGIZE FOR. MY AMENDMENT WOULD ALLOW FOR FLEXIBILITY--FOR AN UNBALANCED BUDGET, IF NECESSARY, IN TWO OUT OF EVERY FIVE YEARS. IT WOULD PERMIT SPENDING TO RISE ABOVE THIS 18 PERCENT LIMIT IF 2/3 OF THE CONGRESS WERE WILLING TO VOTE FOR SUCH A RISE. NEEDLESS TO SAY, IN TIMES OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY, WHETHER MILITARY OR ECONOMIC, THE FEDERAL BUDGET WOULD NOT BE TRAPPED BY UNREALISTIC DEMANDS. THAT WOULD BE A REPETITION OF THE VERY REGULATORY INJUSTICE AGAINST WHICH WE CAMPAIGN.

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THE AMENDMENT I HAVE PROPOSED IS A WORKABLE ONE. IT WOULD ACCOMPLISH A CRITICAL TASK--NAMELY SETTING FORTH, ONCE AND FOR ALL, THAT IT IS THE POLICY OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO BURDEN GENERATIONS YET UNBORN WITH A HEAVY LOAD OF DEBT SERVICE, NOR WEAKEN THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY BY DRAWING OFF CAPITAL AND UNDERMINING THE DOLLAR AT HOME AND ABROAD.

ALL THE OUTRAGE OVER THE IDEA OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DETER US FROM TAKING A CONCRETE STEP TOWARD FINANCIAL SELF-CONTROL. I PREFER TO SEE MY AMENDMENT ADOPTED BY TRADITIONAL MEANS. BUT IF THE CONGRESS IS UNWILLING TO ACCEPT WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT, I CANNOT HIDE BEHIND LEGALISTIC FEARS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE PROBLEMS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. TO DO SO WOULD BE A TRIUMPH OF TIMIDITY OVER COURAGE. IT WOULD BE DISHONEST POLITICS AND DANGEROUS ECONOMICS.

WE REPUBLICANS MUST MAKE THIS ISSUE OUR OWN. IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH A CONVENTION, LET'S SOLVE THEM. BUT, WHATEVER WE DO, LET'S NOT BE AFRAID TO PROPOSE A NEW OR UNUSUAL SOLUTION TO AN OLD AND DEADLY PROBLEM.

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REPUBLICAN REFORMS

OTHER STEPS CAN BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY. I'VE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO INDEX TAX RATES, TYING INCOME TAXES NOT TO ARTIFICIALLY INFLATED DOLLARS, BUT TO THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX. THIS WAY, GOVERNMENT WON'T BE TEMPTED TO INFLATE THE DOLLAR IN HOPES OF GRANTING PHANTOM "TAX CUTS" SUCH AS LAST FALLS'.

I'M ALSO ARGUING FOR A ROLLBACK OF THE LATEST INCREASE IN SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES, AND FOR CUTS IN BOTH PERSONAL AND BUSINESS TAXES IN HOPES OF STIMULATING PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE ECONOMY.

THE ROAD TO TOMORROW

THESE IDEAS MAY NOT BE THE ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS. I WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND YOUR CRITICISMS. BUT I WILL NOT YIELD IN MY CONVICTION THAT WE REPUBLICANS MUST EARN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE MUST BE LEADERS, NOT FOLLOWERS OR REACTORS. WE HAVE THE IDEAS. WE HAVE THE EXPERTISE.

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NOW WE MUST PERSUADE OUR NEIGHBORS THAT OUR VISION OF A STRONG, ECONOMICALLY VIGOROUS AMERICA COINCIDES WITH THEIR OWN.

THE GREAT POET LAUREATE OF THIS STATE, ROBERT FROST, ONCE WROTE A POEM ABOUT THE AGONY OF CHOICE. HE CALLED IT "THE ROAD NOT TAKEN"; AND HIS ADVICE HOLDS TRUE FOR NATIONS AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALS...

"TWO ROADS DIVERGED IN A YELLOW WOOD
AND SORRY I COULD NOT TRAVEL BOTH
AND BE ONE TRAVELER, LONG I STOOD
AND LOOKED DOWN ONE AS FAR AS I COULD
TO WHERE IT BENT IN THE UNDERGROWTH;

TWO ROADS DIVERGED IN A WOOD, AND I-
I TOOK THE ONE LESS TRAVELED BY,
AND THAT HAS MADE ALL THE DIFFERENCE."

AS A PARTY AND A NATION, WE STAND TODAY AT A CROSSROAD OF CHANGE. LIKE FROST'S TRAVELER, WE MIGHT LIKE TO TRAVEL BOTH, TO HAVE THE GOOD LIFE WITHOUT COST, TO SPEND MORE THAN WE EARN, TO PROMISE PEOPLE THE MOON AND THE STARS INSTEAD OF WORLDLY REALITY.

BUT THE ROADS DIVERGE, AND WE MUST CHOOSE. DO WE OPT FOR MORE OF THE SAME, FOR GOVERNMENT BY CHARGE CARD, FOR AN ADMINISTRATION UNSURE OF ITSELF AT HOME, UNDEPENDABLE ABROAD? OR DO WE CHOOSE THE ROAD LESS TAKEN, AND, IN DOING SO, LEAD AN ENTIRE NATION TOWARD SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM. THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE. THE CHOICE IS YOURS. WHAT WILL IT BE?

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1979

I hope you'll forgive me a bit of political heresy this evening. It's the custom at these occasions to take for one's message a theme first developed by Abraham Lincoln. But these days, when Democrats are bending over backwards to sound like Republicans, even Lincoln is claimed as a closet disciple of deficit spending and big government.

Indeed, President Carter likes to emphasize his bonds with the first Republican president. For instance, he, too knows that you can't fool all the people all the time. He'll settle for a simple majority.

And some pundits think he may succeed in office if only he manages to convince enough Americans that the liberal Democrat they elected in 1976, the man who assailed President Ford's economic policies as unduly harsh, the social experimenter who promised national health insurance and a complete overhaul of the welfare scandal, the efficiency expert who guaranteed a balanced budget by 1980--that this political chameleon has changed his stripes and--PRESTO--is a champion of conservative doctrine.

With that in mind, let me quote, not Abraham Lincoln, but Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic party and spiritual forebear of Jimmy Carter. In his first inaugural address, Jefferson called for "a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

THE COLLAPSE OF POLITICS AS USUAL

That sounds like a good New Hampshire Republican to me. It certainly bears no resemblance to the bloated and schizophrenic administration now in office. Let's look at the facts:

Half a century has passed since the Great Depression ushered in the age of big government in America. Yet today, millions of people are questioning not only the size of government, but the effectiveness of its good intentions and the long-range trend towards a rigidly controlled economy. They wonder if we are not placing that economy in a regulatory straight jacket, thereby depriving free enterprise of billions of dollars in capital along with the incentive to invest that capital in job-producing ways.

But Jimmy Carter has a problem. It's not Bella Abzug and it's not Brother Billy. It even goes beyond Ted Kennedy and whatever Jerry Brown's advocating these days. Jimmy Carter's party is falling apart. Its left wing refuses to accept any deviation from historic Democratic efforts to redistribute America's wealth. They are content to go on promising benefits from a seemingly inexhaustible well, without asking for the exertion we believe forms the foundation of economic and political freedom.

So Jimmy Carter has to paper over the divisions in his party, and paper them over fast. That's why he stands before the American people and pats himself on the back for turning in a budget \$29 billion in the red. That's why he calls his current budget "lean and austere", proving once again that official Washington speaks a different brand of English from you and I.

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That's why the President is content to bury his head in the sand, overlooking the turmoil in Iran, the ongoing penetration of Soviet and Cuban influence throughout Africa and the Persian Gulf. That's why he proclaims Chinese recognition a sort of diplomatic millenium, ignoring any moral obligations we might attach to a good and valued ally on Taiwan.

A SHAKY NEW FOUNDATION

The President seeks to placate his Democratic critics by promising a little more New Deal. He speaks of economy. But he practices spendthrift tactics. He proclaims a New Foundation, without realizing that his economic and foreign policies are making the whole house fall down.

This is no mere intraparty dogfight. We are witnessing an entire economic philosophy coming apart at the seams. We are seeing first-hand what happens to a political organization grown flabby and intellectually barren. Mesmerized by the traditional Democratic view of government as a moral force unto itself, this President does not seem to understand that government derives its authority, moral and political, from the American people. Insofar as government represses their natural creativity, or their genius for solution through private enterprise, then that government forsakes its claim to moral force or political leadership.

But criticism comes cheap. These days of double digit inflation, it may be the only thing that does. It is not enough for we Republicans to denounce government as too big, too remote. We must also reject it as too unfeeling, too paternalistic.

Under the guise of liberal concern, modern government attaches millions of people in lifelong dependency. It cares little for opening up the economy to the entrepreneurial spirit--that would create jobs and free people from its grip. Instead, it operates upon the conviction that 20th century man requires direction from above. To millions of black Americans, it promises only more of the same, of life on a political reservation, or the treadmill of welfare and joblessness.

To the young, it promises no great sense of mission, nothing to enlist their idealism and sense of commitment--only a grey, faceless future when individuals are replaced by spokesmen, when individual passions become mere quotations. To millions of middle class Americans, it replaces historic goals of self-achievement and a piece of the economic pie with rampant inflation and confiscatory taxation.

A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE

That's not my vision of America. I don't think it's yours either.

Our America does not promise to redistribute all wealth equally, but promises each man and woman an equal chance to earn wealth. Our America believes that jobs are better than paternalistic handouts and that lasting jobs are created by private, not public means.

Our America believes in economic expansion instead of regulatory retreat. Our America would keep its word to our friends abroad as well as our citizens at home.

And we are not alone. There's something happening in this country today. You can see it in the White Mountains as well as the Rockies. You can sense it among millworkers in Manchester and Minneapolis. They want, not a New Foundation, but an old faith. They want to respect their government, not only for its honesty but for its competence. And they want their government to respect their individual aspirations for success. They want the independence that enables a family to feed and clothe itself, to live in a house of their own choosing, to send their children to a school of their choice.

Americans want to believe in America. But it's not the America of dollar diplomacy and empty rhetoric about human rights. It's not the America willing to tolerate 9, 10, 11 percent inflation because the left wing of the Democratic party prefers to spend its way to instant Utopia.

The Taxpayers' Revolt is far more than that. People want more than their taxes cut. They want their government reformed. And that's the message we Republicans cannot allow to slip between our fingers.

People will vote for hope. We must give it to them. We must convince them that Republicans care more for people than profits. We advocate, not personal greed, but personal growth. We do not believe in individual selfishness, but in individual self-realization.

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We believe that dollars and human dignity are inescapably entwined, and we propose to give people both. We stand for the ultimate civil right--a job in a healthy economy.

How do we achieve such goals? Let me count the ways.

ENDING REGULATORY DICTATORSHIP

The federal government has long since passed the stage of imperial referee between business and consumer. In fact, modern government has come to promote a society of We versus They, of rich against poor, of city dweller versus rural resident. Today, over 80 regulatory agencies and more than 100,000 federal workers have as their sole function telling other Americans what government has said they cannot do. The Office of Management and Budget has estimated the cost of such regulation as high as \$130 billion--roughly equal to \$2,000 for every American family, or enough to provide every American with a year's supply of free groceries.

Why is this so detrimental? What effect does it have on your daily life? Well, to begin with, you wind up paying the bill for the regulatory jungle. But there's a hidden price as well. Because that \$130 billion is withheld from investment, and because inflation undermines the plans of private industry to modernize its plant and equipment, the rate of productivity in this country has slowed to a halt. That, in turn, stimulates further inflation.

How do we escape this vicious circle? No one would suggest that we abandon regulation, that we invite the shoddy or unsafe product on the market, that we overlook unclean air or polluted water. One look at the landscape of this rockribbed state is enough to convince anyone how precious are our natural and human resources.

But can't we find more productive ways of policing free enterprise? Why can't we try incentives, such as tax relief for socially responsible companies, in lieu of the current top-heavy and all too often counterproductive regulatory machinery?

It's not just business that suffers from federal gobbledygook. It's the average American, you and I, who find ourselves turned off by such bizarre doubletalk as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's definition of the word "exit". I quote: "that portion of a means of egress which is separated from all other spaces of the building or structure by construction or equipment as required in this subpart to provide a protected way of travel to the exit discharge."

If that makes any sense to you, you're probably a Jerry Brown Democrat.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

It's to get rid of this kind of bureaucratic travesty, that I've suggested a new Hoover Commission, patterned on the two created after World War II, which together saved American taxpayers between \$8 and \$12 billion in needless bureaucracy.

I'm advocating a new Hoover Commission empowered to investigate and recommend changes in the bewildering array of boards, commissions, committees, blue ribbon panels and just plain boondoggles that currently pass for a regulatory system in America. And to head such a commission, I have proposed the one man who carries the unique prestige and influence accorded President Hoover in 1947. I was honored to run with Gerald Ford in 1976, and I can tell you from intimate knowledge that no one would make a finer leader for this new crusade against the bureaucratic crusaders.

A Ford Commission could save us billions of dollars. Even more important, it could set the stage for a whole new approach to the way we treat the private sector.

A BALANCED BUDGET AND THE CONSTITUTION

Another idea which I've laid before the Congress would amend the Constitution to place definite limits, both on federal revenues and federal spending.

Fifty years ago, government spending at all levels amounted to 11% of the Gross National Product. Today it stands at 38 percent. In less than twenty years the federal budget has grown sixfold. In a few years the national debt will approach a trillion dollars--a figure so fantastic as to defy immediate comprehension.

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And here's where we Republicans have gotten hung up in the past. We've been so concerned with the arithmetic of federal irresponsibility, that we haven't always conveyed a grasp of the personal consequences. We've stressed competence over compassion, instead of urging both simultaneously.

We haven't always explained the linkage between a balanced budget and a strong economy, between responsible government and jobs for all our people. At times, we've allowed ourselves to be portrayed as citizens of the Country Club instead of the whole community.

But, in our effort to mandate a balanced budget, to responsibly reduce federal spending to 18 percent of the GNP--in that we have nothing to apologize for. My amendment would allow for flexibility--for an unbalanced budget, if necessary, in two out of every five years. It would permit spending to rise above this 18 percent limit if 2/3 of the Congress were willing to vote for such a rise. Needless to say, in times of national emergency, whether military or economic, the federal budget would not be trapped by unrealistic demands. That would be a repetition of the very regulatory injustice against which we campaign.

The amendment I have proposed is a workable one. It would accomplish a critical task--namely setting forth, once and for all, that it is the policy of the American government not to burden generations yet unborn with a heavy load of debt service, nor weaken the domestic economy by drawing off capital and undermining the dollar at home and abroad.

All the outrage over the idea of a Constitutional Convention should not be permitted to deter us from taking a concrete step toward financial self-control. I prefer to see my amendment adopted by traditional means. But if the Congress is unwilling to accept what the American people want, I cannot hide behind legalistic fears about the possible problems of a Constitutional Convention. To do so would be a triumph of timidity over courage. It would be dishonest politics and dangerous economics.

We Republicans must make this issue our own. If there are problems with a convention, let's solve them. But, whatever we do, let's not be afraid to propose a new or unusual solution to an old and deadly problem.

REPUBLICAN REFORMS

Other steps can be taken immediately. I've introduced legislation to index tax rates, tying income taxes not to artificially inflated dollars, but to the Consumer Price Index. This way, government won't be tempted to inflate the dollar in hopes of granting phantom "tax cuts" such as last fall's.

I'm also arguing for a rollback of the latest increase in Social Security taxes, and for cuts in both personal and business taxes in hopes of stimulating private investment in the economy.

THE ROAD TO TOMORROW

These ideas may not be the ultimate solutions. I welcome your comments and your criticisms. But I will not yield in my conviction that we Republicans must earn the confidence of the American people. We must be leaders, not followers or reactors. We have the ideas. We have the expertise.

Now we must persuade our neighbors that our vision of a strong, economically vigorous America coincides with their own.

The great poet laureate of this state, Robert Frost, once wrote a poem about the agony of choice. He called it "The Road not Taken", and his advice holds true for nations as well as individuals. . .

"Two roads diverged in a yellow wood/And sorry I could not travel both/And be one traveler, long I stood/And looked down one as far as I could/To where it bent in the undergrowth;/Two roads diverged in a wood, and I-/I took the one less traveled by,/And that has made all the difference."

As a party and a nation, we stand today at a crossroads of change. Like Frost's traveler, to have the good life without cost, to spend more than we earn, to promise people the moon and the stars instead of worldly reality.

But the roads diverge, and we must choose. Do we opt for more of the same, for government by charge card, for an administration unsure of itself at home, undependable abroad? Or do we choose the road less taken, and, in doing so, lead an entire nation toward social responsibility and economic freedom. The choice must be made. The choice is ours. What will it be?